Nich. Geo. THE Seymour

Irish Rebellion: 1811

Or, an History of the Beginnings and first Progress of the General Rebellion raised within the Kingdom of

IRELAND,

Upon the Three and twentieth Day of *October*, in the Year 1641. Together with the Barbarous Cruelties and Bloody Massacres which ensued thereupon.

By Sir JOHN TEMPLE, Kt. Master of the Rolls and one of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council within the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

To which is Added:

The State of the *Protestants* of *Ireland* Under the late King *James*'s Government;

In which their Carriage towards him is justified, and the absolute Necessity of their endeavouring to be freed from his Government, and of submitting to their present Majesties is demonstrated.

DUBLIN: Printed for *Patrick Campbell*, and are to be Sold at his Shop on the Lower-end of *Cork-Hill*. 1713.

Let this be Printed, (*viz.* The State of the Protestants of *Ireland* under the late King *James*'s Government.)

Nottingham.

White-Hall, Octob. 15. 1691.

Anno Decimo quarto, &c.

Decimo quinto *Caroli* Secundi.

Cap. II.

WHEREAS an unnatural Insurrection did break forth against Your Majesties Royal Father of Ever Blessed Memory, His Crown and Dignity, in this Your Majesties Kingdom of *Ireland*, upon the 23*d* of *October*, in the Year of Our Lord God 1641, and manifest it self by the Murther and Destruction of many Thousands of Your said Majesties Good and Loyal Subjects; which afterwards Universally spreading and diffusing it self over the whole Kingdom, settled into and became a formed and almost National-Rebellion of the *Irish* Papists against Your Royal Father of Blessed Memory, His Crown and Dignity, to the Destruction of the *English* and Protestants Inhabiting in *Ireland*, the which *Irish* Papists being Represented in a General Assembly chosen by themselves, and Acting by a Council called by them *the Supreme Council of the Confederate Roman Catholicks of* Ireland, did first Assume, Usurp, and Exercise the Power of Life and Death, make Peace and War, Levy and Coin Mony, and many other Acts of Soveraign Authority, Treating with Foreign Princes and Potentates for their Government and Protection, and afterwards Acted under a Foreign Authority by all the said Ways, disowning and rejecting Your Royal Father, and Your Majesties undoubted Right to this Kingdom, even whilst they Treacherously

cherously used His and Your Majesties Names in the outward Forms of their Proceedings, withall impiously seeming by Words and Shows to Swear even unto that, which by the whole Series of their Deeds they denied; and moreover presuming to pretend His late Majesties most Sacred Authority, even for their worst Actions, all which they did (amongst other their evil Designs) to frighten His good Protestant Subjects from their Loyalty, to blast His Majesties Honour, and to widen the breach between His said Majesty and His seduced Subjects in *England*: The which ends, by their said wicked Stratagems they did too Successfully and Mischievously Effect: And Whereas Almighty God hath given Your Majesty, by and through Your said *English* and Protestant Subjects, absolute Victory and Conquest over the said *Irish* Popish Rebels and Enemies, so as They, their Lives, Liberties and Estates are now wholly at Your Majesties Disposition by the Laws of this Kingdom, *&c. Vid. The Act at large.*

The

The Preface to the Reader.

I Have here adventured to preſent unto publick view, the beginnings and firſt progreſs of the Rebellion lately raiſed within this Kingdom of *Ireland*. And although I cannot but take notice of ſuch a multitude of imperfections in my ſelf as render me very unfit for the performance of this ſervice: As alſo, that I ſhall thereby raiſe up much malice, and private diſpleaſure, as well againſt my perſon, as my undertakings herein: Yet ſuch is my zeal and moſt earneſt deſire o appear in this cauſe, as being now laid aſide, and for the preſent diſabled in any ther way to be further uſeful to this unhappy Kingdom, I reſolved to deny my ſelf, d wholly departing from my own intereſts, to employ my weak endeavours, in ſetng down the ſad Story of our miſeries. I might peradventure with much more adntage to my own particular have looked back (as far wiſer men have done in their oubles) and paſſed my time in foreign collections, or penning ſome ſtory of times g ſince paſt, where the chief Actors are at reſt, and their unquiet ſpirits ſo ſurely d, as they are not to be moved with the ſharpeſt charge that can be laid on their mories: *Nulli gravis eſt percuſſus Achilles.* Moſt men are great lovers of themſelves d ſuch conſtant admirers of their own actions, as they think they do well to be angry ny thing that ſhall (though never ſo truly) be reported to their diſadvantage. ey conſider not their own natural imbecillities, their paſſions, diſtempers, or ill ctions which lead them on to adviſe or act things of an ill fame; but are ready to in the faces of thoſe who ſhall even in the faireſt characters repreſent or leave any preſſions of them. Hence it is that the truth of things comes quite to be overſhaed with falſe colours, and ſo to remain as it were buried alive, or otherwiſe to ear extreamly disfigured through groſs errors, baſe flattery, or willful miſtakes. moſt men that are preſent adventurers in this kind, are wiſe enough to apprehend own danger; and thereupon departing from the common intereſt that every other hath in their Story, reflect only upon their own particular, and ſuffer themſelves e overawed with the humour of the preſent times; or ſo far tranſported, either the benefits or private injuries received from particular perſons, as they tranſmit imperfect and weaker relations, or otherwiſe fill them up with ſuch counterfeit , as poſterity will owe little to their information.

Monſieur du Pleſſis, a perſon of extraordinary abilities and learning, a great Miniof State under that glorious King *Henry* the 4th of *France*, undertook as it appears Letter of his to *Monſieur Languet*, to write a Story of thoſe times wherein he lived. I cannot find that he ever ſuffered that work to come to the Preſs; whether by pprehenſions diſcouraged from publication, or whether it otherwiſe miſcarried, I ot ſay. But ſure I am, in the ſame Letter he bitterly declaims againſt the huof the times, and there plainly tells us, that after one hath writ an Hiſtory, he not adventure the publiſhing of it. *Si non qu'il allege pour cauſe d'un effect ce que* *Memoires de* *Monſieur du* Pleſſis, *fol.* 4. *eſte, comme une cauſe genereuſe, au lieu de l'amour d'une femme, & d'une querelle de an.* Such was then the inquiry of thoſe times, ſo abominable and ſhameful, the cauſes of the imbroilments in that Kingdom, that thoſe wars (as the Court was governed) had for the moſt part their firſt beginnings from ſome ill placed affe, or a private quarrel in an infamous place. And further ſpeaking on this ſubhe intimates how dangerous it is to ſet forth the actions of men in their true co; and how bitter and corroding to the conſcience of an Hiſtorian to diſguiſe or them appear otherwiſe to the world, then they were in their firſt original.

To ſpeak truth exactly, is highly commendable in any man, eſpecially in one that takes upon him to be a publick informer: to raze, to corrupt a Record is a crime of a very high nature, and by the laws of the Land moſt ſeverely puniſhable. Hiſtories are called *Teſtes temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ*: And certainly he doth offend in an high degree, who ſhall either negligently ſuffer, or willfully procure them to bring falſe evidence; that ſhall make them dark Lanthorns to give light but the one ſide, or as *Ignes fatui*, to cauſe the Reader to wander from the truth, and vainly to follow falſe ſhadows, or the factious humour of the writers brain. To be falſe, to deceive, to ly, even in ordinary diſcourſe, are vices commonly branded with much infamy, and held in great deteſtation by all good men. And therefore certainly thoſe that arrive at ſuch a height of impudency, as magiſterially to take upon them, not only to abuſe the preſent, but future ages, muſt needs render themſelves juſtly odious. They ſtand reſponſible for other mens errors; and whereas in all other notorious offenders, their ſin and their life determines at fartheſt together: the ſin of theſe men is perpetuated after their deceaſe, they ſpeak when they are dead, make falſe infuſions into every Age, and court every new perſon that ſhall many years after caſt his eyes upon their ſtory to give belief to their lies. Therefore for my own part when I firſt underſtood this taſk, I took up with it a reſolution moſt clearly to declare the truth. I have caſt up my accounts, I have ſet up my reſt, and determined rather to diſpleaſe any other man then offend my own conſcience. I have neither private reflections, nor foreign ends; I am now as it were reduced into my firſt principles, and have taken this work upon me, meerly out of publick conſiderations. All that I aim at is, that there may remain for the benefit of this preſent age, as well as poſterity, ſome certain Records and Monuments of the firſt beginnings and fatal progreſs of this Rebellion, together with the horrid cruelties moſt unmercifully exercised by the *Iriſh* Rebels upon the *Britiſh* and Proteſtants within this Kingdom of *Ireland*. That when God's time is come of returning it into the boſoms of thoſe who have been the firſt Plotters or preſent Actors therein, and that Kingdom comes to be re-planted with *Britiſh*, and ſettled in peace again, (which I have even in our loweſt condition with great confidence attended, and do now moſt undoubtedly believe will ere long be brought to paſs) there may be ſuch a courſe taken, ſuch proviſions made, and ſuch a wall of ſeparation ſet up betwixt the *Iriſh* and the *Britiſh*, as it ſhall not be in their power to riſe up (as now and in all former Ages they have done) to deſtroy and root them out in a moment, before they be able to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, or to gather together to make any conſiderable reſiſtance againſt their bloody attempts.

Cicero *de Orat.*

I ſhall not pretend to entertain the Reader with political Maxims, grave Sentences or flouriſhing Orations: That which I hope will cover a multitude of imperfections is the unqueſtionable truth of what I ſhall ſet down in a plain and brief Narration of all the cauſes and proceedings held in the raiſing, as alſo in the firſt Counſels and Undertakings for the ſuppreſſion of this hideous Rebellion.

And that I might in ſome meaſure compaſs my deſign herein, and give ſatisfaction even to the moſt curious inquiſitors after truth, I did with great care and diligence turn over the very Originals or authentical Copies of the voluminous examinations remaining with the publick Regiſter, and taken upon oath, by virtue of two ſeveral Commiſſions iſſued out under the Great Seal of this Kingdom, to examine the loſſes of the *Britiſh*, the cruelties and horrid murders committed by the *Iriſh* in the deſolation of them. I have peruſed the publick diſpatches, acts, and relations, as likewiſe the private Letters and particular diſcourſes ſent by the chief Gentlemen out of ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, to preſent unto the Lords Juſtices and Council the ſad ſtate

tion of their affairs. And having been made acquainted with all the moſt ſecret Paſſages and Councils of the State, I have, as far as I could, without breach of truſt, and as the duty of a Privy Councellour would admit, communicated ſo much of them as I conceived neceſſary and proper for publick information. And ſetting aſide the particulars contained within the firſt Pages, leading on by way of introduction to the inſuing troubles, which I have taken up on truſt out of the moſt approved Authors both ancient and modern, who have written the ſtory of *Ireland*, I may confidently avow, that I have been ſo curious in gathering up my materials, and ſo careful in putting them together, as very few paſſages will be found here inſerted which have not either fallen within the compaſs of my own knowledge, or that I have not received from thoſe who were chiefly intruſted in matter of action abroad; or that came not to my hands atteſted under the oaths of credible witneſſes, or clearly aſſerted in the voluntary confeſſions of the Rebels themſelves.

Every man I believe will eaſily aſſent unto me, that out of theſe Fountains we may preſume with moſt certainty to draw truth, and that if we bound our inquiries within this circuit, we may well hope to arrive at the true knowledge of the main particular paſſages of this late Rebellion. And therefore though I ſhall not obtrude every thing as infallible, which by a ſtrict and moſt ſevere inquiſition I have taken upon the grounds before mentioned (conſidering how ſubject men are through forgetfulneſs and humane imbecillity to err in the ordinary courſe of their relations) yet thus much I ſuppoſe I may confidenly ſay, that no man could imagine how to make collections with greater certainty, and more clear unqueſtionable probabilities of truth then I have here ſet down.

Now as for the examinations here mentioned, howſoever they were taken with all the care and circumſpection that could poſſibly be uſed in ſo great a work, yet are they moſt commonly decried, and held by the *Iriſh* as very injurious to their Countrymen. Thus much I ſhall be bold to aver and ſhall here ſpeak it for the better authority and credit of the evidence brought in by them.

Firſt, That as the Commiſſions for taking thoſe examinations were after mature deliberation iſſued out by ſpecial order from the Lords Juſtices and Council; ſo they were in great wiſdom deſigned by them for no other ends then to have ſome general account of the loſes ſuffered by the Britiſh, and the cruelties exerciſed by the Iriſh upon them in the ſeveral parts of the Kingdom. And this courſe was firſt ſet on foot in the very height of our troubles, when the fury of the Rebels ſo deſperately raged, as they were in no condition to think of the attainting of their perſons, and therefore only aimed at the diſcovery of their treaſon. Out of which reſpect chiefly the Commiſſioners made choice of for the performance of this ſervice, were ſix of the Clergy, all perſons of known integrity; and ſuch as by reaſon of their profeſſion, would in all probability gently proceed on in their inquiſitions, and truly ſet down the bloody relations given in unto them. The perſons examined were of ſeveral conditions, moſt of them Britiſh ſome of Iriſh birth and extraction, very many of good quality, and ſuch as were of inferiour rank were not rejected if they were known ſufferers, and came freely in to declare what they could ſpeak of their own knowledge. Few came but ſuch as had been in the hands of the Rebels, and could with ſorrowful hearts make the ſad relation of their own miſeries. And ſo they having been eye-witneſſes, their depoſitions are for the moſt part out of their own knowledge; and what is given in by them upon hear-ſay, they for the moſt part depoſe, that they received it out of the Rebels own mouths while they were in reſtraint among them. Laſtly, many of theſe miſerable perſons thus examined, came up wounded, others even almoſt famiſhed; or ſo worn out with their ſufferings, as they did not long out-live the date of their exa-

minations: So as these testimonies being delivered in their last agonies, we are in charity to believe that they would leave behind them with all due circumstances, a clear attestation of such cruelties as they then bequeathed unto us with their last breath.

Mr Creighton *in his Examination deposeth, That he heard many bitter words cast out against the City of* Dublin, *That they would burn and ruin it, destroy all Records, and Monuments of the English Government; Make Laws against speaking English, & that all names given by English to places, should be abolished, & the ancient names restored.*

But it is not much to be wondered, if they who had it in design to destroy all the publick Records and ancient Monuments in the Kingdom, to banish both the English Law and Government, do so bitterly declaim against these evidences of their cruelty, and lively attestations given in to perpetuate the memory of them to their eternal infamy.

If they could imagine which way to silence, or by what means to blast the credit of these examinations thus solemnly taken, and prevail according to their most impetuous desires upon the late Treaty of Peace, to have all the indictments legally put in against the principal Rebels and their adherents, taken off the file and cancelled, they would not be out of hope, as these times now are to palliate their Rebellion with such specious pretences, as that their barbarous cruelties, acted beyond all parallel being forgotten, it should with great applause pass down to posterity, under the name of a holy and just war for the defence of the Catholick Cause.

And now in order to this design, they have taken all occasions to proclaim the huge pressures which they pretend to have suffered under the late government in this Kingdom, and spare not to term it tyrannical: they speak as if their oppressions might be paralleled with the Israelitish envassalage in the Land of *Ægypt*, and their persecutions, for Religion equalled to those of the Primitive times. And then they further say, *That thereupon only some Catholicks, considering the deplorable and desperate condition they were in, and apprehending the plots laid to extinguish their Religion, and Nation, did take arms in the North in maintenance of their Religion, and for the preservation of life, liberty, and estate; together with his Majesty's rights. And that the Lords and Gentlemen dwelling within the English Pale, were likewise by the great rigour and severity used by the State towards them, enforced to take up arms for their own defence.*

A Remonstrance of grivances presented to his Majesty in behalf of the Catholicks of *Ireland*, and given in to his Majesty, scommissioners at *Trym* March 17. 1642.

These are the expressions and the language used in the late Remonstrance given in to his Majesty's Commissioners at *Trym*, to be presented to his Majesty in behalf of his Catholick Subjects in *Ireland*. Wherein there are pieced together so many vain inconsiderable fancies, many subsequent passages acted in the prosecution of the war, and such bold, notorious, false assertions, without any the least ground or colour of truth: as without all doubt they absolutely resolved, first, to raise this Rebellion, and then to set their Lawyers and Clergy on work, to frame such reasons and motives as might with some colour of justification serve for arguments to defend it. And it is indeed, to speak plainly, a most infamious Pamphlet, full fraught with scandalous aspersions cast upon the present government, and his Majesty's principal Officers of State within this Kingdom. It was certainly framed with most virulent intentions, not to present their condition and present sufferings to his Majesty, but that it might be dispersed to gain belief among foraign States abroad, as well as discontented persons at home; and so draw assistance and aid, to foment and strengthen their Rebellious party in *Ireland*.

But I do not much wonder they should take thus upon them to abuse the world with such scurrilous discourses, and thereby endeavour to raise some ground or belief that they had just cause to enter into so desperate a Rebellion. This hath been an ordinary course ever held in all designs of this nature. And it is well observed by *Polybius*, that there are commonly to be found in all such great undertakings, *Causæ suasoriæ*, and *causæ justificæ*. The first, such as are the true natural causes and really first in the intention;

tention; the other, ſuch as are moſt commonly obtruded to the world by way of cover and juſtification. Now as the nature of water is moſt clearly ſeen in the firſt Fountain, where it remains pure and unmixed, without any droſs or ſoil that it afterwards contracts, as it paſſeth along in the ſtreams derived from it: So certainly the quality of all human actions is beſt underſtood, and moſt clearly diſcerned, when we look upon them as they appear in their firſt original, before the inconveniencies and fatal miſcarriages which afterwards came to be diſcovered, awake the firſt Projectors, and teach them new artifices wherewith they diſguiſe and colour over their abortive, or otherwiſe unfortunate counſels. Now as for the true Suaſorian cauſes (if I may ſo term them) which induced the Iriſh to lay the plot of this Rebellion, and were indeed really firſt in their thoughts, they will ſufficiently appear in this enſuing Story. And for the juſtificial reaſons of their riſing in Arms, if any one hath a mind to take them up on truſt from themſelves, let him ſeek no further than the Remonſtrance before mentioned; whereof much more is to be ſaid than I ſhall give my ſelf liberty to ſpeak in this place: well knowing that thoſe notorious untruths and wicked impoſtures contained in it when they come to the *reſt* will be quickly diſcovered, and the varniſh they have put upon them ſoon fall away of it ſelf.

If any one hath been ignorantly deluded hereby, and deſires to be rectified in his own judgment, let him be pleaſed to turn over this enſuing Story,

Verum eſt index ſui & obliqui:

There needs certainly no other confutation of their falſe and virulent ſuggeſtions, than a true impartial relation of the firſt beginnings and progreſs of this Rebellion: which for what was acted within the ſpace of the firſt two months after the breaking out of it, I preſume I may ſay without Vanity, he ſhall certainly find here. It is true, I have principally applyed my ſelf to give an account of what was done about *Dublin*, the chief City of this Kingdom, and the place where the Lords Juſtices and Council contiuued uſing their utmoſt power and endeavours to oppoſe the fury of the Rebels. Yet as all other parts of the Kingdom were under their Government, and their Care and Counſels (as far as their general diſtractions would admit) extended to the whole, what was acted in all other places of the Country, comes properly to be touched upon, and the miſerable condition of them to be repreſented in this following Story.

I ſhall not here trouble the Reader with any further Apology for my ſelf, or with excuſes for the multitude of my own imperfections, which will here appear in large Characters; and will be peradventure looked upon with a Multiplying Glaſs by thoſe who are not pleaſed with what I have here expoſed to Publick view. I do not at all pretend to ſilence the bitter expreſſions of malevolent Spirits: As I ſhall with great patience compoſe my ſelf to bear the utmoſt that their malice can put upon me: So I ſhall be always ready with much meekneſs to ſubmit to be reformed by any perſon whatſoever, who can make it appear, that I have either through ignorance or negligence (for I am ſure wilful miſtakes they will find none) miſcarried in the relation of any particular here ſet down: Sins of Ignorance found a very eaſie expiation under the Old Law, I will not ſay they had a pardon of courſe. But if I have ſo carried my ſelf, as that no greater tranſgreſſions can be laid to my charge, I ſhall be much ſatisfied, and may peradventure be further encouraged to proceed on to a continuation of this Story, and therein to tranſmit down to poſterity the noble atchievements and great Victories already obtained by ſmall numbers of the Engliſh forces over huge multitudes of theſe Iriſh Rebels.

The

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BRITISH MUSEUM 30 67 MAR

THE Iriſh Rebellion:

OR,

An Hiſtory of the Beginnings, and Firſt Progreſs of the General Rebellion Raiſed within the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in the Year 1641.

THE Kingdom of *Ireland* (which hath for almoſt Five hundred years continued under the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*) was preſently after the firſt Conqueſt of it, planted with *Engliſh* Colonies, long ſince worn out, or for the moſt part become *Iriſh*. And therefore it hath again in this laſt Age been ſupplied with great numbers of People drawn out of *England* and *Scotland*, to ſettle their Habitations in that Country. Now the moſt execrable plot laid by the *Iriſh*, for the Univerſal extirpation of all theſe *Britiſh* and *Proteſtants*, the bloody progreſs of their Rebellion within the compaſs of the firſt two months; their horrid cruelties, in moſt barbarouſly murdering, or otherwiſe deſtroying many thouſands of men, women and children, peaceably ſettled, and ſecurely intermixed among them, and that without any provocation, or conſiderable reſiſtance at firſt made, I intend ſhall be the preſent ſubject of the firſt Part of this enſuing Story.

The Original of the *Iriſh*.

The *Iriſh* want not many Fabulous Inventions to magnifie the very firſt beginnings of their Nation: Whether the *Scythians*, *Gauls*, *Africans*, *Goths*, or ſome other more Eaſtern Nation that anciently inhabited *Spain*, came and ſate down firſt in *Ireland*, I ſhall not much trouble my ſelf here to enquire. If we ſhould give credit to the *Iriſh* Chronicles or their Bards (who deliver no certain truths) we might find ſtuff enough for an ancient pedegree, made up out of a moſt various ſtrange compoſure of the *Iriſh* Nation. But to let them paſs, there are certainly a concurrence of divers manners and cuſtoms, ſuch affinity of ſeveral of their words and names,

and so great resemblance of many long used rites, and still retained ceremonies as do give us some ground to beleive that they do not improbably deduce their first original from some of those people. It may very well be conjectured (for infalliable Records I find none) that as the Eastern parts of *Ireland*, bordering upon *England* were first planted by the old Britains: **Toole*, *Birne* & *Cauvenagh* the ancient Septs, and still inhabitants of that part of the Country, being old *British* words. And as the Northern parts of *Ireland* were first inhabited by the *Sythians*, from whom it was called** *Scytenland*, or *Scotland*: So the Southern and more Western parts thereof were peopled from the Maritime parts of *Spain*, being the next continent, not by the now Spanish Nation, who are strangely compounded of a different mixture of several people: But as I said, peradventure by the *Gaules*, who anciently inhabited all the Sea-coasts of *Spain*, the *Syrians*, or some other of those more Eastern Nations, who intermixing with the natural Inhabitants of that Country, made a transmigration into *Ireland*, and so settled some colonies there.

*Tools of the old Britain word *Toll*, a hill-Country. *Brime* of *Brin*, woods. *Canvenagh* of *Canve* strong. The view of *Ireland* by *Spencer* f. 33.

** *Ireland* is often called *Scotia Major* among ancient writers.

The whole Kingdom of *Ireland* was divided into divers petty principalities, of later times there were five principal Chieftains, *viz.* *Mac-Morough* of *Leinster*, *Mac-Cartye* of *Munster*, *O Neal* of *Ulster*, *O Connor* of *Conaght*, & *O Malaghlin* of *Meath*. For such were the Irish denominations, and I do not find they were called Kings till about the time of the coming over of the English, *Giraldus Cambrensis* who came into *Ireland* in the time of *Hen.* 2 of *England*, being the first writer that gives them that title. Besides, as they came not in either by hereditary right or lawful Election, so their Investiture was solemnized neither by Unction, or Coronation, they made their way by the Sword, had certain kinds of barbarous cerimonies used at their Inauguration, kept up their power with a high hand, and held the people most monstrously enslaved to all the savage customs practised under their dominion. And thus they continued until the Reign of *Hen.* 2, King of *England* in whose time the undertakings for the Conquest of *Ireland* were successfully made by most powerful, though private adventures upon this occasion.

Ireland anciently divided into divers petty principalities. *Neque enim unquam fuerunt ordinati solemnitate ullâ, cujus ordinis, nec unctionis sacramento, nec juramento, nec aliqua proprietatis successione, sed vi & armis qui libet regnum suum obtinuit.*

Dermott Mac-Morough King of *Leinster* (being by the Kings of *Conaght* & *Meath* enforced to flie his country) made his repair directly to *Henry* 2. King of *England*, then personally attending his Wars in *France*, and with much earnestness implored his aid for the recovery of his territories in *Ireland*, most injuriously, as he pretended, wrested out of his hands. The King refused to imbarque himself in this quarrel: yet graciously recomended the Justice of his cause to all his loving Subjects, and by his Letters Patents assured them that whosoever would afford the said *Mac Morough* assistance towards his resettlement, should not only

The black book of Christ church in *Dublin*, it is an ancient Manuscript kept there.

The first enterprise of the *English* upon *Ireland* made by privare adventures.

only have free liberty to transport their Forces, but be held to do very acceptable service therein. Hereupon Earl *Strangebow* first engaging himself, determined as a private Adventurer to endeavour his restitution with the utmost force he could raise, he lying then very conveniently at *Bristol*, where *Mac-Morough* came unto him, in his passage back from the King into *Ireland*; There were certain conditions agreed upon between them, and a transaction made by *Mac-Morough* of his Kingdom of *Lemster* unto the Earl, upon his marriage with his only daughter *Eva*. And so he being desirous to return speedily into his own Country, past to St. *Davids* in *South-Wales*, from whence is the shortest passage out of *England* into *Ireland*, and there he further engaged *Fitz-Stephen* & *Fitz-Gerald*, private Gentlemen, in this service: These, by their power among their Country-men in those parts, having gotten together a party of 490 men, transported them in three ships into *Ireland*, landing at the *Banne*, a little Creek near *Featherd* in the County of *Wexford*, and there joyning with some Forces brought unto them by *Mac-Morough*, made their first attempt upon the town of *Wexford*, they were Gallantly seconded by Earl *Strang bow*, who followed presently after with no very considerable forces: & yet by the power of their arms, within a very short time prevailed so far in the Country, as they made themselves Masters thereof, & so gained the possession of all the maritime parts of *Leinster*.

Se nostram ad hoc tam gratiam mereri quam licentiam obtinere. Gir. Cambren. expugnat. Hib. c. 1.

Camba. cap. 1.

King *Henry* upon the news of their prosperous success in the sudden reducement of so large a territory by such inconsiderable forces as they carried with them; desirous to share with his Subjects in the rich fruits, as well as in the glory of so great an action, undertook an expedition in his own person into *Ireland* the year following. And so strange an influence had the very presence of this great Prince into the minds of the rude savage Natives, as partly by the power of his arms, partly by his grace & favour in receiving of them in upon their fained submissions most humbly tendred unto him, he easily subdued a barbarous divided people.

K. Henry the 2. his expedition into *Ireland*. An. 1172.

The first beginnings of the Conquest of this Kingdom were thus gloriously laid by this King, in the year of our Lord 1172. Now for the Land it self, he found it good & flourishing with many excellent commodities, plentifull in all kinds of provision, the Soil rich and fertile, the Air sweet & temperate, the Heavens very safe and commodious, several Towns and little Villages scattered up and down in the several parts of the Country; but the Buildings so poor and contemptible, as when that King arrived at *Dublin* their chief City, and finding there neither place fit for receipt or entertainment, he set up a long house made of smoothed wattles after the manner of the Country, and therein kept his Christmas. All their Forts, Castles, stately buildings & other edifices were afterwards erected by the

Ang. How then English, except some of their maritime towns which were built by the Ostmanni or Easterlings who anciently came and inhabited in Ireland.

Moreover he found likewise by several monuments of piety, and other remarkable testimonies, that Christian Religion had been long since introduced and planted among the inhabitants of the Land. It is not certainly without some good grounds affirmed by ancient writers, That in the fourth age after the incarnation of our blessed Lord & Saviour, some holy & learned men came over out of Foreign parts into *Ireland*, out of their pious desires to propogate the blessed Gospel throughout the Kingdom, as *Sedulius*, *Palladius*, & besides several others *Patricius* the famious *Irish* Saint (A *Britain* born at a place now called *Kirk-Patrick* near *Glascow* in *Scotland*, then the utmost boundary of the *Britains* dominions in those parts) who out of meer devotion came and spent much of their time among the *Irish*, & out of their zealous affections for the coveration of a barbarous people, applied themselves with great care & industry to the instructing of them in the true grounds & principals of Christian Religion. And with so great success, & such unwearied endeavours did S. *Patrick* travel in this work, as if we will give credit to some writers) we must believe that the Church of *Armagh* was by him erected into an Archiepiscopal See, three hundred & fifty Bishops consecrated, great numbers of Clergy-men instituted, who (notwithstanding the notorious impiety & continued prophaness of the common sort of people) being most of them Monks by vow & profession, of great learning, very austere & strict in their discipline, were so much taken notice of in those rude ignorant times, by other Nations, as in respect of them some gave unto the Island the denomination of *Insula Sanctorum*. But so quickly did the power of holiness decay in the land, as the name was soon lost, & even the very prints & *characters* thereof among the very Clergy themselves obliterated; the life of the people so beastly, their manners so depraved and barbarous, as that King *Henry*, when he entertained the first thoughts of transfering his Arms over into *Ireland*, made suit unto the Pope, that he would give him leave to go & conquer *Ireland*, & reduce those beastly men unto the way of truth. Answerable whereunto was the tenor of Pope *Adrians* Bull, as appears at large in *Parisiensis*, whereby he gave him liberty to go over & subdue the *Irish* Nation. A sufficient demonstration of the condition of that people, and what opinion was held of them, as well by the holy Father the Pope as other Princes. And the King at his arival found them no other than a beastly people indeed. For the Inhabitants were generally devoid of all manner of civility, governed by no setled law, living like beasts, biting and devouring one another, without all rules, customs, or reasonable constitutions either for regulation of

Ang. How then calls it *Palatium regium miro artificio de virgis levigatis ad modum patriæ illius constructum.* fol. 528.

Christian Religion settled in Ireland.

a. *Sedulius, Palladius, Patricius*, in the fourth age after the birth of our Saviour

Rex Anglorum Hen. nuncios sol mes Romam mittens rogavit Papam Adrianum ut sibi licent Hiberniæ Insulam intrare, & terram subjugare atque homines illos bestiales ad fidem, & viam reducere veritatis. Mat. Paris. Anno 1156.

Property, or againſt open force and violence, moſt notorious murthers, rapes, robberies, and all other acts of inhumanity and barberiſm, raging without controul or due courſe of puniſhment. Whereupon, He, without any manner of ſcruple, or farther inquiſition into particular titles, reſolving as it ſeems to make good by the ſword the Popes donation, made a general ſeizure of all the lands of the whole Kingdom, and ſo without other ceremony took them all into his own hands.

And that he might the more ſpeedily introduce Religion and civility, and ſo draw on towards the accompliſhment of that great work which he had ſo gloriouſly begun, he Firſt, in a great Councel held at *Liſſemore*, cauſed the Laws of *England* to be received & ſettled in *Ireland*, then he afterwards united it to the Imperial Crown of *England*, making large diſtributions to his followers by particular grants, allotting out in great proportions the whole Land of *Ireland* among the *Engliſh* Commanders, who made eſtates, and gave ſeveral ſhares to thier freinds and commilitants that came over private adventurers with them. But before I paſs further, I ſhall take the liberty here to inſert one obſervation out of *Giraldus Cambrenſis* concerning the cauſe and reaſons of the proſperity of the *Engliſh* undertakings in *Ireland*. He ſaith that a Synod, or Counſel of the Clergy, being there aſſembled at *Armagh*, and that point fully debated, it was unanimouſly agreed by them all, that the ſins of the people were the occaſion of that heavy judgment then fallen upon their Nation, and that eſpecially their buying of *Engliſh* men from Merchants and Pirates, and detaining them under a moſt miſerable hard bondage, had cauſed the Lord by way of juſt retaliation, to leave them to be reduced by the *Engliſh* to the ſame ſlavery. Whereupon they made a publick act in that Council, that all the *Engliſh* held in captivity throughout the whole Land, ſhould be preſently reſtored to their former liberty. If ſo heavy a judgement fell then upon the *Iriſh* for their hard uſage of ſome few *Engliſh*, what are they now to expect? or what expiration can they now pretend to make for the late effuſion of ſo much innocent *Engliſh* blood, after ſo horrid, deſpiteful and execrable a manner? There being ſince the Rebellion firſt brake out, unto the time of the Ceſſation made *Sept.* 15. 1643 which was not full two years after, above 300000 *Britiſh* & *Proteſtants* cruelly murthered in cold blood, deſtroyed ſome other way, or expelled out of their habitations, according to the ſtricteſt conjecture & computation, of thoſe who ſeemed beſt to underſtand the numbers of *Engliſh* planted in *Ireland*, beſides thoſe few which periſhed in the heat of fight, during the war.

King *John* came into *Ireland* during his minority, thought to little purpoſe, but after, about the twelfth year of his Reign, upon the general

Rex antiquum ab Hibernia redibat concilium congregavit apud Liſſemore, ubi leges Angliæ abomnibus generaliter ſunt acceptæ & judicia ſecundum conſuetudinem præſtitutæ ſunt firmiter. Mat. Paris. An. 1172.

Ireland civilized by *K. Hen.* 2. among his followers, and other adventurers.

Decretum eſt itaque prædicto concilio, & cum univerſitatis conſenſu publice Statutum: ut Angli ubique per inſulam ſervitutis vinculo manciparii in priſtinam recurrent libertatem. Giraldus expug. Hib. cap. 18.

The numbers of *Britiſh* & *Proteſtants* deſtroyed ſince the Rebellion

The fruitless expeditions of K. *John*, & K. *Richard* 2. to *Ireland*.

ral defection of the *Iriſh*, he made a Second expedition, and during his ſtay there, built ſeveral Forts and ſtrong Caſtles, many of which remain unto this day, he erected all the Courts of Judicature, and contributed very much towards the ſettlement of the *Engliſh* Colonies, as alſo of the civil Government K. *Richard* the Second made likewiſe in the time of his Reign, upon the ſame occaſion two other expeditions into *Ireland* in his own perſon. But both thoſe Princes out of a deſire to ſpare the effuſion of *Engliſh* blood, as alſo the expence of treaſure, being likewiſe haſtned back by the diſtempers of their own Subjects in *England*, were both content to ſuffer themſelves to be again abuſed by the fained ſubmiſſions of the *Iriſh*, who finding their own weakneſs, and utter diſability to reſiſt the power of thoſe two mighty Monarchs, came with all humility even from the fartheſt parts of the Kingdom, to ſubmit to their mercy: And yet it is well obſerved by ſome that ſay they returned back, not leaving one true ſubject more behind them, then they found at their firſt arrival. Howſoever by the very preſence of theſe Princes, and by the careful endeavours of the Governours ſent over by other of the Kings of *England*, thoſe that were Adventurers in the firſt Conqueſt, and ſuch other of the *Engliſh* Nation as came over afterwards took poſſeſſion by vertue of the former grants of the whole Kingdom, drove the *Iriſh* in a manner out of all the habitable parts of it, and ſettled themſelves in all the plains and fertile place of the Country, eſpecially in the chief Towns, Ports, and upon the Sea-coaſts. And to ſuch a height of power and greatneſs had ſome of thoſe firſt Adventuring Commanders raiſed themſelves here by reaſon of the addition of new titles of honour, the unlimited juriſdictions and priviledges enjoyed by them, the great rents they received, the numerous dependance they had as that they began to look upon their own poſſeſſions as circumſcribed within two narrow limits, to entertain private animoſities againſt each other, to draw in the *Iriſh* (whom they had driven up into the mountains, and ever eſteemed as their moſt deadly enemies) to take part in their quarrels, being not aſhamed to uſe their aſſiſtance for the enlargement of their own private teritories, as alſo to curb the too exhorbitant power, as they thought, of their oppoſites, though their own compatriots & jointenants in the poſſeſſion of that good land.

The ancient malice of the *Iriſh* to the *Engliſh*.

The *Iriſh* were very glad to entertain this occaſion & did ever foment by their utmoſt power and artifice theſe unnatural broils and diſſentions among the *Engliſh*, whom they moſt mortally hated: For they living in a manner out of the reach, as well as out of the protection of all the *Engliſh* Laws & Government, were always accounted not only as aliens, but meer enemies; And beſides thoſe Septs of *Iriſh* which were termed the *Quinque familiæ* (who notwithſtanding the great priviledges they enjoyed

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by the protection of the *English* Laws, ever shewed much averseness both to the *English*, and their Laws. No other persons of any Irish families, from the very first conquest of *Ireland* in the time of *Hen.* 2. until the reign of King *Hen.* 8. were admitted into the condition of Subjects, or received any benefit by the English Laws, but such as purchased Charters of Denization. It was no capital offence to kill any of them, the Law did neither protect their life, nor revenge their death. And so they living upon the mountains in the boggs and woods, though at first after some sort divided from the English, did take all occasions to declare their malice and hatred against the English colonies planted near unto them.

Quinque familiæ O Neale de Ulton. O Milaghlin de Melin. O Connor de Connacia. O Brien de Thomondia. Mac-Morough de Lagenia.

But howsoever the English were in all ages infested with their Irish enemies, yet were they certainly in point of interest and Universal possession, owners & properties of the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*. They kept themselves in entire bodies almost for the first hundread years after their arrival, not suffering the Irish to live promiscuously among them, by which means they failed not to make good their footing, and by a high hand to keep them under in due obedience & subjecton to the Crown of *England*. And when afterwards they began to be more careless of their habitation, & to suffer the Irish to intermingle with them & their *English* followers to familiarize themselves into their beastly manners and customs (for prevention of which mischief, many severe Laws were enacted in after ages yet for some time they made good the rights & possessions they had gotten by conquest, and went on, endeavouring to civilize the people, introducing the English Laws, language, habit, & customs long used among them. Now although these, and all other courses were taken by them, which might reclaim such as seemed any ways inclinable to civility, or would take out Charters of Denization; yet such ever was, and still is the rough rebellious disposition of the people, their hatred so implacable, their malice so unappeaseable to all the English Nation, as no Laws or gentle Constitutions would work, no publick benefits temper, or any tract of time reconcile and draw them to any tolerable patience of cohabitation; But they have in all times continued to take all advantages, as well since they were admitted into the condition of Subjects, as while they were esteemed and treated as enemies, most perfidiously to rise up and imbrue their hands in the blood of their English neighbours: So as *Ireland* hath long remained a true *Aceldama*, a field of blood, an unsatiated sepulcher of the English Nation. For what by reason of their own intestine broiles, after they had (as soon they did, when they began to admit the intermixture of the Irish) most barbarously degenerate into all their manners and customs; and what by reason of the cruel hatred and mischievous attempts of the Irish upon them: We shall not

By the Statutes made at *Kilkenny* by *Lionel* Duke of Clarence, *L.* Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the time of *Edw.* 3. Alliance by marriage, nurture of Infants, and gossipred with the *Irish* are high treason. And if any *English* man should use the Irish language, Irish name, or Irish apparel, his lands should be seised on, & if he had no lands, he was to suffer imprisonment. *Archiv. in castro Dublin* Statutes of *Kilkenny*.

In that space of time which was between the 10 year of *Edw.* 2. and the 30 year of *Edw.* 3. all the old English colonies in *Munster*, *Conaught* and *Ulster*, and more then a Third part of *Leinster* became degenerate, and fell away from the Crown of *England*, so as the English Pale remained only under the obedience of the Law.

The Royal endeavours of Queen *Eliz.* for the reducing of *Ireland*.

* The Lands belonging to the *Irish*, were divided into several territories, and the Inhabitants in every *Irish* Country were divided into several Septs or Lineages —— In every *Irish* Country there was a Lord or Chieftain, and a Tanist, which was his Successor apparent. None could be chosen Tanist, but one issued out of one of the chief Septs—The Seignory and Lands belonging to the chief Lord, did not descend from Father to Son, or upon default of Issue to him that was next of kin: But he that was most active, of greatest power, and had most followers, always caused himself to be chosen Tanist; and if he could not compass his desires by gentle means, then he used open force and violence; and so being declared as it were heir apparent, came into possession upon the death of the chief Lord —— Now for the inferior Septs, they held their Lands at the will of the chief Lord, after a sort; For after the death of every one of his Tenants which held any Land under him, he assembled the whole Septs, and having put all their possessions together in hotch potch, made a new partition among them, not assigning to the Son of him that died, the Land held by his Father, but altering every mans possession at his own pleasure, and according to his own discretion: he, upon the death of every inferior Tenant, made a general remove, and so alotted to every one of the Sept such part as he thought fit. And this was the *Irish* Gavelkind. Sir *John Davies* Rep. *fol.* 49.

And that the English, from their first access into *Ireland*, unto the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, (a tract of time containing above 380 years) had any settled peace or comfortable subsistence, but were in most perpetual combustions and troubles, so extremely harassed and over-worn with misery, as they were not long likely to survive the universal calamity that had over-spread the face of the whole Kingdom.

Whereupon that blessed Queen, out of her pious intentions, and good affections to her people, applied her self with great care to redress the disorders of her Subjects in *Ireland*. And in the very beginning of her Reign, sending over Prudent and Religious Governours, the work of Reformation was much advanced, by many wholesome Laws enacted against the barbarous Customs of the *Irish*; and the execution of Justice (which a long time continued within the limits of the Pale) began now to be extended into *Conaught*, *Ulster* and other remote parts of the Land at some intervals of quiet times. The *Irish* Countries were reduced into Shires, and Sheriffs with some other Ministers of Justice placed in them: The pretended Captainships, and those high powers usurped by the *Irish*, together with all the extortions, and other fearful exorbitancies incident to them, were now put into such a way of declination, as they could not long continue. Seignories and Possessions were settled in a due course of Inheritance; those most destructive customs of * *Tanestry* and *Gavelkind* began to be depressed; The two Presidential Courts of *Munster* and *Conaught* were then instituted and special order taken that Free-schools might be erected in the several Dioceses throughout the Kingdom, for the better training up of Youth But these acts, and other courses tending to the advancement of true Religion, and Civility, were highly displeasing, and most incompatible with the loose humours of the Natives,

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who apprehended even the most gentle means of reformation, as sharp corroding medicines; And thereupon pretending the burthen of the *English* government most insupportable, began desperately to struggle for their liberty. Several plots were laid, some even by those who were themselves of the old *English* by extraction: divers Rebellions and petty Revolts raised during Her Majesty's most happy reign: That of *Shan O Neal*, the Earl of *Desmond*, Viscount *Baltinglas*, *O Burke*, and several others at other times, were all set on foot for this very end, and all timely suppressed, partly by the power of the Queens forces, partly by her gracious favour in receiving the Chieftains to mercy. And she, as most unwearied with their never ceasing provocations, still went on with all gentle applications and lenitives, for the withdrawing of the people from their barbarous customs: As several of the great Lords who had been out in *Rebellion*, were restored to their lands and possessions, others she suffered to enjoy their Commands in the Country, upon others she bestowed new titles of Honour. And being very unwilling to put the Kingdom of *England* to such an excessive charge, as the full conquest of *Ireland* would most necessarily require; no fair means were left untried, that could minister any hopes of civilizing the people, or settling the present distractions of the Kingdom.

Non nulli ex claris in Lagenia familiis & plerique Anglicæ originis partim ex Romanæ religionis studio, partim ex edio recentium Anglorum, conspirare cuperant ad proregem, cum familia opprimendum, castrum Dublinense intercipiendum, & Anglos in Hibernia ad unum è medio tollendos Camden. Eliz. An. 22.

But all was in vain; the matter then wrought upon was not susceptible of any such noble forms, those ways were heterogeneal, and had no manner of influence upon the perverse dispositions of the *Irish*: the malignant impressions of irreligion and barbarism, transmitted down, whether by infusion from their ancestors, or natural generation, had irrefragably stiffned their necks, and hardned their hearts against all the most powerful endeavours of *Reformation*: They continued one and the same in all their wicked customs and inclinations, without change in their affections or manners, having their eyes enflamed, their hearts enraged with malice and hatred against all of the *English* Nation, breathing forth nothing but their ruin, destruction, and utter extirpation.

The Irish not to be reclaimed by gentle means.

And that they might at once dis-impester themselves of their unpleasing company, & disburthen the whole Kingdom of them and their posterity, they still entertained new thoughts, & had now brought unto perfection a design long meditated in their breasts, whereby they resolved at once clearly to rescue & deliver themselves from their subjection to the Crown of *England*. And this was that desperate *Rebellion* raised almost through the whole Kingdom, by *Hugh* E. of *Tyron*, who after titles of Honour, received a command given by the Queen unto him both of Horse and Foot in her Pay, great proportions of Land, & other Princely favours conferred upon him; *Resolving* at once to cancel all those *Royal* obligations of

Tyron's rebellion.

gratitude & fidelity, broak out and drew along with him moſt of all the *Iriſh* Septs and Families, together with many degenerate *Engliſh* throughout the Kingdom, into rebellion againſt his moſt gracious undoubted Sovereign. And theſe all, as being univerſally actuated with the venemous infuſions of his malevolent ſpirit, uniting their whole intereſts and forces into a firm conjuncture with him, raiſed all their dependants, and moved in ſeveral places according to the ſeveral orders & directions they received from him: & to fill up the full meaſure of his iniquity, he drew in foreign Nation at the ſame time with conſiderable forces to invade the land.

The ill effects of the ſubmiſſions of the *Iriſh*.

So as the Queen now found by woful experience, that *Ireland* was no longer to be daillied with, one *Rebellion* ſtill begot another, and this laſt was more dangerous then any of the former, it being more deeply rooted, more generally ſpread within the Kingdom, more powerfully fomented from without. She well diſcerned how much her great clemency had been abuſed in ſuffering former rebellions to be ſmothered over & looſely pieced up with protections & pardons; that the receiving of the *Iriſh* upon their ſubmiſſions, to avoid the charge of a war, did inevitably redouble the charge, & perpetuate the miſeries of war: therefore ſhe now reſolved no longer to triſle with them, but vigorouſly to ſet to the work, and making choice of ſome of her moſt renowned *Engliſh* commanders, committed to their charge the conduct of an Army Royal, compleatly armed, and well paid, wherewith they began the proſecution of that Arch-traitour *Tyron*, and with great ſucceſs in a ſhort time, though not without the expence of much *Engliſh* blood, and above a million of money, brought him upon his knees. And howſoever before this glorious work was fully accompliſhed, it pleaſed God to put a period to her days, yet lived ſhe long enough to ſee juſt vengance brought down upon the head of that unnatural diſturber of the peace of the Kingdom, himſelf in a manner wholly deſerted, his Country moſt miſerably waſted, and a general deſolation and famine brought in, mightily conſuming what was left undevoured by the ſword.

The miſerable condition of *Ireland* when K. *James* came to the Crown of *England*.

It is very eaſie to conjecture in what a moſt miſerable condition *Ireland* then was, the *Engliſh* Colonies being for the moſt part barberouſly rooted out, the remainders degenerated into *Iriſh* manners & names, the very *Iriſh* themſelves moſt mightily waſted & deſtroyed by the late wars, and thereby much of the Kingdom depopulated, in every place large monuments of calamity and undiſcontinued troubles. King *James* of bleſſed memory found it, at his firſt acceſſion to the Crown of *England*, in this deplorable eſtate; whereupon he preſently took into his care the peaceable ſettlement of *Ireland*, and civilizing of the people: And conceiving that the powerful conjunction of *England* & *Scotland* would now over aw the *Iriſh* and contain them in their due obedience, He reſolved not to take

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any advantage of those forfeitures and great confiscations which he was most justly intituled unto by *Tyron*'s Rebellion; but out of his Royal bounty and Princely magnificence, restored all the Natives to the entire possession of their own lands, A work most munificent in it self, and such as he had reason to believe would for the time to come perpetually oblige their obedience to the Crown of *England*. And in this state the Kingdom continued under some indifferent terms of peace and tranquility, until the sixth year of his Reign; Then did the Earl of *Tyrone* take up new thoughts of rising in arms, and into his Rebellious design he easily drew the whole Province of *Ulster*, then entirely at his devotion; But his plot failed, and he finding himself not able to get together any considerable forces, he with the principal of his adherents, quitting the Kingdom, fled into *Spain*, leaving some busie incendiaries to foment those beginnings he had laid for a new Rebellion in *Ireland*, and promising speedily to return well attended with foreign succours to their aid: But by the great blessing of Almighty God upon the wise Counsels of that King, and the careful endeavours of his vigelant Ministers, the distempers occasioned by the noise of that commotion were soon alayed, and *Tyron* never returning, the peace of the Kingdom much confirmed and settled. King *James* hereupon being now so justly provoked by the high ingratitude of those Rebellious Traitors, caused their persons to be attainted, their lands to be seized, and those six Counties within the Province of *Ulster* which belonged unto them, to be surveyed, and all (except some small parts of them reserved to gratifie the well affected Natives) to be distributed in certain proportions among *British* undertakers, who came over and settled themselves and many other *British* families in those parts: By this means the foundations of some good Towns, soon after encompassed with stone-walls were presently laid, several Castles and Houses of strength built in several parts of the Country, great numbers of *British* inhabitants there settled, to the great comfort and security of the whole Kingdom. And the same course was taken likewise for the better assurance of the peace of the Country, in the plantation of several parts of *Leinster*, where the *Irish* had made incursions, and violently expelled the old *English* out of their possessions. But howsoever the King was by due course of Law justly intituled to all their whole Estates there; yet he was graciously pleased to take but one fourth part of their Lands, which was deliver'd over likewise into the hands of *British* undertakers, who with great cost and much industry planted themselves so firmly as they became of great security to the Country, and were a most especial means to introduce civility in those parts; so as now the whole Kingdom began exceedingly to flourish in costly buildings, and all manner of improvements; the people to multiply and increase, and the very *Irish* seem'd to be much satis-

His lenity towards the *Irish* Rebels, and his endeavours for a civil reformation.

satisfied with the benefits of that peaceable Government, and general tranquility which they so happily enjoyed.

King *Charles* great readiness to redress the grievances presented unto him by the *Irish* Commissioners, 1640.

AND now of late such was the great indulgence of K. *Charles* our Sovereign that now reigneth, to his Subjects of *Ireland*, as that in the year 1640. upon their complaints, and a general Remonstrance sent over unto him from both Houses of Parliament then sitting at *Dublin*, by a Committee of Four Temporal Lords of the upper house, and Twelve Members of the house of Commons, with Instructions to represent the heavy pressures they had for some time suffered under the Government of the Earl of *Strafford*. He took their grievances into his Royal consideration, descended so far to their satisfaction, as that he heard them himself and made present provisions for their redress: And upon the Decease of Mr. *Wandsford* Master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, and then Lord Deputy here under the said Earl of *Strafford*, who still continued Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom (though then accused of High-Treason, and Imprisoned in the Tower of *London*, by the Parliament of *England*) His Majesty sent a Commission of Government to the Lord *Dillon* of *Kilkenny West*, and Sir *William Parsons* Knight and Baronet, Master of the Wards in *Ireland*, yet soon after finding the choice of the Lord *Dillon* to be much disgusted by the Committee, he did at their motion cause the said Commission to be cancelled, and with their consent and approbation, placed the Government upon Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Borlace* Knight, Master of the Ordinance, both esteemed persons of great integrity; and the Master of the Wards, by reason of his very long continued imployment in the State, his particular knowledge of the Kingdom, much valued and well beloved among the people. They took the Sword upon the 9th of *Feb.* 1640. and in the first place they applyed themselves with all manner of gentle lenitives to mollifie the sharp humours raised by the rigid passages in the former Government. They declared themselves against all such proceedings lately used, as they found any ways varying from the Common Law: They gave all due encouragement to the Parliament then sitting, to endeavour the reasonable ease and contentment of the people, freely assenting to all such Acts as really tended to a legal reformation: They betoo'k themselves wholly to the advice of the Council, and caused all matters as well of the Crown, as popular Interest, to be handled in His Majesty's Courts of Justice, no ways admitting the late exorbitancies (so bitterly decried in Parliament) of Paper-petitions, or Bills in Civil Causes, to be brought before them at the Council-board, or before any other by their Authority; They, by His Majesty's gracious directions, gave away to the Parliament to abate the Subsidies (there given in the E. of *Strafford's* time, and then in collection) from 40000 *l.* each Subsidy, to 12000 *l.* apiece, so low did they

The Lords.
L. Viscount *Gormanstone*,
L. Viscount *Kilmaloc*.
L. Viscount *Castelo*,
L. Viscount *Baltinglass*.
Commons.
Leinster.
Nic. Plunket, *Digby*, *Richard Bithgarret*, *Nic. Barnewall*, Esq;
Munster.
Sir *Hardress Waller*, *Jo. Welsh*, Sir *Donogh Mac-Carty*.
Conaught.
Robert Linch, *Geffry Brown*, *Thomas Burk*.
Ulster.
Sir *William Cole*, Sir *James Mongomery*.

Sir *Will. Parsons* and Sir *John Borlace* made L. Justices.

They apply themselves to give contentment to the people.

they think fit to reduce them: And they were further content (becauſe they ſaw His Majeſty moſt abſolutely reſolved to give the *Iriſh* Agents full ſatisfaction) to draw up two Acts to be paſſed in the Parliament, moſt impetuouſly deſired by the Natives: The one was the Act of *Limitations*, which unqueſtionably ſettled all Eſtates of Land in the Kingdom, quietly enjoyed without claim or interruption for the ſpace of ſixty years immediately preceeding; The other was for the relinquiſhment of the right & title which His Majeſty had to the four Counties in *Conaught*, legally found for him by ſeveral inquiſitions taken in them, and ready to be diſpoſed of, upon a due ſurvey, to *Britiſh* undertakers; as alſo to ſome territories of good extent in *Munſter*, and the County of *Clare*, upon the ſame title.

Thus was the preſent Government moſt ſweetly tempered, and carried on with great lenity and moderation; the Lords Juſtices and Council wholly departing from the rigour of former courſes, did gently unbend themſelves into a happy and juſt compliance with the ſeaſonable deſires of the people. And his Majeſty, that he might further teſtify his own ſettled reſolution for the continuation thereof with the ſame tender hand over them, having firſt given full ſatisfaction in all things to the ſaid Committee of Parliament ſtill attending their diſpatch, did about the latter end of *May*, 1641. declare *Robert* E. of *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of *Ireland* He was heir to Sir *Philip Sidney* his Uncle, as well as to Sir *Hen. Sidney* his Grandfather, who with great honour and much integrity long continued chief Governour of *Ireland* during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and being a perſon of excellent abilities by nature, great acquiſitions from his own private induſtry and publick imployment abroad, of exceeding great temper and moderation, was never engaged in any publick preſſures of the Common-wealth, and therefore moſt likely to prove a juſt and gentle Governour, moſt pleaſing and acceptable to the people.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* declared Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, *May*, 1641.

Moreover, the Romiſh Catholicks now privately enjoyed the free exerciſe of their Religion throughout the whole Kingdom, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. They had by the over great indulgence of the late Governours, their titular Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Vicars-general, Provincial conſiſtories, Deans, Abbots, Priors, Nuns, who all lived freely, though ſomewhat covertly among them, and without control, exerciſed a voluntary juriſdiction over them, they had their Prieſts, Jeſuits, and Fryars, who were of late years exceedingly multiplied, and in great numbers returned out of *Spain*, *Italy* and other Foreign parts, where the Children of the Natives of *Ireland* that way devoted, were ſent uſually to receive their educations. And theſe without any manner of reſtraint, had quietly ſettled themſelves in all the chief Towns, Villages, Noblemen and private

The Papiſts permitted privately to enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion.

private Gentlemens houſes throughout the Kingdom. So as the private exerciſe of all their religious rites and ceremonies was freely enjoyed by them, without any manner of diſturbance, and not any of the Laws put in execution, whereby heavy penalties were to be inflicted upon tranſgreſſors in that kind.

The good agreement between the *Iriſh* and *Engliſh* in all parts of the Kingdom.

And for the ancient animoſities and hatred which the *Iriſh* had been ever obſerved to bear unto the *Engliſh* Nation, they ſeemed now to be quite depoſited and buried in a firm conglutination of their affections and National obligations paſſed between them. The two Nations had now lived together 40 years in peace, with great ſecurity and comfort, which had in a manner conſolidated them into one body, knit and compacted together with all thoſe bonds and ligatures of friendſhip, aliance, and conſanguinity as might make up a conſtant a perpetual Union betwixt them. Their intermarriages were frequent, goſſipred, foſtering (relations of much dearneſs among the *Iriſh*) together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood, and ſervice interchangeably paſſed among them. Nay, they had made as it were a kind of mutual tranſmigration into each others manners, many *Engliſh* being ſtrangely degenerated into *Iriſh* affections and cuſtoms, and many *Iriſh*, eſpeciall of the better ſort, having taken up the *Engliſh* language, apparel, and decent manner of living in their private houſes. And ſo great an advantage did they find by the *Engliſh* commerce and cohabitations in the profits and high improvements of their Lands and Native commodities, ſo incomparably beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, or could expect to raiſe by their own proper induſtry, as Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and many others of the prime leaders in this rebellion, had not long before turned their *Iriſh* tenants off their lands, as ſome of them ſaid to me (when I enquired the reaſon of their ſo doing) even to ſtarve upon the Mountains, while they took in *Engliſh*, who were able to give them much greater rents, and more certainly pay the ſame. A matter that was much taken notice of, and eſteemed by many, as moſt highly conducing to the ſecurity of the *Engliſh* Intereſts, and plantation among them. So as all theſe circumſtances duly weighed, together with the removal of the late obſtructions, the great increaſe of trade and many other evident Symptoms of a flouriſhing Common-wealth, it was believed even by the wiſeſt and beſt experienced in the affairs of *Ireland*, that the peace and tranquility of the Kingdom was now fully ſettled, and moſt likely in all humane probability to continue, without any conſiderable interruption, in the preſent felicity and great proſperity it now enjoyed under the government of His Majeſty that now reigneth.

The Parliament adjourned *Aug.* 1641.

In *Auguſt* 1641. the Lords Juſtices and Council finding the Popiſh party in both Houſes of Parliament to be grown to ſo great a height, as was

ſcarcely

ſcarcely compatible with the preſent Government, were very deſirous to have an Adjournment made for three months, which was readily aſſented unto and performed by the members of both Houſes. And this was done not many days before the return of the Committee formerly mentioned, out of *England*: They arrived at *Dublin* about the latter end of *Auguſt*, and preſently after their return they applied themſelves to the Lords Juſtices and Council, deſiring to have all thoſe Acts and others Graces granted by His Majeſty, made known unto the people by proclamations to be ſent down into ſeveral parts of the Country; which while the Lords Juſtices took into their conſideration, and ſat daily compoſing of Acts to be paſſed the next Seſſion of Parliament, for the benefit of His Majeſty, and the good of his Subjects, they ſeemed with great contentment and ſatisfaction to retire into the Country to their ſeveral habitations, that they might there refreſh themſelves in the mean ſeaſon:

The *Iriſh* Commiſſioners return out of *England* and land at *Dublin*.

The diſcovery of the Conſpiracy of the *Iriſh*, to ſeiz upon the Caſtle and City of *Dublin*; and their general Riſing at the ſame time, in all the Northern parts of this Kingdom.

SUch was now the ſtate and preſent condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, ſuch the great ſerenity through the gentle & happy tranſaction of the publick affairs here; As that the late *Iriſh* Army raiſed for the invaſion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, being peaceable disbanded, their Arms and Munition, by the ſingular care of the Lords Juſtices and Council brought into His Majeſty's ſtores within the City of *Dublin*, there was no manner of warlike preparations, no reliques of any kind of diſorders proceeding from the late Levies, nor indeed any noiſe of war remaining within theſe coaſts. Now while in this great calm the Britiſh continued in a moſt deep ſecurity, under the aſſurance of the bleſſed peace of this land; while all things were carried on with great temper and moderation in the preſent Government, and all men ſat pleaſantly enjoying the comfortable fruits of their own labours, without the leaſt thoughts or apprehenſion of either tumults or other troubles, the differences between His Majeſty, and his Subjects of *Scotland* being about this time fairly compoſed and ſettled: There brake out upon the 23 of *October*, 1641. a moſt deſperate and formidable Rebellion, and univerſal defection and general Revolt, wherein not only all the meer Iriſh, but almoſt all the old Engliſh that adhered to the Church of *Rome*, were totally involved. And becauſe it will be neceſſary to leave ſome monuments hereof to poſterity;

The happy condition of *Ireland* at the time of the breaking out of the Rebellion, *Octob.* 23. 1641.

I ſhall obſerve the beginnings and firſt motions, as well as trace out the progreſs, of a *Rebellion* ſo execrable in it ſelf, ſo odious to God and the whole world, as no age, no Kingdom, no people can parallel the horrid cruelties, the abominable murders, that have been without number, as well as without mercy committed upon the *Britiſh* inhabitants throughout the land, of what ſex or age, of what quality or condition ſoever they were.

The firſt plot for the rebellion carried on with ſo great ſecrecy, as none of the *Engliſh* had notice of it before it was ready to be put in execution.

And firſt I muſt needs ſay, howſoever I have obſerved in the nature of the *Iriſh* ſuch a kind of dull and deep reſervedneſs, as makes them with much ſilence & ſecrecy to carry on their buſineſs: yet I cannot but conſider with great admiration how this miſchievous plot which was to be ſo generally at the ſame time, and at ſo many ſeveral places acted, & therefore neceſſarily known to ſo many ſeveral perſons, ſhould without any noiſe be brought to ſuch maturity, as to arrive at the very point of execution without any notice or intimation given to any two of that huge multitude of perſons who were generally deſigned (as moſt of them did) to periſh in it. For beſides the uncertain preſumptions that Sir *William Cole* had of a commotion to be raiſed by the *Iriſh* in the Province of *Ulſter* about a fortnight before this *Rebellion* brake openly out, and ſome certain intelligence which he received of the ſame two days before the *Iriſh* roſe. I could never hear that any *Engliſh* man received any certain notice of this conſpiracy, before the very evening that it was to be generally put in execution. It is true, Sir *William Cole* upon the very firſt apprehenſions of ſomething that he conceived to be hatching among the *Iriſh*, did write a Letter to the Lords Juſtices and Council, dated the 11. of *Octob.* 1641. wherein he gave them notice of the great reſort made to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, in the County of *Tyron*, as alſo to the houſe of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, in the County of *Fermanagh* and that by ſeveral ſuſpected perſons, fit inſtruments for miſchief. As alſo that the ſaid Lord *Mac-Guire* had of late made ſeveral journies into the Pale, and other places, and had ſpent his time much in writing Letters, and ſending diſpatches abroad. Theſe Letters were received by the Lords Juſtices and Council, and they in anſwer to them required him to be very vigilant and induſtrious to find out what ſhould be the occaſion of thoſe ſeveral meetings, and ſpeedily to advertiſe them thereof, or of any other particular that he conceived might tend to the publick ſervice of the State. And for that which was reveiled to Sir *William Cole* upon the 21. of *Octob.* the ſame month by *John Gormacke*, & *Flarty Mac-Hugh*, from *Brian Mac-Cohanaght*, *Mac-Guire*, touching the reſolutions of the *Iriſh*, to ſeize upon his Majeſty's Caſtle and City of *Dublin*, to murder the Lords Juſtices & Council of *Ireland*, and the reſt of the Proteſtants there, & to ſeize upon all the Caſtles, Forts, Sea-ports, and holds that were in poſſeſſion of the Pro-

Protestants within the Kingdom of *Ireland*, I find by the Examination of *John Cormacke*, taken upon Oath at *Westminster*, *Nov.* 18. 1644. That the said Sir *William Cole* did dispatch Letters to the Lords Justices and Council the same day to give them notice thereof. But I can also testify that those Letters (whether they were intercepted, or that they otherways miscarried, I cannot say) came not unto their hands, as also that they had not any certain notice of this general conspiracy of the *Irish*, until the 22 of *Octob.* in the very evening before the day appointed for the surprize of the Castle and City of *Dublin*. Then the Conspirators being many of them arrived within the City, and having that day met at the *Lion* Tavern near *Copper-Alley*, and there turning the Drawer out of the room, ordered their affairs together, drunk healths upon their knees to the happy success of the next mornings work: *Owen O Conally* a Gentleman of a meer *Irish* family, but one that had long lived among the *English*, and been trained up in the true Protestant Religion, came unto the Lord Justice *Parsons* about nine of the clock that evening, and made him a broken relation of a great conspiracy for the seizing upon His Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*: He gave him the names of some of the chief conspirators, assured him, they were come up expresly to the Town for the same purpose, and that next morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and surely effect it, if their design were not speedily prevented, and that he had understood all this from *Hugh Mac-Mahon*, one of the chief conspirators, who was then in the Town, and came up but the very same afternoon for the execution of the plot; and with whom indeed he had been drinking somewhat liberally, and as the truth is, did then make such a broken relation of a matter that seemed so incredible in it self, as that his Lordship gave very little belief to it at first, in regard it came from an obscure person, and one as he conceived somewhat distempered at that time. But howsoever the Lord *Parsons* gave him order to go again to *Mac-Mahon*, and get out of him as much certainty of the plot, with as many particular circumstances as he could, straitly charging him to return back unto him the same evening. And in the mean time, having by strict commands given to the Constable of the Castle, taken order to have the gates thereof well guarded, as also with the Major and Sheriffs of the City to have strong watches set upon all the parts of the same, and to make stay of all strangers, he went privately about ten of the clock that night to the Lord *Borlace*'s house without the Town, and there acquainted him with what he understood from *Conally*, they sent for such of the Council as they knew then to be in the Town. But there came only unto them that night Sir *Thomas Rotheram*, and Sir *Robert Meredith*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, with these they fell into consultation what was fit to be done, attending the return of *Conally*. And finding that he staid somewhat longer

Owen O Conally discovers the Conspiracy of the *Irish* to the Lord *Parsons* the very evening before it was to be executed.

then the time prefixed, they ſent out in ſearch after him, and found him ſeized on by the watch, and ſo he had been carried away to priſon, and the diſcovery that night diſappointed, had not one of the Lord *Parſons* Servants expreſly ſent amongſt others to walk the ſtreets, and attend the motion of the ſaid *Conally*, come in and reſcued him, and brought him to the Lord *Borlace's* houſe. *Conally* having ſomewhat recovered himſelf from his diſtemper, occaſioned partly, as he ſaid himſelf, by the horror of the Plot revealed to him, partly by his too liberal drinking with *Mac-Mahon*, that he might the more eaſily get away from him (he beginning much to ſuſpect and fear his diſcovering of the plot) confirmed what he had formerly related, and added theſe farther particulars ſet down in his Examination, as followeth.

The Examination of *Owen O Conally* Gentleman, taken before us whoſe names enſue, *Octob.* 22. 1641.

WHo *being duly Sworn, and Examined, ſaith, That he being at* Monimore, *in the County of* London-Derry *on* Tueſday *laſt, he received a Letter from Colonel* Hugh OgeMac-Mahon, *deſiring him to come to* Conaught *in the County of* Monaghan, *and to be with him on* Wedneſday *and* Thurſday *laſt, whereupon he, this Examinate came to* Conaught *on* Wedneſday *night laſt, and finding the ſaid* Hugh *come to* Dublin, *followed him hither: He came hither about ſix of the clock this evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the ſaid* Hugh, *to the houſe near the Boat in* Oxman-Town, *and there he found the ſaid* Hugh, *and came with the ſaid* Hugh *into the Town, near the Pillory, to the Lodging of the Lord* Mac-Guire, *where they found not the Lord within, and there they drank a cup of Beer, and then went back again to the ſaid* Hugh *his Lodging. He ſaith, that at the Lord* Mac-Guire *his Lodging, the ſaid* Hugh *told him that there were, and would be this Night great numbers of Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the* Iriſh *Papiſts from all the parts of the Kingdom in this Town, who with himſelf had determined to take the Caſtle of* Dublin, *and poſſeſs themſelves of all His Majeſty's Ammunition there to morrow morning, being* Saturday, *and that they intended firſt to batter*

the

the Chimnies of the said Town, and if the City would not yield, then to batter down the houses, and so to cut off all the Protestants that would not joyn with them. He further saith, that the said Hugh *then told him, that the* Irish *had prepared men in all parts of the Kingdom, to destroy all the* English *inhabiting there to morrow morning by Ten of the clock, and that in all the Sea-ports, and other Towns in the Kingdom, all the Protestants should be killed this night, and that all the Posts that could be, could not prevent it: And further saith, that he moved the said* Hugh *to forbear executing of that business, and to discover it to the State, for the saving of his own estate, who said he could not help it. But said, that they did owe their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him all his Rights, but that they did this for the Tyrannical Government was over them, and to imitate* Scotland, *who got a priviledge by that course. And he further saith, that when he was with the said* Hugh *in his Lodging the second time, the said* Hugh *Swore that he should not go out of his Lodging that night, but told him that he should go with him the next morning to the Castle, and said, if this matter were discovered, some body should die for it, whereupon this Examinate feigned some necessity for his easement, went down out of the Chamber, and left his Sword in pawn, and the said* Hugh *sent his man down with him, and when this Examinate came down into the Yard, and finding an opportunity, he, this Examinate leaped over a Wall, and two Pales, and so came to the Lord Justice* Parsons.

October. 22. 1641.

William Parsons,
Tho. Rotheram. *Owen O Conally.*
Rob. Meredith.

HEreupon the Lords took present order to have a Watch privately set upon the lodging of *Mac-Mahon*, as also upon the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and so they sate up all that night in *consultation*, having far stronger *presumptions* upon this latter *examination* taken, then any ways at first they could

could entertain. The Lords Juſtices upon a further conſideration (there being come unto them early next morning ſeveral other of the Privy Council) ſent before day, and ſeized upon *Mac-Mahon*, then with his Servant in his own lodging; they at firſt made ſome little reſiſtance with their drawn ſwords, but finding themſelves over-maſtered, preſently yielded, & ſo they were brought before the *Lords Juſtices* and *Council* ſtill ſitting at the L. *Borlace*'s houſe: where upon examination he did without much difficulty confeſs the plot reſolutely, telling them, That on that very day all the Forts and ſtrong places in *Ireland* would be taken, That he with the L. *Mac-Guire*, *Hugh Birn*, Capt. *Brian O Neal*, and ſeveral other *Iriſh* Gentlemen, were come up expreſly to ſurprize the Caſtle of *Dublin*, That twenty men out of each County in the Kingdom were to be here to joyn with them, That all the Lords and Gentlemen in the Kingdom that were Papiſts were engaged in this Plot, That what was that day to be done in other parts of the Country, was ſo far advanced by that time, as it was impoſſible for the wit of man to prevent it; and withal told them, That it was true, they had him in their power, and might uſe him how they pleaſed, but he was ſure he ſhould be revenged.

His Confeſſion.

By this time the noiſe of this Conſpiracy began to be confuſedly ſpread abroad about the Town, and advertiſement was brought unto the Lords Juſtices then in Council, that great numbers of ſtrangers had been obſerved to come the laſt evening, and in the morning early unto the Town, and moſt of them to ſet up their horſes in the Suburbs: whereupon the Lords having in the firſt place taken order for the apprehenſion of the Lord *Mac-Guire*, removed themſelves for their better ſecurity unto the Caſtle, where the body of the Council then in Town attended them at the ordinary place of their meeting there. In the firſt place they cauſed a preſent ſearch to be made for all ſuch Horſes belonging to ſtrangers as were brought into any Inns, and by that means they diſcovered ſome of the owners, who were preſently ſeized upon and committed to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, having already delivered over to the cuſtody of the Conſtable there, the Lord *Mac-Guire*, and *Hugh Mac-Mahon*; *Hugh Birn*, and *Roger Moor*, chief of the Conſpirators, eſcaped over the River in the night, Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, with ſeveral others found means likewiſe to paſs away undiſcerned; and of the great numbers which came up out of ſeveral Counties to be Actors in taking of the Caſtle and City of *Dublin*, there were not, through the ſlack purſuit and great negligence of the inhabitants, above thirty ſeized upon, moſt of them Servants and inconſiderable perſons, thoſe of quality having ſo many good friends within the *Town*, as they had very ill luck if apprehended. The ſame day before the Lords roſe from Council, they took order for this *Proclamation* which here followeth to be made & publiſhed.

The Lord *Mac-Guire* with ſeveral other of the Conſpirators ſeized.

By

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

W. Parſons. *John Borlace.*

THeſe are to make known and publiſh to all His Majeſty's good Subjects in this Kingdom of *Ireland*, that there is a diſcovery made by Us the Lords Juſtices and Council, of a moſt diſloyal and deteſtable Conſpiracy intended by ſome evil-affected *Iriſh* Papiſts, againſt the lives of Us the Lords Juſtices & Council, and many other of His Majeſty's faithful Subjects, Univerſally throughout this Kingdom, and for the ſeizing not only of His Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin*, His Majeſty's principal Fort here, but alſo of the other Fortifications in the Kingdom: And ſeeing by the great goodneſs and abundant mercy of Almighty God to His Majeſty, and this State and Kingdom, thoſe wicked Conſpiracies are brought to light, and ſome of the Conſpirators Committed to the Caſtle of *Dublin*, by Us, by His Majeſty's Authority, ſo as thoſe wicked and damnable Plots are now diſappointed in the chief parts thereof, We therefore have thought fit hereby not only to make it publickly known, for the comfort of His Majeſty's good and loyal Subjects in all parts of the Kingdom, but alſo hereby to require them, that they do with all confidence and chearfulneſs

neſs betake themſelves to their own defence, and ſtand upon their guard, ſo to render the more ſafety to themſelves, and all the Kingdom beſides, and that they advertiſe Us with all poſſible ſpeed of all Occurrents, which may concern the Peace and ſafety of the Kingdom, and now to ſhew fully that Faith and Loyalty, which they have always ſhown for the publick ſervices of the Crown and Kingdom, which We will value to His Majeſty accordingly, and a ſpecial memory thereof will be retained for their advantage in due time. And We require that great care be taken that no levies of men be made for forreign ſervice, nor any men ſuffered to march upon any ſuch pretence. Given at His Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin*, 23. *Octob.* 1641.

R. Dillon. Ro. Digby. *Ad. Loftus. J. Temple. Tho. Rotheram. Fr. Willoughby. J. Ware. Ro. Meredith.*

God Save the King.

¶ Imprinted at *Dublin*, by the Society of STATIONERS.

THis Proclamation was presently Printed, and several Copies sent down by expresse messengers unto the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in several parts of the Country, where they caused them to be divers ways dispersed, hoping that when the timely discovery of this conspiracy, and the happy prevention in a great part, should fully appear abroad, it would prove so great a discouragement to such of the conspirators as had not yet openly declared themselves, as that they would thereby be contained within the bounds of their duty and obedience to His Majesty. The same night the L. *Blaney* arrived with the news of the surprisal of his house, his wife and his children, by the Rebels of the County of *Monaghan:* Next day came advertisement from Sir *Arthur Tyringham*, of the taking of *Newry*; and then the sad relations of burning, spoiling, and horrible murders committed within the Province of *Ulster*, began to multiply, and several persons every day and almost every hour in every day for a good while after, arrived like *Job's* messengers, telling the story of their own sufferings, and the fearful massacres of the poor *English* in those parts from whence they came. These things wrought such a general consternation and astonishment in the minds of all the *English* & other inhabitants well-affected within the City, as they were much affrighted therewith, expecting every hour when the Irish already crept into the Town, joyning with the Papists there, should make the City a Theater whereon to act the second part of that Tragedy most bloodily begun in the Northern parts by them.

The *Irish* rise first in the Province of *Ulster*, and there burn, spoil, and destroy the *English*.

And it added most extreamly to these present fears, that several unhappy rumours (the great tormentors of the weaker sex) were vainly spread abroad of the suddain approach of great numbers of Rebels out of the adjacent *Irish* Counties unto the City, some would make us believe that they were discerned at some distance already marching down from the mountain side within view of the Town; a report so credibly delivered by those who pretended to be eye-witnesses, that it drew some of the State up to the platform of the Castle to behold those who were yet invisible, though there were there that would not be perswaded but that they saw the very motions of the men as they marched down the mountains. It was at the same time also generally noised abroad, that there were 10000. of the Rebels gotten together in a body at the hill of *Tarah*, a place not above sixteen miles distant from the Town, and that they intended without any further delay to march on & presently surprize the same. These false rumours being unluckily spread, & by some fomented out of evil ends, exceedingly increased the present distractions of the people, & raised such a panick fear among them, as about seven of the clock at night, the Lords Justices and some of the Council being then in

False rumours spread of the Rebels approach to the City of *Dublin*.

the

the Council-chamber within the Caſtle, there came in to them a Gentleman of good quality, who having not without much difficulty, as he pretended, recovered the Gate of the Caſtle, cauſed the Warders then attending to draw up the bridge, aſſuring them that the Rebels gathered together in great numbers, had already poſſeſſed themſelves of a good part of the Town, and came now with great fury marching down the ſtreet that leads directly towards the Caſtle Gate. But this fear was quickly removed by Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who being that day made Governour of the Caſtle, cauſed the draw-bridge to be let down, and ſo found this to be a falſe Alarm occaſioned by ſome miſtake fallen among the people, who continued waving up and down the ſtreets, prepoſſeſſed with ſtrange fears, and ſome of them upon ſome ſlender accident drawing their ſwords, others that knew not the cauſe thought fit to follow the example, and ſo came to appear to this Gentleman who was none of their company, as ſo many *Rebels* coming up to enter the Caſtle.

The Lords Juſtices and Council conſult what courſe to take for the ſuppreſſing this Rebellion.

Theſe were the firſt beginnings of our ſorrows, ill ſymptoms, and ſad preparatives to the enſuing evils: Therefore the Lords finding by ſeveral intelligences, though ſome purpoſely framed, that the power of the *Rebels* was ſuddenly ſwollen up to ſo great a bulk, and likely ſo faſt to multiply and increaſe upon them, thought it high time to conſider of the remedies, and in what condition they were to oppoſe, ſince they could not prevent ſo emminent a danger. The *Rebellion* now appeared without all manner of queſtion to be generally raiſed in all parts of the North, and like a torrent to come down moſt impetuouſly upon them: beſides, it was no ways improbable that all other parts of the Kingdom would take fire and follow their example, they had the teſtimony of *Mac-Mahon* poſitive therein. The firſt thing therefore which they took into conſideration, was, how they were provided of Money Arms, and Munition? Then, what Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horſe of the old Army they were able to draw preſently together, as alſo what numbers of new men they could ſuddenly raiſe. For the firſt they had this ſhort account from the Vice-treaſurer, That there was no money in the Exchequer. And certainly it was a main policy in the firſt contrivers of this *Rebellion*, to plot the breaking of it out at ſuch a time when the Exchequer ſhould be empty, & all the Kings *Revenues* both certain and caſual, due for that half year, as well as the *Rents* of all the *Britiſh* throughout the Kingdom, ſhould be found ready either in the Tenants or Collectors hands in the Country, and ſo neceſſarily fall under their power, as they did to their great advantage. For Arms and Munition, the Store were indifferently well furniſhed at this time: Beſides ſeveral Pieces of Artiller

No money in the Exchequer.

A List of His Majesty's Army in *Ireland*, 1641. *Before the Rebellion began.*

Foot Companies consisting of six Officers, *viz.* Captain, Leiutenant, Ensign, Chirgurgion, Serjeant and Drum, and forty four Soldiers each Company.

LORD Lieutenants Guard —— 44
Sir *Robert Farrar* —— 44
Sir *Thomas Warton* —— 44
Sir *George Saint-George* —— 44
Cap. *Francis Butler* —— 44
Sir *William Saint Leger* —— 44
Lord *Docwra* —— 44
Lord *Blany* —— 44
Sir *Robert Steward* —— 44
Lord Viscount *Rannelagh* —— 44
Lord Viscount *Billinglas* —— 44
Sir *John Vaughan* —— 44
Cap. *George Blount* —— 44
Sir *Hen. Tichbourn* —— 44
Sir *Frederick Hamilton* —— 44
Lord *Castle-stewart* —— 44
Sir *Lorenzo Cary* —— 44
Cap. *Chichester Forteſcus* —— 44
Sir *John Gifford* —— 44
Cap. *John Barry* —— 44
Sir *John Netterville* —— 44
Cap. *Thomas Rockly* —— 44
Sir *Arthur Tyringham* —— 44
Cap. *Philip Wenman* —— 44
Cap. *Charles Price* —— 44
Sir *Charles Coot* —— 44
Cap. *Thomas Games* —— 44
Sir *Francis Willoughby* —— 44
Sir *John Borlace* —— 44
Cap. *Robert Baily* —— 44
Sir *Arthur Loftus* —— 44
Cap. *William Billingſly* —— 44
The Lord *Eſmond* —— 44
The Lord *Lambert* —— 44
Sir *George Hamilton* —— 44
Lord *Folliot* —— 44
Sir *William Stewart* —— 44
Cap. *Robert Biron* —— 44
Sir *John Sherlock* —— 44
The Earl of *Clanricard* —— 44
Cap. *John Ogle* —— 44

These Companies contain Officers —— 246
Soldiers —— 2051
} In all } 2297.

Horſe-Troops.

THE Earl of *Leiceſter* Lord Lieutenant General, his Troop consisting of Captain, Lieutenant, Cornet, and Horſe men —— 180
The Earl of *Ormondes* Troop, like Officers, and Horſe-men —— 107
The Earl of *Staffords* Troop, like Officers and Horſe-men —— 58
Lord *Dillons* Troop, like Officers and Horſe-men —— 58
Lord *Wilmots* Troop, like Officers and Horſe-men —— 58
Sir *Will. Saint-Legur*, Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, the like —— 58
Lord Viscount *Moor*, the like —— 58
Lord Viscount *Grandiſon*, the like —— 58
Lord Viscount *Cromwel* of *Lecale*, the like —— 58
Cap. *Arthur Chichester*, the like —— 58
Sir *George Wentworth*, the like —— 58
Sir *John Borlace* the like —— 58
Lord Viscount *Conway*, the like —— 58
Sir *Adam Loftus*, the like —— 58

These Troops contain Officers —— 42
Horſes-men —— 901
} In all } 943

These were so strangly dispersed most of them into the remote parts of the Kingdom, for the guard of several Forts & other places, as it fell out to be in a manner most impossible to draw a considerable number of them together in any time, either for the defence of the City, or the making head against the Rebels in the North: and besides it was much to be suspected, the companies lying severally so remote, and ill furnished with munition, could with little safety march to *Dublin*. Yet the Lords sent Potents presently away to require several Companies of Foot, and some Troops of Horse presently to rise and March up from their several Garrisons towards the City of *Dublin*. And now it was held high time to give an accompt unto His Majesty then at *Edenburg* in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and to the Lord Lieutenant continuing still at *London* (the Parliament still sitting there) of the breaking out of this Rebellion, the ill condition of the Kingdom, the wants of the State, and the Supplies absolutely necessary for their present defence & preservation. And because the Letter to the Lord Lieutenant doth most clearly represent several particulars which may much conduce to the knowledge of the affaires, I have thought fit to insert a true Copy of it, which here followeth.

Letters from the Lords Justices and Council to the Lord Lieutenant.

May it please your Lordship,

ON Friday *the two and twentieth of this month, after nine of the clock at night, this bearer* Owen Conally, *servant to Sir* John Clotworthy *Knight, came to me the Lord Justice* Parsons *to my house, and in great secrecy (as indeed the cause did require) discovered unto me a most wicked and damnable conspiracy, plotted, contrived, & intended to be also acted by some evil-affected* Irish *Papists here. The Plot was on the then next morning,* Saturday *the* 23 *of* October, *being St.* Ignatius *day, about nine of the clock to surprize His Majesty's Castle of* Dublin, *His Majesty's chief strength of this Kingdom, wherein also is the principal Magazine of His Majesty's Arms and Munition, and it was agreed it seems amongst them, that at the same hour all other His Majesty's Forts and Magazine of Arms and Munition in this Kingdom, should be surprized by others of those Conspirators, and further, that all the Protestants and* English *throughout the whole* Kingdom, *that would not joyn with them, should be cut off, and so those Papists should then become possessed of the Government and Kingdom at the same instant.*

Assoon as I had that intelligence, I then immediatly repaired to the Lord Justice Borlace, *and thereupon We instantly assembled the Council, and having sate all that night, as also all the next day, the* 23 *of* October,

in regard of the Short time left us for the consultation of so great and weighty a matter, although it was not possible for us upon so few hours warning to prevent those other great mischiefs which were to be acted, even at that same hour, and at so great a distance as in all the other parts of the Kingdom. Yet such was our industry therein, having caused the Castle to be that night strengthned with armed men, and the City guarded, as the wicked Counsels of those evil persons, by the great mercy of God to us, became defeated, so as they were not able to Act that part of their Treachery, which indeed was principal, and which, if they could have effected, would have rendred the rest of their purposes the more easy.

Having so secured the Castle, We forthwith laid about for the apprehension of as many of the Offenders as We could, many of them having come to this City but that night, intending it seems the next morning to act their parts in those treacherous and bloody crimes.

The first man apprehended was one Hugh Mac-Mahon *Esquire (Grandson to the Traitour* Tyron*) a Gentleman of good fortune in the County of* Monahan, *who with others, was taken that morning in* Dublin, *having at the time of their apprehension offered a little resistance with their swords drawn, but finding those We imployed against them more in number, and better Armed, yielded. He upon his Examination before us at first denyed all, but in the end, when he saw we laid it home to him, he confessed enough to destroy himself, and impeach some others, as by a Copy of his Examination herewith sent, may appear to your Lordships, We then committed him until We might have further time to examine him again, our time being become more needful to be imployed in Action for securing this place, then in examining. This* Mac-Mahon *had been abroad, and served the K. of* Spain *as a Lieutenant Colonel.*

Upon conference with him and others, and calling to mind a Letter We received the week before from Sir William Cole, *a Copy whereof We send your Lordship here incloſed, We gathered that the Lord* Mac-Guire *was to be an actor in surprizing the Castle of* Dublin, *wherefore We held it necessary to secure him immediately, thereby also to startle and deter the rest, when they found him laid fast. His Lordship observing what we had done, and the City in Arms, fled from his lodging early before day, it seems disguised, for we had laid a watch about his lodging, so as we think he could not pass without disguising himself, yet he could not get forth of the City, so surely guarded were all the Gates.*

There were found at his lodging hidden some Hatchets, with the Helves newly cut off close to the Hatchets, and many Skeans, and some Hammers.

In the end the Sheriffs of the City, whom we imployed in strict search of his

Lordſhip, found him hidden in a Cockloft, in an obſcure houſe far from his lodging, where they apprehended him, and brought him before Us.

He denyed all, yet ſo, as he could not deny but he heard of it in the Country, though he would not tell us when, or from whom; and confeſſed that he had not advertiſed Us thereof, as in duty he ought to have done. But We were ſo well ſatisfied of his guiltineſs by all circumſtances, as We doubted not upon further examination when We could be able to ſpare time for it to find it apparent: wherefore We held it of abſolute neceſſity to commit him Cloſe-priſoner, as We had formerly done Mac-Mahon, *and others: where We left him on the three and twentieth of this month in the morning, about the ſame hour they intended to have been Maſters of that place, and this City.*

That morning alſo We laid wait for all thoſe ſtrangers that came the night before to Town, and ſo many were apprehended whom We find reaſon to believe to have hands in this Conſpiracy, as We were forced to diſperſe them into ſeveral Goals: and We ſince found that there came many Horſe-men into the Suburbs that night, who finding the Plot diſcovered, diſperſed themſelves immediatly.

When the hour approached, which was deſigned for ſurpriſing the Caſtle, great numbers of ſtrangers were obſerved to come to Town in great parties ſeveral ways; who not finding admittance at the Gates, ſtaid in the Suburbs, and there grew numerous, to the terrour of the Inhabitants. We therefore to help that, drew up inſtantly and ſigned a Proclamation, commanding all men, not dwellers in the City or Suburbs, to depart within an hour, upon pain of death, and made it like penal to thoſe that ſhould harbour them; which Proclamation the Sheriffs immediately proclaimed in all the Suburbs by Our commandment: which being accompanied with the example and terror of the committal of thoſe two eminent men, and others, occaſioned the departure of thoſe multitudes: and in this caſe, all our lives and fortunes, and above all, His Majeſty's power and regal authority being ſtill at the ſtake, We muſt vary from ordinary proceedings, not only in executing martial law as We ſee cauſe, but alſo in putting ſome to the Rack to find out the bottom of this Treaſon, and all the contrivers thereof, which we foreſee will not otherwiſe be done.

On that 23. day of this month, We conceiving that as ſoon as it ſhould be known that the plot for ſeizing Dublin *Caſtle was diſappointed, all the conſpirators in the remote parts might be ſomewhat diſheartned, as on the other ſide the good Subjects would be comforted, and would then with the more confidence ſtand on their guard; did prepare to ſend abroad to all parts of the Kingdom this Proclamation which we ſend you here incloſed: and ſo having provided that*

the

the City and Caſtle ſhould be ſo guarded as upon the ſudden We could promiſe, We concluded that long continued conſultation.

On Saturday at 12 *of the clock at night the Lord* Blany *came to Town and brought Us the ill news of the Rebels ſeizing with two hundred men his houſe at* Caſtle-blany *in the County of* Monaghan, *and his Wife,* Children, *and Servants, as alſo a houſe of the Earl of* Eſſex *called* Carrickmacroſs *with two hundred men, and a houſe of Sir* Henry Spotſwood *in the ſame County, with two hundred men, where there being a little Plantation of* Britiſh, *they plundred the Town and burnt divers houſes, and it ſince appears that they burnt divers other Villages; and robbed and ſpoiled many* Engliſh, *and none but Proteſtants; leaving the* Engliſh *Papiſts untouched as well as the* Iriſh.

On Sunday morning at three of the clock, We had Intelligence from Sir Arthur Terringham, *that the* Iriſh *in the Town had that day alſo broken up the Kings Store of Arms and Munition at the* Newry, *where the ſtore of Arms hath lien ever ſince the Peace, and where they found fourſcore and ten Barrels of Powder, and armed themſelves, and put them under the command of Sir* Con. Magennis, *Knight, and one* Creely *a Monk, and plundred the* Engliſh *there and diſarmed the Garriſon. And this, though too much, is all that We yet hear is done by them.*

However We ſhall ſtand on our Guard the beſt We may to Defend the Caſtle and City principally, thoſe being the pieces of moſt importance. But if the Conſpiracy be ſo Univerſal as Mac-Mahon *ſaith in his Examination it is, namely, That all the Counties in the Kingdom have Conſpired in it, which we admire ſhould ſo fail out in this time of Univerſal peace, and carried with that ſecrecy, that none of the Engliſh could have any friend amongſt them to diſcloſe it, then indeed we ſhall be in high extremity, and the Kingdom in the greateſt danger that ever it underwent, conſidering our want of Men, Money, and Arms, to enable Us to encounter ſo great multitudes as they can make, if all ſhould joyn againſt Us, the rather, becauſe we have pregnant cauſe to doubt that the combination hath taken force by the incitement of Jeſuites, Prieſts and Fryers.*

All the hope we have here, is, the old Engliſh of the Pale, *and ſome other parts, will continue conſtant to the King in their fidelity, as they did in former Rebellions.*

And now in theſe ſtraits, we muſt under God depend on aid forth of England *for our preſent ſupply with all ſpeed, eſpecially Money, we having none, and Arms which we ſhall exceedingly want; without which, we are very doubtful what account we ſhall give to the King of his Kingdom.*

But if the Conſpiracy be only of Mac-Guire *and ſome other* Iriſh *of the kindred and friends of the Rebel* Tirone *and other* Iriſh *in the Counties of* Down, Monaghan,

naghan, Cavan, Fermanagh and Armagh, and no general revolt following thereupon, we hope then to make head againſt them in a reaſonable meaſure, if we be enabled with Money from thence, without which we can raiſe no Forces, ſo great is our want of Money, as we have formerly written, and our Debt ſo great to the Army: nor is Money to be borrowed here, and if it were, we would engage all our Eſtates for it: neither have we any hope to get in his Majeſty's rents and ſubſidies in theſe diſturbances, which add extreamly to our neceſſities.

On Sunday morning 24. We met again in Council, and ſent to all parts of the Kingdom the encloſed Proclamation, and iſſued Patents to draw hither ſeven Horſe-Troops as a farther ſtrength to this place, and to be with us in caſe the Rebels ſhall make head and march hitherward, ſo as we may be neceſſitated to give them Battle. We alſo then ſent away our Letters to the Preſident of both the Provinces of Munſter and Conaught: And we likewiſe then ſent Letters to the Sheriffs of the Five Counties of the Pale, to conſult of the beſt way and means of their own preſervation. That day the Lord Vice Com. Gormanſtown, the Lord Vice Co. Nittervile, the Lord Vice Co. Fitz-williams, and the Lord of Houth, and ſince the Earls of Kildare, and Fingal, and the Lords of Dunſany, and Slane, all Noblemen of the Engliſh Pale came unto us, declaring that they then and not before heard of the matter, and profeſſed Loyalty to his Majeſty, and concurrence with the State, but ſaid they wanted Arms, whereof they deſired to be ſupplied by us, which we told them we would willingly do, as relying much on their faithfulneſs to the Crown: but we were not yet certain whether or no we had enough to arm our ſtrength for the guard of the City and Caſtle; yet we ſupplied ſuch of them as lay in moſt danger, with a ſmall proportion of Arms and Munition for their Houſes, leſt they ſhould conceive we apprehended any jealouſie of them. And we commanded them to be very diligent in ſending out watches, and making all the diſcoveries they could, and thereof to advertiſe us, which they readily promiſed to do.

And if it fall out that the Iriſh generally riſe, which we have cauſe to ſuſpect, than we muſt of neceſſity put Arms into the hands of the Engliſh Pale in preſent, and to others as faſt as we can, to fight for defence of the State and themſelves.

Your Lordſhip now ſees the condition wherein we ſtand, and how neceſſary it is, firſt, that we enjoy your preſence ſpeedily for the better guiding of thoſe and other the publick affairs of the King and Kingdom. And ſecondly, that the Parliament there, be moved immediately to advance to us a good Summ of Money, which being now ſpeedily ſent hither, may prevent the expence of very much Treaſure and Blood in a long continued War. And if your Lordſhip ſhall happen to ſtay on that

ſid

ſide any longer time; we muſt then deſire your Lordſhip to appoint a Lieutenant General to diſcharge the great and weighty burthen of commanding the Forces here.

Amidſt theſe confuſions and diſcords fallen upon Us, We bethought Us of the Parliament, which was formerly Adjourned to November *next, and the Term now alſo at hand, which will draw ſuch a concourſe of people hither, and give opportunity under that pretence, aſſembling and taking new Councils, ſeeing the former ſeems to be in ſome part diſappointed, and of contriving further danger to this State and People: We have therefore found it of unavoidable neceſſity to Prorogue it accordingly, and to direct the Term to be Adjourned to the firſt of* Hillary *Term, excepting only the Court of* Exchequer *for haſtning in the King's Money if it be poſſible. We deſire upon this occaſion your Lordſhip will be pleaſed to view our Letters concerning the Plantation of* Conaught, *dated the 24th of* April *laſt, directed to Mr. Secretary* Vane *in that part thereof, which concerns the County of* Monaghan, *where now theſe fires do firſt break out.*

In the laſt place we muſt make known to your Lordſhip, that the Army we have, conſiſting but of 2000 *Foot and* 1000 *Horſe, are ſo diſperſed in Garriſons in ſeveral parts, as continually they have been ſince they were ſo reduced, as if they be all ſent for to be drawn together, not only the places whence they are to be drawn, (and for whoſe ſafety they lie there) muſt be by abſence diſtreſſed; but alſo the Companies themſelves coming in ſo ſmall numbers may be in danger to be cut off in their march; nor indeed have we any money to pay the Soldiers to enable them to march. And ſo we take leave and remain from His Majeſty's Caſtle of* Dublin 25 *of* October, 1641.

Your Lordſhips to be Commanded
William Parſons. John Borlace.

Richard Bolton, *Can.* R. Dillon, Anthony Midenſis, John Raphoe, R. Digby, Ad. Loftus, Ger. Lowther, John Temple, Tho Rotheram, Fran. Willoughby, Ja. Ware, *G.* Wentworth, Robert Meredith.

POSTSCRIPT.

THe ſaid Owen Conally, *who revealed the Conſpiracy is worthy of very great conſideration, to recompence that Faith and Loyalty which he hath ſo extreamly to his own danger expreſſed in this buſineſs; whereby under God there is yet hope left us of deliverance of this State and Kingdom, from the wicked purpoſes of thoſe Conſpirators. And therefore we beſeech your Lordſhip that it be taken into conſideration there, ſo as he may have a mark of His Majeſty's moſt Royal bounty which may largely extend to Him and His poſterity, we not being now able here to do it for him.* W. Parſons.

To the Right Honourable our very good Lord *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, L. Lieutenant Gen. and General Governour of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

The

THe diſpatch ſent to his Majeſty was addreſſed to Sir *Henry Vane*, Principal Secretary, and carried by Sir *Henry Spotſwood*, who went by Sea directly into *Scotland*: And the Letters to the L. Lieutenant were ſent to *London* by *Owen O Conally*, the firſt diſcoverer of the Plot.

The Lords Juſtices cauſe the Proclamations to be diſperſed, Letters to be written and other means to be uſed for the prevention of the riſing of the *Iriſh* in the North, but all to no purpoſe.

The Lords now with all care and diligence applied their further endeavours towards the preventing as much as was poſſible, the deſtruction intended againſt all the *Britiſh* Inhabitants of the Kingdom, as well as the ſecurity of the City and the places round about it. A work of large extent, and wherein they met with many difficulties, by reaſon of their own wants both of men and money. They having formerly ſent away and diſperſed the Proclamations into ſeveral parts of the Country, now ſent Letters by expreſs Meſſengers unto the Preſidents of *Munſter* and *Conaught*, and to ſeveral principal Gentlemen in thoſe two Provinces; as alſo to others within the Province of *Leinſter*, giving them notice of the diſcovery of the Plot, and adviſing them to ſtand upon their guard, and to make the beſt proviſion they could for the defence of the Country about them. They ſent another expreſs to the Earl of *Ormonde*, then at his houſe at *Carick*, with Letters to the ſame effect; and withal

The Lords of the *Engliſh Pale* repair to the Council-board, and there declare their Loyal affections to his Majeſty.

deſired his Lordſhip preſently to repair unto them at *Dublin* with his Troop of Horſe. They ſent likewiſe Commiſſions to the Lords Viſcounts of *Clandeboys*, and of the *Ardes*, for raiſing of the *Scots* in the Northern parts, and putting them into Arms, as they did alſo ſoon after to Sir *William Stewart*, and Sir *Robert Stewart*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen of Quality in the North. And as they gave them order for proſecution of the Rebels with fire and ſword, ſo they gave them power to receive ſuch of them in as ſhould ſubmit to His Majeſty's grace and mercy. But theſe diſpatches they were enforced to ſend all by Sea, the Rebels having ſtopped up the paſſages, and hindered all manner of entercourſe with that Province by Land.

The *Engliſh Pale* is a large Circuit of Land poſſeſſed at the time of the firſt Conqueſt of *Ireland* by the *Engliſh*, & ever ſince inhabited by them; it contains ſeveral Counties, *viz.* the Counties of *Dublin*, *Meath*, *Louth*, *Kildare*, &c.

The Lords of the *Pale* having been at the Council board, and there declared to the Lords Juſtices, with great proteſtations, their Loyal affections unto His Majeſty; together with their readineſs and forward concurrence with their Lordſhips in this Service, came unto them again within two or three days after with a Petition; wherein they offered unto their Lordſhips, the deep ſenſe they had of an expreſſion in the late Proclamation, ſet out upon the diſcovery of this great Conſpiracy intended, as it is there ſet down, *By ſome evil affected Iriſh Papiſts*, which words they feared might be by ſome miſ-interpreted, and ſuch a conſtruction put upon them, as might reflect upon their perſons, as comprehended under them. Whereupon the Lords Juſtices and Council thought fit, to deſcend ſo far to their ſatisfaction, as not only to remonſtrate the clearneſs of their intentions towards them, but that it might appear unto the world, they entertained not the leaſt jealous thoughts of them, they cauſed a new Proclamation to be ſet out by way of explanation of the former, which I have thought fit here to inſert, that it may appear how far they were from giving any of thoſe Lords and Gentlemen occaſion to break out into thoſe Rebellious courſes, they ſoon afterwards took to their own deſtruction.

By the Lords Juſtices and Council.

W. Parſons. John Borelace.

WHereas a Petition hath been perfered unto Us by divers Lords and Gentlemen of the *Engliſh Pale*, in behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the *Pale*, and other the old *Engliſh* of this Kingdom, ſhewing that whereas a late Conſpiracy of Treaſon is diſcovered of ill affected perſons of the old *Iriſh*, and that thereupon a Proclamation was publiſhed by Us; wherein among other things, it is declared that the ſaid Conſpiracy was perpetrated by *Iriſh Papiſts* without diſtinction of any; and they doubting that by thoſe general words of *Iriſh Papiſts*, they might ſeem to be involved, though they declare themſelves confident that We did not intend to conclude them therein, in regard they are none of the old *Iriſh*, or of their faction, or confederacy; but are altogether averſe and oppoſite to all their deſigns, and all others of like condition; We do therefore to give them full ſatisfaction, hereby declare and publiſh to all His Majeſty's good Subjects in this Kingdom, That by the words, *Iriſh Papiſts*, We intended only ſuch of the old meer *Iriſh* in the Province of *Ulſter*, as have plotted, contrived, and been actors in this Treaſon, and others who adhere to them; and that We did not any way intend, or mean thereby any of the old *Engliſh* of the *Pale*, nor of any other parts of this Kingdom, We being well aſſured of their fidelities to the Crown, and having experience of the good affections and ſervices of their Anceſtors in former times of danger and Rebellion. And We further require all His Majeſty's loving Subjects, whether Proteſtants or Papiſts to forbear upbraiding matter of Religion, one againſt the other, and that upon pain of His Majeſty's indignation. Given at His Majeſty's Caſtle of *Dublin*, 29*th* of *October*, 1641.

A Proclamation iſſued for the ſatisfaction of the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Engliſh* Pale.

R. Ranelagh, R. Dillon, Ant. Midenſis, Ad. Loftus, Geo. Shurly, Gerrard Lowther, I. Temple, Fr. Willoughby, Ja. Ware.

God Save the King.

Imprinted at *Dublin*, by the Society of STATIONERS.

BUt to return now to the Northern Rebels, who ſo cloſely purſued o
their firſt plot, as they beginning to put it in execution in moſt of th
chief places of ſtrength there, upon the 23. of *Oct.* the day appointed fo
the ſurprizal of the Caſtle of *Dublin*, had by the latter end of the ſam
month gotten into their poſſeſſion all the Towns, Forts, Caſtles, & Gen
tlemens houſes within the Counties of *Tyron*, *Donegal*, *Fermanagh*, *Armagh*
Cavan, *London-Derry*, *Monahan*, & half the County of *Down*, excepting
the Cities of *London-Derry* & *Coleraign*, the Town & Caſtle of *Enniskillen*,
and ſome other places & Caſtles which were for the preſent gallantly de
fended by the *Britiſh* undertakers, though afterwards for want of relief
ſurrendred into their hands. The chief of the Northern Rebels that firſt
appeared in the execution of this plot within the Province of *Ulſter*
were Sir *Phelim O Neal*, *Turlogh O Neal*, his brother, *Roury Mac-Guire*
brother to the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, *Mulmore O Rely*, Sir Con
Mac-Gennis, Col. *Mac-Brian*, *Mac-Mahon*; theſe having cloſely com
bined together, with ſeveral other of their accomplices, the chief o
the ſeveral Septs in the ſeveral Counties, divided their forces into ſe
veral parties; and according to a general aſſignation made among them
ſelves at one and the ſame time, ſurprized by treachery the Town a
Caſtle of the *Newry*, the Fort, of *Dongannon*, Fort *Montjoy*, *Charlemon*
Tonrages Catricke Mac-Roſſe, *Cloughcuter*, *Caſtle Blany*, *Caſtle* of Ma
naghan; being all of them places of conſiderable ſtrength, and in ſever
al of them companies of foot, or troops of horſe belonging to the ſtand
ing-army. Beſides theſe they took a multitude of other Caſtles, Houſes o
ſtrength, Towns, and Villages, all abundantly peopled with Britiſh in
habitants, who had exceedingly enriched the Country as well as them
ſelves by their painful labours. They had made for their more comfor
table ſubſiſtance, handſome and pleaſant habitations, abounding wit
corn, cattel, and all other commodities that an induſtrious people coul
draw out of a good inland ſoil. They lived in great plenty, and ſom
of them very well ſtored with plate and ready money. They lived like
wiſe in as great ſecurity, being quiet and carleſs, as the people of *Engl*
little ſuſpecting any treachery from their *Iriſh* neighbours. The *Engliſh*
well knew they had given them no manner of provocation; they had en
tertained them with great demonſtrations of love & affection. No ſtor
can ever ſhew that in any Age ſince their intermixed cohibitation, the
roſe up ſo ſecretly to do them miſchief. And now of late they lived
peaceable & lovingly together as they had juſt reaſon moſt confidently t
believe, that the *Iriſh* would never upon any occaſion generally riſe up a
gain to their deſtruction. This I take to be one main and principal reaſo
that the *Engliſh* were ſo eaſily over-run within the Northern Counties
and ſo ſuddenly ſwallowed up, before they could make any manner o
reſi

The greater part of *Ulſter* poſſeſſed by the Northern Rebels.

The names of the chief Rebels, in *Ulſter*.

Several Forts and other places ſuddenly ſurprized by the Rebels.

resistance in the very first beginnings of this *Rebellion*. For most of the *English* having either *Irish* Tenants, Servants, or Landlords, & all of them *Irish* neighbours their familiar friends: as soon as the fire brake out, and the whole Country began to rise about them, some made their recourse presently to their Friends for protection, some relying upon their neighbours, others upon their Landlords, others upon their Tenants & Servants for preservation, or at least, present safety; and with great confidence put their lives, their wives their children, and all they had, into their power. But these generally either betrayed them into the hands of other Rebels, or most perfidiously destroyed them with their own hands. The Priests had now charmed the *Irish*, & laid such bloody impressions in them, as it was held, according to the maxims they had received, a mortal sin to give any manner of relief or protection, to any of the *English*. All bonds and ties of faith & friendship were now broken; the *Irish* Landlords made a prey of their *English* Tenants, *Irish* Tenants and Servants a Sacrifice of their *English* Landlords & Masters, one Neighbour cruelly murdered by another; the very *Irish* children in the very beginning fell to strip and kill *English* children: all other relations were quite cancelled & laid aside, and it was now esteemed a most meritorious work in any of them that could by any means or ways whatsoever, bring an *English* man to the slaughter. A work not very difficult to be compassed as things then stood. For they living promiscuously among the *British*, in all parts having from their Priests received the watchword both for time & place, rose up, as it were actuated by one and the same spirit, in all places of those Counties before mentioned at one & the same point of time; & so in a moment fell upon them, murdering some, striping only, or expelling others out of their habitations. This bred such a general terror & astonishment among the *English* as they knew not what to think, much less what to do, or which way to turn themselves. Their servants were killed as they were ploughing in the fields, Husbands cut to pieces in the presence of their Wives, their childrens brains dasht out before their faces, others had all their goods & cattel seized & carried away, their houses burnt, their habitations laid wast, & all as it were at an instant before they could suspect the *Irish* for their enemies, or any ways imagine that they had it in their hearts, or in their power, to offer so great violence, or do such mischief unto them.

The great security and confidence of the *English* in the *Irish*, a great cause of their sudden destruction.

The *English* betrayed and murdered by their *Irish* friends, servants, and Tenants.

The intermixture of the *English* among the *Irish* a main cause of their sudden destruction.

Now for such of the *English* as stood upon their guard, & had gathered together, though but in small numbers, the *Irish* had recourse to their ancient stratagem, which as they have formerly, so they still continued to make frequent use of in this present *Rebellion*. And that was fairly to offer unto them good conditions of quarter, to assure them their lives, their goods, and free passage, with a safe conduct into what place soever

The Irish falsifie their Oaths and Protestations to the English and after quarter given them in several places, murder and destroy them.

they pleased, and to confirm these Covenants sometimes under their Hands and Seals, sometimes with deep Oaths and Protestations; and then as soon as they had them in their power, to hold themselves dis-obliged from their promises, and to leave their Soldiers at liberty to despoil, strip, and murder them at their pleasure. Thus were the poor *English* treated, who had shut themselves up in the great Cathedral Church at *Armagh* by Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and his brother *Turlogh*. Thus were such of the English used by *Philip O Rely*, who had retired themselves to *Belturbet*, the best planted Town in the County of *Cavan*. And after the same barbarous manner were such of the English drawn out to the slaughter, as had gotten into the Castles of *Longford*, the Castle of *Julogh* in the County of *Fermanagh*, or the Church of *Newtown* in the same County, and several other places; as appears by several examinations taken upon Oath, from persons that hardly escap'd thence with their lives. And besides these other policies they us'd, some to distract and discourage them, others to dis-inable them to stand out to make any defence. As in several places the Irish came under divers pretences, and borrowed such Weapons and Arms as the English had in their houses; and no sooner got them into their hands, but they turned them out of their own doors, as they did at *Glaslough* in the County of *Monaghan*: And by the same means they very gently and fairly got into their possession all the English Arms in the County of *Cavan*: The High Sheriff there being an Irishman and a Papist, pretending that he took their Arms to secure them only against the violence of such of the Irish as he understood to be in Arms in the next County. And that they might the more easily effect the destruction of the *English*, and keep off the *Scots* from giving them any assistance; they openly professed to spare, as really they did at the first, all of the *Scotish* Nation; and pretended they would suffer them, as likewise all *English* Papist, to live quietly among them; hoping thereby to contain all of that Nation from taking up Arms, till they had Mastered all the *English*, and that then they should be well enough enabled to deal with them. Thus were the poor *English* prepared for the slaughter, and so exceedingly distracted with the tumultuous rising of the *Irish* on all sides about them, as they could never put themselves into any posture of defence. And although in many places they made small parties, and betook themselves into several Churches and Castles, some of which were most gallantly long defended by them, yet did they not draw together in any such considerable body, as would enable them to make good their party in the field, against the numerous forces of the Rebels. The truth is, they did not very readily endeavour, or dexterously attempt it in any part of that Province, as I could hear of; every

Several policies used by the Irish to prevent the English from rising against, or the Scots to joyn in their defence.

The English stand upon the defence of their private houses without joyning together in one body, whereby they give great advantage to the Rebels.

every man betaking himself the best he could to the care of his own house, and seeking how to save his own family, his goods within, and his Cattel without. And so while they kept singly apart, and singly stood up for their own private preservation, not joyning their forces together for the common safety, they gave the Rebels a fair opportunity, and a singular advantage, to work out with great facility their common destruction. Whereas, if they had deserted their houses upon the first notice of the rising up of the *Irish*, and in the several Counties put themselves into several bodies, under the commands of the chief *English* Gentlemen round about them, they had undoubtedly (how ill soever they were provided of Arms and Munition) been able to have encountred the *Irish*, and to have beat them out of many parts of the Country, or at least, to have put them to some stand in their Enterprize. Whereas, by the course they took, they most readily, *without almost any resistance*, exposed themselves to the mercilesse cruelty of the *Irish*, who at the very first (for some few days after their breaking out) did not in most places murder many of them: but the course they took, was to seize upon all their Good and Cattle, to strip them, their Wives, and Children naked, and in that miserable plight, the weather being most bitter cold and frosty, to turn them out of their houses, to drive them to the Mountains, to wander through the Woods and Bogs; and if they by any means procured any other clothes, or but even ordinary rags to cover their nakedness, they were presently taken from them again, and none suffered to give them any kind of shelter by the way, relief, or entertainment, without incurring the heavy displeasure of their Priests and chief Commanders. And so they drove such of the *English*, whose lives they thought fit at that time to spare clear out of the Country. Some of them took their Journey towards *Carigfergus*, others towards *Colrain*, *Derry*, and other of the Northern Ports. Many who had gotten together and stood upon their Guards, came to composition with their bloody assailants, and gave them their Goods, Plate and Money, for leave to come up to the City of *Dublin*. And having bought their Lisence at so dear a rate, had Passes and Convoys assigned them by the chief Captains of the Rebels, and so came on their way in great Troops of Men, Women, and Children Out of the County of *Cavan*, as M *Creighton* (who by his charitable relief of great numbers of them, preserved them from perishing) testifies in his Examination, there passed by his house in one company 1400 persons, in another 500, from *Newtown* in the County of *Fermanagh*, in others lesser numbers; all without any weapons, or any thing else but the very clothes on their backs, which they suffered them not to carry away with them; but many were most barbarously stripped

of

of them, by those who undertook to give them safe conduct, or perfidiously betrayed by them into the hands of other Rebels, by whom some were killed, others wounded: and all in a manner whatsoever they had to cover their nakedness, taken from most of them; as may appear by the examination of *Adam Clover* of *Slonosy* in the County of *Cavan*, who being duly sworn, deposeth *inter alia*, That this deponent and his company that were robbed, observed, that 30 persons or thereabouts, were then most barbarously murdered and slain outright, and about 150 more persons cruelly wounded; so that traces of blood issuing from their wounds, lay upon the high way for 12 miles together, and many very young children were left and perished by the way, to the number of 60 or thereabouts; because the cruel pursuit of the Rebels was such, that their Parents and friends could not carry them further. And further saith, that some of the Rebels vowed, That if any digged graves wherein to bury the dead children, they should be buried therein themselves: So the poor people left the most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous beasts & fowls, & some few their Parents carried a great way to bury them. And this deponent further saith, that he saw upon the way a woman left by the Rebels striped to her smock, set upon by three women & some *Irish* children, who miserably rent & tore the said poor *English* woman, and stripped her of her smock in a bitter frost and snow, so that she fell in labour under their hands, and both she and her child died there. Thus did their mercy in sparing those miserable souls in this manner prove by much a far greater cruelty then if they had suddenly cut them off, as they did afterwards many thousand of British that fell into their hands. For now they starved and perished in multitudes upon the ways as they traveled along; and to those that outlived the misery of their journy, their limbs only served to drag up their bodies to Christian Burial there denied unto them. For many of the men, and most of the women & Children that thus escaped, either to *Dublin* or other places of safety in the North, not long outlived the bitterness of their passage; but either overwhelmed with grief, or outwearied with Travel, contracted those diseases which furthered by hunger, cold, nakedness, ill lodgings, and want of other necessaries, struck deeply into bodies that had lived long at ease with much plenty, and soon brought them with sorrow to their graves.

THese were the first-fruits of this Rebellion which now began to dilate it self into the other *Provinces*, having covered over the *northern* Parts of the Kingdom with fearful desolations. The first Plotters were yet undiscovered, but the great active instruments appointed for the execution of this horrid design fully appeared, & had already deeply imbrued their hands in the bloody massacree of the English, Sir *Phelim O Neal* being

being the chief of that Sept, & now the person remaining of nearest alliance to the late E. of *Tyron*, assumed to himself the chief power among the Rebels in *Ulster*; & by his directions guided the rest of his complices on, in the destruction of all the *English* there. He was own of very mean parts without courage or conduct; his education for a great part of his youth was in *England*; he was admitted a Student of *Lincolns Inn*, and there trained up in the Protestant Religion, which he soon changed after, if not before his return into *Ireland*, lived loosely, and having *no considerable estate*, by reason of the great engagement upon it, became of very little esteem in all mens opinions Yet such were the over zealous affections of his Countrymen in this cause, their secrecy in attempting, their suddenness in executing, as by their forwardness to destroy the *English* and get their goods, he quickly over-run that part of the Country. He had prevailed so far within seven days after he first appeared in this *Rebellion*, by seizing most treacherously at the very first upon *Charlemont*, where the L. *Caufield* lay with his *Foot*-company, the Forts of *Dongannon* & *Montjoy*, as that in his Letter written to Father *Patrick O Donnell* his Confessor, bearing date from *Montjoy*, the 30. of *Octob.* he was able to brag of great and meny victories. And presently after he had gotten such a multitude of *rude fellows* together, though in very ill equipage, as he marched down with great numbers of men towards *Lisnagarvy*, near the chief Plantation of the Scots; (for that part of their plot to spare them, as they did in the beginning, they found now too gross to take, therefore they resolved to fall upon them without mercy) and yet left sufficient forces to come up into the Pale, to take in *Dondalke* in the County of *Lowth*. Which was a Frontier Town in the last wars against *Tyron*, and so well defended it self, as with all the power he had, he could never recover it into his hands. There lay now a Foot company of the old Army, but the Lieutenant who commanded it, having neither his men in readiness, nor Arms or Munition, made little or no resistance, easily giving way to the forward affections of the inhabitants who delivered up the Town into the possession of the Rebels about the beginning of *November*, 1641.

Sir *Phelim O Neal's* proceedings.

Dundalke taken by the Rebels about the beginning of *November*, 1641

The Rebels presently after their taking in of *Dundalke* marched on further into the County of *Lowth*, & possessed themselves of *Ardee*, a little Town within seven miles of *Tredagh*, anciently called *Drohedagh*. So as it was now high time to provide for the safety of that Town. The L. *Moor* had already retired thither from his house at *Millifont*, and there remained with his troop of horse and two companies of foot. One was under the command of Sir *John Nettervile*, eldest Son to the Lord Viscount *Nettervile*. He discovered in the very beginning much virulency in his affections by giving false frights and raising false rumours

The Rebels march up towards *Tredagh*

and

and making all manner of ill infusions into the minds of the Towns-men, who as it afterwards appeared, were but too forward to take part with the Rebels. It is verily believed they had in the very beginning some plot to cut off the Lord *Moor* and seize upon his Troop; and that Sir *John Netterviles* part was to begin a mutiny, which he attempted that night he was to be upon the watch, by giving ill language, and endeavouring to make a quarrel with his Lordship, which he very discreatly passed over, and so carefully looked to the guard of the Town, as they could take no advantage to put on their design. Howsoever the Towns-men were extreamly frighted with the thoughts of their present danger, and the greater part of them being Papists, were ready to declare themselves for the Catholick cause; only their desires were, things might be so ordered, as would administer unto them specious pretence of necessity for the same.

The ill condition of *Tredagh*, represented by the *L. Moor* to the L. Justices

The L. *Moor* gave present advertisement unto the Lords Justices and Council, of the ill condition and most imminent danger he found the Town to be then in, that it was not possible to preserve it out of the hands of the Rebels without further strength both of horse & foot. That in case the enemy should make any sudden approaches, or attempt to surprize the Town, he found such poor preparatives for defence within, such apparent signs of disloyalty in the Towns-men, and all things in such a desperate confusion, as they should not be able by the best endeavours they could use to give any good account of that place. Hereupon their Lordships presently resolved, to leavy in the City of *Dublin* a Regiment of foot, and to place them under the command of Sir *Henry Tichborn* for the defence of *Tredagh*. And for this purpose there was very opportunely in the hands of the Vice-treasurer 3000 li in a readiness to be at that time sent over into *England*, for the satisfaction of a publick engagement there. This the Lords thought fit to make use of, for the levying and setting out of those men which Sir *Henry Tichborn* got together in very few days, and having a Commission of government for the Town, with some other private instructions, he marched away with great alacrity and diligence the 3. of *November*, and happily arrived next day at *Tredagh*

A Regiment raised by the *L.* Justices at *Dublin*, and sent down under the command of Sir *Henry Tichborn*, for the defence of *Tredagh November*. 3.

The Lords granted another Commission to Sir *Charles Coot* to levy a thousand men more, which he most carefully endeavoured, and within a very short time made up his Regiment, wherein very many of the *English* who came up stripped and despoiled out of the North; listed themselves, for most of the men which escaped from thence with their lives, being better able to suffer then the woman and children, out lived the miseries of their journy, and putting themselves into several companies, some of them had the contentment to revenge the barbarous cruelty us[ed] by

A Regiment raised by Sir *Charles Coot*.

by the Rebels towards them.

UPon the 5 of *November*, the Lords made their 2d diſpatch unto His Majeſty, ſtill at *Edenburgh* in *Scotland*: At the ſame time they ſent ſeveral Letters into *England*, to the L. Keeper, Speaker of the houſe of Peers, to the Speaker of the houſe of Commons, to the Lords of His Majeſty's moſt Hon. privy Council, and to the L. Lieutenant of *Ireland*; in all which they did with much earneſtneſs declare their preſent dangers, together with the neceſſity of ſending ſudden relief. In their Letter to the Lords of the Council they did more particularly ſet down the miſerable eſtate of the whole Kingdom, and the large progreſs that the *Rebellion* had in few days made ſince it broke out. They repreſented unto their Lordſhips the great outrages the Rebels had committed upon the *Britiſh* inhabitants in *Ulſter*, that they had ſeized upon all their eſtates and houſes in five Counties of that Province, poſſeſſed their Arms, detained many of the principal Gentlemen priſoners; That they had already ſlain many, moſt barbarouſly hewed ſome to pieces, that they have expoſed thouſands to want and beggery, who had good eſtates and lived plentifully; That the Rebellion began then to diffuſe it ſelf into the Counties of *Longford* and *Letrim*, and to threaten the *Engliſh* plantations in the King and Queens County: that the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Meath* and *Lowth* began to fall upon the *Engliſh* near about them: that they conceived there could not be leſs then 30000 who had already openly declared themſelves in this Rebellion, and were aſſembled together in ſeveral great parties; that they underſtood their deſign was, having got *Dundalk*, to take in *Tredagh*, and ſo to come up immediately to beſiege the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*; that they gave out publickly, their purpoſe was to extirpate the *Engliſh* and *Proteſtants*, and not to lay down Arms until the *Romiſh Religion* were eſtabliſhed, the Government ſettled in the hands of the Natives, and the old *Iriſh* reſtored to the lands of their ſuppoſed anceſtors. That they held it their duty to acquaint their Lordſhips with the lamentable eſtate wherein the Kingdom ſtood, that his Majeſty and the Parliament might underſtand it, and ſo ſpeedily provide for ſending over to their relief 10000 Foot, 1000 Horſe, together with ſome able Commanders, 100000 *l.* in money, and further proviſions of Arms: That unleſs theſe were preſently ſent to them (they craved leave to repeat it again & again) the Kingdom would be utterly loſt, all the *Engliſh* & *Proteſtants* in *Ireland* deſtroyed, the peace of the Kingdom of *England* diſturbed by the *Iriſh* from thence, and ſo *England* enforced to make a new conqueſt of it, for that a politick reformation would then be impoſſible. But now before I paſs further, I ſhall here give an accompt of the arrival of theſe and the former Letters of the 25 of *October*, addreſſed by the Lords Juſtices and Council to the L. Lieutenant of *Ireland*. *Owen*

The ſecond diſpatch made by the Lords Juſtices and Council into *England*, *Nov.* 5.

The proceedings of the Parliament of *England* upon the first advertisements brought unto them of the Rebellion raised in *Ireland.*

O Connally, the happy discoverer of the first Plot (who carried the first Letters over) arrived at *London* the last day of *October*, and late in the evening delivered those Letters to his Lordship, who having read them over, and received from him full Information of all other particulars within his knowledge, repaired the next morning to the Council-board, and having there acquainted the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council with them, he was requir'd by their Lordships to communicate them unto the Lords of the upper house of Parliament, which he did accordingly the very same morning: and they considering the high importance of them, as soon as they had perused them, Ordered that they should be presently sent down to the house of Commons, by the Lord Keeper, the L. Privy Seal, L. High Chamberlain, L. Admiral, L. Marshal, L. Chamberlain, Earl of *Bath* Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Leicester*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Berks*, Earl of *Bristol*, L. Viscount *Say*, E. *Mandevile*, L. *Goring*, L *Wilmot*, all of them being of His Majesty's most honorable Privy Council. There were Chairs provided for these Lords in the house of Commons, and they sat down there till the Letters were read, and then having informed the house of such other particulars as they had received concerning the general Rebellion in *Ireland*, they departed without any further conference or other debate upon them, leaving the house of Commons to consider further of them: Who presently Ordered,

That the House forthwith should be resolved into a Committee, to take into consideration the matter offered concerning the Rebellion in Ireland, *as likewise to provide for the safety of the Kingdom of* England.

This being done, they fell into a most serious debate of this great business then before them, they fully considered what means were fittest to be used at present for the prevention of the further spreading of that hideous Rebellion in *Ireland*, as well as stopping of the ill influence it might make upon their affairs in *England*, where great troubles even then began to appear within view. And after much time spent in this debate, they came to these several Conclusions, which being put to the question, were assented unto by the Committee, and so resolved as followeth;

1. That 50000*l.* be forthwith provided

2. That a Conference be desired with the Lords, to move them that a select Committee of the Members of both Houses may be appointed to go to the City of *London*, and to make a Declaration unto them of the state of the business in *Ireland*; and to acquaint them that the lending of monies at this time will be an acceptable service to the Common-wealth. And that they propose unto them the Loan of 50000*l.* and to assure them that they shall be secured both of the Principal and Interest, by Act of Parliament.

3. That

3 That a ſelect Commitee may be named both Houſes to conſider of the affairs of *Ireland.*

4 That *Owen O Conally*, who diſcovered this great treaſon, ſhall have 500 l. preſently paid him, and 200 l. *per annum* penſion, until proviſion of land of inheritance of a greater value be made for him.

5 That the perſons of Papiſts of quality within this Kingdom, may be ſecured within the ſeveral Counties where they reſide.

6 That no perſon whatſoever, except thoſe who are Merchants, ſhall be admitted to go over into *Ireland*, without Certificate from the Committee of both Houſes appointed to conſider the affairs of *Ireland.*

Theſe with ſeveral other particulars concerning *Ireland*, and tending in order to the ſafety of the Kingdom of *England*, were reſolved upon the queſtion, and Maſter *Whitlock* appointed to report them to the Houſe as heads of conference deſired with the Lords concerning the affairs of *Ireland.* which was accordingly had with their Lordſhips the ſame day; At which conference the L. Keeper did expreſs the very great ſence the Lords had of the exceeding great care taken by the houſe of Commons for the prevention of the further ſpreading of the Rebellion in *Ireland.* And his Lordſhip by command of the Lords did further let them know, that their Lordſhip did think fit to agree with them in all thoſe particulars preſented unto them by the houſe of Commons without any material alteration, only adding ſuch further things as they conceived might ſerve to further and expediate their deſires in the more ſpeedy putting them in execution.

The houſe of Commons having proceeded thus far in the affairs of *Ireland*, upon the two firſt days after the diſcovery made unto them, of the Rebellion there raiſed, did notwithſtanding their own preſent diſtractions, ſet a part ſome portion almoſt of every day that they ſate, during the whole month of *November*, for the conſidering of the affairs of *Ireland*; and ſo upon the third and fourth of the ſame, reſolved upon the queſtion, and accordingly ordered theſe particulars following:

1 That the houſe holds fit that 20000. li. be forthwith ſupplied for the preſent occaſions, of *Ireland.*

2 That a convenient number of ſhips ſhall be provided for the guarding of the Sea-coaſts of *Ireland.*

3 That this houſe holds fit that 6000 foot and 2000 horſe ſhall be raiſed with all convenient ſpeed, for the preſent expedition into *Ireland.*

4 That the Lord Lieutenant ſhall preſent to both houſes of Parliament, ſuch Officers as he ſhall think fit to ſend into *Ireland*, to command any forces to be tranſported thither.

5 That Magazines of victuals ſhall be forthwith provided at *Weſt-*

cheſter to be ſent over to *Dublin*, as the occaſions of that Kingdom ſhall require.

6 That the Magazines of Arms, Ammunition, Powder, now in *Carliſle*, ſhall be forthwith ſent over to *Knockfergus* in *Ireland*.

7 That it be referred to the Kings Council, to conſider of ſome fit way and to preſent it to the Houſe, for a publication to be made of rewards to be given to ſuch as ſhall do ſervice in this Expedition into *Ireland*.; & for a pardon of ſuch of the Rebels in *Ireland* as ſhall come in by a time limitted, & of a ſum of mony to be appointed for a reward to ſuch as ſhall bring in the heads of ſuch principal Rebels as ſhall be nominated.

8 That Letters ſhall be forthwith ſent to the Juſtices in *Ireland* to acquaint them how ſenſible this Houſe is of the affairs of *Ireland*.

9 That the Committee of *Iriſh* affairs ſhall conſider how, and in what manner this Kingdom ſhall make uſe of the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of *Scotland* in the buſineſs of *Ireland*.

10 That directions ſhall be given for the drawing of a Bill for the preſſing of men for this particular ſervice of *Ireland*.

Theſe particulars, together with ſeveral others, being reſolved upon the queſtion, they paſſed an Ordinance of Parliament, enabling the Earl of *Leiceſter* L. Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to raiſe 3500 Foot, and 600 horſe, for the preſent ſervice there. And they further expreſſed their reſolution, not to make uſe of the aſſiſtance offered unto them by their Brethren of *Scotland* further for the preſent, then for the furniſhing them with 1000 Foot, which they deſired might be tranſported out of *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*. And on the ſame day they ordered, that the Maſter of his Majeſty's Ordinance ſhould deliver to L. Lieutenant of *Ireland* the number of 1000 Arms for Horſe & 8000 Arms for Foot, and ten laſt of powder, to be preſently ſent into *Ireland*. And that the L. Admiral ſhould ſuddenly provide ſhipping for the tranſporting of Men, Arms, & Ammunition, and other proviſions according to the former reſolutions of the Houſe.

Now while both Houſes of Parliament were taking order for raiſing men, Money and ſending proviſions and other neceſſaries for *Ireland*, there arrived thoſe other Letters of the 5 of *November*, formerly mentioned, which being addreſſed to the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy Council, were communicated to both Houſes of Parliament; & after a conference upon them, took further reſolutions for the ſpeedy ſending a way ſupplies into *Ireland*. And ſuch were the forwardneſſ ctions & zeal of the Houſe of Commons, to promove what concerned the ſervice of *Ireland*, as they thereupon voted 200000 li. to be raiſed for the ſuppreſſing the *Iriſh* rebellion, & for ſecuring of the Kingdom of *England*, & payment of the publick debts.

And

And that they might facilitate this great work of raising such a summ of money, upon credit of an Act of Parliament, before the money could be collected throughout the Kingdom; they thought fit, for the better encouragement of the City of *London*, and for the giving them full satisfaction in point of security for the moneys formerly lent them, to make this Order following.

THe Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having a due regard to the good affection of the City of London *expressed upon sundry occasions by the advancing and lending of great summs of money, for the service of this Common-wealth, & particularly the summ of* 50000 *li. lent for the* Irish *affairs; & the summ of* 50000 *li. more lent by the said City unto the Peers attending his Majesty in the Northern parts before the beginning of this present Parliament, which are not yet paid or otherways secured, shall be fully satisfied & repaid unto the said City of* London, *with interest of* 8 *li.* per cent. *for one year, out of such moneys as are or shall be raised by Authority of Parliament. And for that purpose an Act of Parliament to be passed with all expedition. Provided always that this present Ordinance shall not in any ways be prejudicial to any Members of the said House of Commons, who have formerly lent any summs of money to this Parliament, nor to the Northern Counties, nor to any persons whatsoever, to whom both Houses of Parliament, on the said House of Commons have formerly ordered the payment of any summs of money, nor to any security given to them, before the making of this Ordinance.*

BUt I shall now return to the affairs of this Kingdom, and the serious consultations and means used here by the Justices and Council for the securing of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, which by reason of the present confusion, weakness, and wants, were in very great, and most apparent danger of a sudden surprize.

And first for the Castle, Sir *Francis Willoughby* being made Governour, had a Company of an 100 men well armed, assigned for the constant guard of that place, besides the ordinary Warders, who gave their usual attendance there. And because the Lords conceived it might be dangerous in such desperate times to admit such a multitude of suitors of all sorts into the Castle, as had daily occasion to attend the Council-board, they presently transferred the place of their meeting in Council to *Cork* House, where they continued to sit a good time after, notwithstanding the great danger their persons were continually exposed unto, by the confident resort in great numbers of several Lords, Gentlemen and others, who within few days after declared themselves Rebels, and so went out among them. It was Gods immediate providence that preserved them, and suffered not those persons, who soon after became

such bloody Rebels, to lay hold on that opportunity. For certainly, they might with great ease have taken out of the way the Lords Justices and Council; & so have left all things in such confusion as would have brought on their long desired ends without any further contestation or trouble.

The next care was to provide victuals for the Castle in such proportions as might enable it to endure a siege, in case the Town, either through treachery within, or by forces from without, should come to be surprized by the Rebells, who now carried all things so clearly before them in the North, as they most confidently gave it out they would suddenly come down & make themselves masters of it. How to compass this, seemed a matter of great difficulty, in regard there was no money to be had for the performing this work so absolutely necessary in it self, and at that time so highly importing the safety & preservation, even of the whole Kingdom. Therefore the Master of the *Rolles*, upon whom the Lords were pleased to impose this service of victualling the Castle, took the advantage of the strange frights, fears, and little safety, all the *English* & *Protestants*, conceived both themselves and their goods to remain in at that time. He sent presently for some of the chief Merchants that were Protestants in the Town, & clearly represented unto them, the high necessities of the State, the great danger of the Town, the publick benefit, and their own private security, in laying into the Castle such of their provisions as they had lying by them, even in unfafe places of the City. These impressions took, and they rightly apprehending the common danger, that they could not out-live the ruins of the Castle; partly out of their own good affections to the service, partly out of a prudent care to secure their goods, were content to bring in great quantities of Beef, Herrings, and Corn upon the Master of the *Rolls* undertaking to see them satisfied, in case use were made of them, or otherwise certain restitution in kind to the several owners. So as there were presently laid in by the *English* and *Dutch* Merchants, within the Verge of the Castle, above 2000 barrels of Beef, 2000 barrels of Herrings, & a good proportion of Wheat; provisions sufficient, not onely to victual the Castle for many months, but which did serve to maintain the whole Army billeted in the City a long time after, & their money they received within few months after, by certificate from hence upon the Chamber of *London*; according to an Order made by both Houses of Parliament in *England*; for present payment to be made to such as laid in any provisions for the Army in *Ireland*. There was then further Order taken to new dig & clear an old Well long since stopped up within the Walls of the Castle; & to provide all other necessaries fit for a siege. This was the first step to the safety of this place, and gave great comfort and security to all the *English* & *Protestants*.

Order taken for victualling the Castle of *Dublin*.

The

The Caſtle being thus happily provided for, the Lords took it next into their care how to ſecure the City in ſome ſort, againſt any ſudden attempts. And this proved a work not eaſie to be effected, not only in regard of the crazineſs of the walls, the large Suburbs, and weakneſs of the place; but much more in reſpect of the corrupt ill affections of the Popiſh inhabitants within the City: So ſtrangely were many of them deluded with the ill infuſions of their Prieſts, as they did certainly (as we found afterwards by woful experience) do all that in them lay, to promote the rebellious deſigns then ſet on foot (as they believed) only for the re-ſettlement of their Religion, and recovery of their Liberties. They were the inſtruments to conveigh away privately moſt of the chief Conſpirators, who would have ſurprized the Caſtle on the 23d of *Octob.* They ſecretly entertained many of the Rebels that came out of the Country, they likewiſe ſent them relief that were abroad, by ſecret ways, conveighing as well Ammunition, as Intelligence of all paſſages from hence. And ſuch ſtrong averſions had they againſt all contributions for the maintenance of His Majeſty's army; as in the very beginning of the Rebellion, when the Lords ſent for the Mayor and Aldermen, and laying before them the high neceſſities of the State, together with the apparent danger of the City and whole Kingdom, deſired to borrow a conſiderable ſumm of mony for the preſent, which they undertook to repay out of the next Treaſure that ſhould arrive out of *England.* The Popiſh party among them was ſo prevalent, as that after a moſt ſerious conſultation and very ſolemn debate among themſelves, they returned this anſwer, that they were not able to furniſh above 40 *l.* and part of that was to be brought in in Cattle.

The I. Juſtices care to provide for the ſafety of the City of *Dublin.*

There remained at this time imbarqued within the harbour of *Dublin* four hundred Iriſh Soldiers, ready, as was pretended, to ſet Sail for *Spain*, under the command of Colonel *John Barry*, who with ſome other Iriſh Gentlemen had procured leave from His Majeſty to leavy certain numbers of voluntiers to be tranſported over for the ſervice of the K. of *Spain.* And theſe levied in other parts, as well as at *Dublin*, were brought together juſt at the very time deſign'd for the execution of the great plot. The *pretence* was ſpecious, but certainly their intentions how finely ſoever cover'd over, were to have thoſe men in a readineſs together, at the very time appointed for the firſt breaking out of theſe unnatural troubles. And as for *thoſe men* which lay within the *harbour* of *Dublin*, they were ſo great a *terror* to all the *Proteſtant Inhabitants* in the *City*, as it *exceedingly perplexed* the *Lords* how to diſpoſe ſo of them as might prevent the miſchief juſtly feared, in caſe of their landing. Their Commanders had ſo handſomely ordered the matter as tho' they were deſigned for a long voyage, yet ſtay on Ship-board any longer they could not, by reaſon they had no victuals,

Several *Iriſh* Soldiers imbarqued under pretence of being carried into *Spain*, at the very time of the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion.

ctuals, not even enough to carry them out of the Harbour; and no man had order in the absence of Colonel *Barry* who retired himself some few miles out of the Town, the very Evening before the Castle should have been taken) to provide for the further supplying of them. To suffer them to land, was to add so many instruments of mischief to those already gathered within and about the City. Therefore it was resolved that the Captain of the King's Pinace then in the Harbour, should by force keep them from landing, which he did several days together, till it was apparent they would inevitably starve, if a course were not suddenly taken to afford them some relief. Whereupon the Lords having no means to victual them aboard, gave them leave to land, having first taken order they should not come into the City.

Several Proclamations issued out by the Lords Justices and Council.

The Lords Justices and Council thought fit within very few days after the landing of these men, the more to deter them, and all other ill-affected persons from repairing to the City of *Dublin*, to issue out a Proclamation for the discovery and present removal of all such as did or should come & continue there without just or necessary cause. But so careful were they in this, and all other their actions, not to give any distaste to the *Irish* or other inhabitants of the Country, as they forbare to inflict any punishment upon any that continued in the City contrary to their Proclamation, sparing several persons whom they had not only just cause to be jealous of, but who were brought before them, and convinced to have uttered speeches clearly discovering their ill affections. And having by late Proclamations prorogued the Parliament, and adjourned *Michaelmas* Term, that under pretence of repair to either of them, unnecessary concourse of strangers might not be brought unto the Town, they proceeded on to some other Acts, which as they conceived would not only render great security to the City, but lessen the distempers abroad, bring safety to the *Pale*, and keep the dangers at distance, and far off from them. And for this purpose they being informed, that a multitude of the meaner sort of people were ignorantly involved in the guilt of this Rebellion, and by the wicked seducement of the first Conspirators had been drawn on to despoil their *English* neighbour, they issued out a Proclamation about the beginning of the month of *November*, declaring unto all such as were not Freeholders within the County of *Meath*, *West-Meath*, *Lowth* and *Longford*; that if they would come in and submit, make restitution of the goods so taken, they should be received to His Majesty's Mercy, and no further prosecution held against them.

Much about the time of the sending forth of this *Proclamation*, some of the chief of the Sept of the *Rely's*, and other prime *Gentlemen* in the County of *Cavan* sent up a kind of *Remonstrance* to the Lords Justices and Council. Whereunto they returned them a very fair answer, assuring them of their readines

readiness to give them all just redress of their grievances expressed therein, so they would in the mean time retire peaceably to their houses, restore as they were able the *English mens* goods, & forbear all further Acts of rapine & violence. And they did presently send over their Remonstrance to the Lord Lieutenant, to be presented to His Majesty, according to their desires. But these ways of moderation and peaceable perswasions, proved of very little effect, they had no manner of influence into the resolved minds of the Leaders, or of opperation upon the hardned hearts of the people; they were too deeply engaged, so slightly to retire. They had now drenched themselves in the blood of the *English*, & were greatly enriched with their spoils. It was not posible for them to make restitution, & they hoped to go through with the work, & by the united power of the Kingdom to draw the whole management of the affairs into their own hands.

A Remonstrance sent up to the Lords Justices and Council, from the Rebels in the County of *Cavan*.

And now likewise the Lords Justices, & Council, that they might shew the great confidence they had in the Lords & chief Gentlemen of the *Pale* & give them both opportunity & means to express their loyalty and affections to His Majesty's service, resolved (according as the constitution of their affairs then required) to do some such Acts as might clearly perswade them of the great trust they really reposed in them. And therefore first they gave out several Commissions of Martial Law, for executing (without attending a proceeding according to the ordinary course of the Common Law) of such Traitours & Rebels as should be apprehended doing mischief in any parts of the Country about them. And these they directed to the most active Gentlemen, though all Papists, inhabiting in the several Counties, as To *Henry Talbot* in the County of *Dublin*, *John Bellew* Esq; in the County of *Lowth*, *Richard Dalton* and *James Tuit* Esq; in the County of *West-meath*, *Valerian Wesly* in the County of *Meath*, *James Talbot* in the County of *Cavan*.

Commissions of martial Law granted unto several persons by the Lords Justices.

Next they made choice of the chief persons of quality residing in the said Counties of the *Pale*, and others adjacent to them, to govern and command such forces as should be raised by them, and armed by the State for the defence of the Country, and issued out from the Council-board several Commissions of government unto them. As One to the Earl of *Ormonde* and the L. Viscount *Montgarret*, for the County of *Kilkenny*; to *Walter Bagnall* Esq; for the County of *Catherlagh*; Sir *Jam. Dillon* the elder, and Sir *James Dillon* the younger for the County of *Longford*; L. Viscount *Cotaloe* for the County of *Mayo*, Sir *Robert Talbot* & *Garrat Birne* for the County of *Wicklow*; Sir *Christopher Bellew* for the County of *Lowth*; Earl of *Kildare* for the County of *Kildare*; Sir *Thomas Nugent* for the County of *West-meath*; *Nicholas Barnwell* for the County of *Dublin*; L. Viscount *Germanstown* for the County of *Meath*. All these were made

Commissions of government of the several Counties within the *Pale*, granted to several Lords and Gentlemen, without distinction of Religion.

choice of without distinction of religion; the Lords holding it fit at that time to put the chief persons of power in the County into those places of trust; hoping they might prove good instruments to oppose the threatening incursions of the Northern Rebels which they knew them well enabled to perform if they would really joyn in the service, or at least be kept by this their great confidence in them, from giving any entertainment or assistance to their rebellious designs

The Commission directed to the L. of *Gormanston*, I have thought fit here to insert. It was found afterwards in his study by some of His Majesties army, when he and all the rest of the Governours that were of the *Romish Religion*, thus chosen, deserted their houses, and openly declared themselves in actual rebellion. The other Commissions were all of the same tenour.

By

By the Lords Juſtices and Councel.

W. Parſons. *John Borlace.*

RIght truſty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas divers moſt Diſloyal and Malignant perſons within this Kingdom have Traiterouſly Conſpired againſt His Majeſty, His Peace, Crown and Dignity; and many of them in Execution of their Conſpiracy, are Traiterouſly Aſſembled together in a Warlike manner, and have moſt Inhumanely made Deſtruction and Devaſtation of the Perſons and Eſtates of divers of His Majeſty's Good and Loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, and Taken, Slain, and Impriſoned great numbers of them. We out of Our Care and Zeal for the common Good, being deſirous by all means to Suppreſs the ſaid Treaſons and Traitors, and to Conſerve the Perſons and Fortunes of His Majeſty's Loving Subjects here in Safety; and to prevent the further ſpoil and Devaſtation of His Majeſty's good people here, do therefore hereby Require and Authoriſe you, to Levy, Raiſe and Aſſemble, all, every, or any the Forces, as well Foot-men as Horſe-men within the County of *Meath*, giving you hereby the Command in Chief of all the ſaid Forces, and hereby further Requiring and Authorizing you as Commander of them in Chief, to Arm, Array, Divide, Diſtribute, Diſpoſe, Conduct, Lead, and Govern in Chief the ſaid Forces, according to your beſt Diſcretion; and with the ſaid Forces, to Reſiſt, Purſue, Follow, Apprehend, and put to Death, Slay, and Kill, as well by Battel as other ways, all and ſingular the ſaid Conſpirators, Traitors and their Adherents, according to your Diſcretion; and according to your Conſcience and Diſcretion to proceed againſt them, or any of them, by Martial Law, by Hanging them or any of them till they be dead, according as it hath been accuſtomed in time of open Rebellion; and alſo to Take, Waſte, and Spoil their, or any of their Caſtles, Holds, Forts, Houſes, Goods, and Territories, or other-

wise to preserve the Lives of them, or any of them, and to receive them into His Majesty's Favour and Mercy, and to forbear the devastation of their, or any of their Castles, Forts, Houses, Holds, Goods, and Territories afore-mentioned, according to your Discretion: Further hereby Requiring and Authorizing you to do, Execute, and perform all and singular such other things for Examination of persons suspected, discovery of Traitors and their Adherents, Parlying with, and granting Protections to them or any of them, taking up of Carts, Carriages, and other conveniencies, Sending and Retaining Espials, Victualling the said Forces, and other things whatsoever conducing to the purpose afore-mentioned, as you in your Discretion shall think fit, and the necessity of the service Require; further hereby Requiring and Authorizing you, as Commander in chief, to constitute and appoint such Officers and Ministers respectively, for the better performance and Execution of all and singular the premises, as you in your Discretion shall think fit. And We do hereby Require and Command, all and singular His Majesty's Sheriffs, Officers, and Ministers, and Loving Subjects, of and within the County of *Meath*, and the Borders thereof, upon their Faith and Allegiance to His Majesty, and to His Crown, to be Aiding, Helping, and Assisting to you, in the doing, and Executing of all and singular the Premises; This our Commission to continue during Our pleasure only, and for the so doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given at His *Majestiy's* Castle of *Dublin*, *Novemb.* 1641.

R. Dillon. *Jo. Temple.*
Ja. Ware. *Rob. Meredith.*

To our very good Lord *Nicholas* Vic. Com. *Gormanstown.*

IN theſe Commiſſions it is very obſervable, that there was power given to theſe Lords and Gentlemen to whom they were directed, not only to uſe Fire and Sword, for the deſtruction of the Rebels and their Adherents, but alſo to preſerve the lives of any of them, to receive them, or any of them into His Majeſty's Favour or Mercy. This plainly ſhews the very great confidence the Lords were pleaſed to repoſe in them; as alſo their deſires to make them inſtruments, to deliver thoſe multitudes of people that engaged themſelves in this Rebellion, from the power, either of His Majeſty's Arms, or Civil Juſtice. They intended nothing but the reducing of a Rebellious Nation; and they at the firſt applied lenitives, which failing in the Cure, they were afterwards then enforced to have recourſe to more violent Medicines.

Arms and Munition delivered out to the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, by the Lords Juſtices and Council.

That theſe Governours thus conſtituted, might be the better enabled according to the authority and power given unto them by their ſeveral Commiſſions, to undertake the defence of the Country in this high extremity of the near approaching dangers; The Lords took order to have delivered unto them a certain proportion of Arms, to be imployed for the arming of ſome men to be raiſed in each County for the common ſafety, beſides the Arms they gave them, and other Gentlemen, for the defence of their own private Houſes. As to the Lord of *Gormanſtone* there were delivered Arms for five hundred men, for the County of *Meath*. There were alſo delivered Arms for three hundred men for the County of *Kildare*. Arms for three hundred men for the County of *Lowth*. Arms for three hundred men for the County of *Weſt-Meath*. Arms for three hundred men for the County of *Dublin*. And about the ſame time there were ſent down four hundred Muskets, to the Lords of the *Ardes* and *Clandeboys*, for the arming of the Scots in the County of *Down*. All of theſe had Powder, Lead, and Match, proportionable to their Arms, at the ſame time delivered unto them.

Several Counties within the Province of *Leinſter* declare themſelves for the Rebels.

But now the poiſon of this Rebellion which had hitherto contained it ſelf within the Northern Counties, and the confines of them, began to be diffuſed into other parts of the Kingdom. It had already infected the Counties of *Letrim*, *Longford*, *Weſt-Meath*, and *Lowth*, lying contiguous unto them. And upon the 12th of *Novemb.* the *Iriſh* in the County of *Wicklow* brake out moſt furiouſly, Deſpoiling, Robbing, and Murthering all the *Engliſh* Inhabitants within that territory. They burnt all their fair well-built houſes, drove away their Cattle, and laid Siege to Fort *Carew*, wherein was a foot Company of the old Army. The News being brought to the Lords Juſtices thereof, they well conſidered the importance of the place, and that if it were in the hands of the Rebels, and

that whole County in their poſſeſſion, they could expect little quietneſs, or even ſafety in the City, by reaſon of their near neighbourhood. Whereupon they were moſt deſirous to have ſent down forces for the relief of it. But when they came on the other ſide to conſider their want of means for the performance of that ſervice, that they had no money, but few men, and many of them not to be truſted; that it would be very dangerous to divide their ſmall forces, and ſo to leave the City in a manner unguarded, they were enforced to lay aſide that reſolution, and with great grief to ſit ſtill & ſuffer the poor *Engliſh* in thoſe parts to be expos'd to the mercileſs cruelties of thoſe barbarous Rebels who went on furiouſly with the work, and quickly clear'd all that County of the *Engliſh* inhabitants. Within few days after, the *Iriſh* in the Counties of *Wexford* and *Caterlagh* began to riſe likewiſe, & to follow the bloody examples of their neighbours. There were now alſo great appearancies of the diſloyalty of the County of *Kildare*, who with large proteſtations under the pretence of doing ſervice had gotten into their hands the Arms and Munition deſigned for them by the State. And ſo myſterious and doubtful was the carriage of the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Engliſh Pale*, giving no manner of Intelligence to the State of the proceedings of the Rebels, nor making any kind of preparatives againſt them, as their affections began even then to be juſtly ſuſpected.

The ſad condition of the City of *Dublin*.

So as the City of *Dublin* being the receptacle of the whole State, the Magazine of all the arms, munition and other proviſions for the army, and the chief ſanctuary of all the *Engliſh* and *deſpoiled Proteſtants*, was now reduced to a very ſad condition, deſperately encompaſſed on every ſide the Northern Rebels being come down in two ſeveral parties with great forces, within 20 miles of it on the one ſide, & the Rebels of the County of *Wicklow* infeſting it on the other ſide; which with the great reſort of ſtrangers, & the *continual rumours* of new *plots* and *devices* to ſurprize the Town, poſſeſſed the *Proteſtants* with extraordinary fears of their preſent danger. But that which made their *condition* appear *much* more formidable unto them, was the daily repair of multitudes of *Engliſh* that came up in troops, ſtripped, and miſerably deſpoiled, out of the North. Many perſons of *good rank* and *quality*, cover'd over with old raggs, and ſome without any other covering then a little twiſted *ſtraw* to hide their nakedneſs. Some reverend Miniſters & others that had eſcap'd with their lives, ſorely wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the murders of their Husbands. Mothers of their children barbarouſly deſtroyed before their faces, poor infants ready to periſh and pour out their ſouls in their Mothers boſom. ſome over-wearied with long travel, & ſo ſurbated, as they came creeping on their knees; others frozen up with cold, ready to give up the Ghoſt in the ſtreets; others over-welm'd with grief, diſtracted with their loſſes, loſ

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lso their ſences. Thus was the Town within the compaſs of a few days after the breaking out of this rebellion filled with theſe moſt lamentable ſpectacles of ſorrow, which in great numbers wandred up and down in ll parts of the City, deſolate, forſaken, having no place to lay their heads n, no clothing to cover their nakedneſs, no food to fill their hungery bel-ies. And to add to their miſeries, they found all manner of relief very liſproportionable to their wants, the Popiſh inhabitants refuſing to mi-iſter the leaſt comfort unto them: ſo as thoſe ſad creatures appeared ike living Ghoſts in ever ſtreet. Many empty houſes in the City, were y ſpecial direction taken up for them: Barns, Stables, & out houſes fil-ed with them, yet many lay in the open Streets, and others under ſtalls nd there moſt miſerably periſhed. The Churches were the Common re-eptacles of the meaner ſort of them, who ſtood there in a moſt doleful oſture, as objects of charity, in ſo great multitudes, as there was ſcarce ny paſſage into them. But thoſe of better quality, who could not frame hemſelves to be common beggars, crept into private places, and ſome of hem that had not private friends to relieve them, even waſted ſilently a-way, & ſo died without noiſe. And ſo bitter was the remembrance of their ormer condition, and ſo inſupportable the burthen of their preſent cala-nity to many of them, as they even refuſed to be comforted. I have nown of ſome that lay almoſt naked, & having clothes ſent, laid them by efuſing to put them on. Others that would not ſtir to fetch themſelves ood, though they knew where it ſtood ready for them. But they continu-d to lie naſtily in their filthy raggs, and even their own dung, not tak-ng care to have any thing clean, handſome or comfortable about them. nd ſo even worn out with the miſery of their journy and cruel uſage, aving their ſpirits ſpent, their bodies waſted, & their ſences failing, lay ere pitifully languiſhing; and ſoon after they had recovered this Town, ery many of them dyed, leaving their bodies as monuments of the moſt nhuman cruelties uſed towards them. The greateſt part of the women & hildren thus barbarouſly expelled out of their habitations, periſhed in he City of *Dublin*: & ſo great numbers of them were brought to their raves, as all the Church-yards within the *whole Town* were of too nar-ow a compaſs to contain them. So as the Lords took order to have two arge pieces of new ground, one on each ſide the River, taken in upon the ut Greens, & ſet apart for burying places. Theſe were the memorable pectacles of mercy, and of the great commiſeration the Rebels uſed to hoſe Engliſh, to whom they gave their lives for a prey. But what their ufferings were, before they could get out of the hands of thoſe bloody illains, what ſtrange horrid inventions they uſed towards them, tortu-ing & maſſacring thoſe they there murder'd, is reſerved to be more ful-

The reſort of multitudes of men, women and children to the City of *Dublin*, in a moſt miſer-able poſture

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ly related in its proper place. They are left upon record to posterity, under the oaths of many that escaped, and mentioned here to no other purpose, then to shew the strange horror & amazement the beholding of them bred in all the *English* & Protestant inhabitants of the City. They seeing the Rebels prevail so mightily, expected if they continued here to be undoubtedly exposed to the same cruelties. And they now understood by those who were come up from among them, that their design was; As soon as they had taken in *Tredagh*, to come and seize upon the City and Castle of *Dublin*, and so to make a general extirpation of all the *English*, root and branch, not to leave them name or posterity throughout the Kingdom.

The fears and distractions within the City of *Dublin*.

It is easy to conjecture what a sad confused countenance the City then had: what fears, terror, and astonishment, the miserable spectacles within, and the approches of the Rebels without, raised in the minds of an affrighted, distracted people. The *English* inhabitants looked upon all the horrid cruelties exercised abroad, all the calamities and desolations fallen upon their Country-men in other parts of the Kingdom, as arrived at these gates, and now ready to enter: the Avenues all open, neither hope nor means, neither Rampires nor Trenches to keep them out. Notwithstanding the careful travels and endeavours used by the Lords Justices and Council to make provision for the common safety, no money could be raised, few men gotten together: the Papists well furnished with arms closely conceiled, and desperately animated by their Priests to all manner of mischief; no Fortifications about the Suburbs, nor any manner of defence for the City, but an old ruinous Wall, part whereof fell down in the very height of these distractions. And so careless were the Citizens, and so slowly went they about the making up that breach, as under pretence of want of money, they let it ly open till the Lords sent unto them 40. li toward the reparation. All things tended to a sudden confusion; the very face of the City was now changed, and had such a ghastly aspect, as seemed to portend her near approaching ruin: the means of safety appearing very slender and inconsiderable; the applications by reason of the strange *aversions* of the *Popish party* of a very slow and weak operation. Every man began to consider himself and his own private preservation. Those that lived in the Suburbs removed, with their families into the City. The Privy Councellours and persons of quality into the Castle, which became a common repository of all things of value. The Rolls were by special order removed thither: the Records of several other Offices were likewise brought in. But upon the Rebels advancing somewhat nearer, and their frequent alarms, many of those who had there taken sanctuary, began to suspect the strength of those old city walls, and therefore to make sure, resolved to quit the Kingdom, in

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barquing themselves and their goods with all possible speed. Some who were detained with contrary winds in the Harbour chose rather to endure all extremities on Shipboard, then to hazard themselves a shoar again. The *Scotch* Fishermen, who lay with their Boats in great numbers within the Bay, fishing for Herrings, have with much forwardness made an offer to the State to bring 500 of their men a shoar to be put in Arms and do present service (a proposition at that season most acceptable) were so strangly affrighted one evening with a false alarm, as that in the night, on a sudden, they put to Sea, and quite disappeared on these Coasts till the year following. The Papist on the other side being most confident that the City would be taken and sack'd by the Rebels, and fearing lest happily they might be mistaken in the tumult and fierce execution, removed themselves and their goods with the same speed into the Country. And that which heightened the Calamity of the poor *English* was their flight in the Winter, in such a dismal, stormy, tempestuous season, as in the memory of man had never been observed formerly to continue so long together. Yet the terror of the Rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the rage of the Sea, most of those who could provide themselves of shipping, though at newer so excessive rates, deserted the City: and such was the violence of the winds, such continuing impetuous storms, as several Barques were cast away; some in three months after their going from hence could recover no Port in *England*: and almost all that then put to Sea, were in great danger of perishing. The iniquities of the *English* Nation, which were very great in this Kingdom, were now full: Heaven and Earth seemed to conspire together for the punishment of them. God certainly declared his high indignation against them for their great sins wherewith they had long continued to provoke him in his land, and suffered these barbarous Rebels to be the instruments of mischief and cruel executioners of his fierce wrath upon them. *But because they have taken vengeance with a despiteful heart to destroy them, for the old hatred, He will certainly in His own time execute great vengeance upon them with furious rebukes, as he threatned the* Philistians *in the like case:* Ezek. 25. 15. 17.

The Particulars of the first PLOT of the *Irish Rebellion*: Together with a brief Narration of the most Notorious Cruelties, and Bloody Massacrees which ensued in several parts of this Kingdom.

THUS we see what a great height this Rebellion was grown up unto, within the space of less then one Month, after the very first appearance of it: What horrid Murders, cruel Out-rages, and fearful Desolations it had already wrought in one Province, and what a powerful Operation the Cruelties there Acted had upon other parts. But before I pass further, or come to declare the universal dilatation of it throughout the whole Kingdom, and how it pleased God even Miraculously to bless the painful endeavours of the State, in the preservation of the City and Castle of *Dublin*, till the arrival of their long expected succours out of *England*: I hold it not amiss to look back, and (as far as the late discoveries and dark glimmerings we have into the first Plot will admit) to trace it up to the first beginnings we find of it within this Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Concerning the first Plot of the Rebellion.

Concerning the first Original of this great Conspiracy, as likewise the first Plotters and Contrivers of it, I must ingenuously confess, that I am my self much unsatisfied in the first conceptions of this Monstrous Birth, and therefore shall not now be able clearly to resolve others therein: I cannot yet determine who were the very first Contrivers, where the first Debates were entertained, or who first fatned Council about it. This, as all other works of this nature, had its foundation laid in the dark, and Sealed up no doubt with many execrable Oaths, the great Engines of these times, to bind up the Consciences as well as the Tongues of men from discovery: Besides, they knew well enough that the Plot being most abominable in it self, to be carried on with such

Who were the Plotters of it not yet clearly discovered.

deteſtable cruelty, ſhould it take and be fully executed (which commonly gives to all other treaſons applauſe & higheſt commendation) would certainly render the firſt Authors, as well as the bloody actors, moſt odious & excecrable to all Poſterity? Therefore it is not much to be wondred, that the firſt beginnings ſo myſterious and obſcurely laid, remain as yet concealed with ſo great *Obſtinacy*: But yet I am very confident, that upon view of ſeveral examinations, any reaſonable man will conclude with me, that the very firſt principles of this inhuman Conſpiracy, were roughly drawn and hammered out at the *Romiſh Forge*, powerfully fomented by the treachery and virulent animoſities of ſome of the chief *Iriſh* Natives, and ſo by degrees, by them moulded into that ugly ſhape wherein it firſt appeared: There certainly it received the firſt life and motion, whether at *Rome*, whether in *Ireland*, or in any other place, I cannot yet determine: But my meaning is, it was firſt hatched and ſet on foot by thoſe moſt vigilent and induſtrious Emiſſaries, who are ſent continually abroad by the power of that See with full Commiſſion, *per fas & nefas*, to make way for the re-eſtabliſhment of the *Romiſh Religion* in all parts where it hath been ſuppreſſed. Great numbers of theſe wicked Inſtruments (the Laws againſt all of the *Romiſh Clergy*, being of late laid aſide, and tacitely ſuſpended execution) came over into *Ireland*: The main Ground-work, and firſt predifpoſitions to a Rebellion in General, were moſt undoubtedly with great dexterity and artifice laid by them; their venemous infuſion taking ſuch deep roots in the minds of a blind, ignorant, ſuperſtitious people, as made them ready for a change, the great ones miſchievouſly to plot & contrive, the inferiour ſort tumultuouſly to raiſe up & execute whatſoever they ſhould command.

And if we will give credit to ſeveral examinations taken, many of them from thoſe of their own, we muſt believe the plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland*, of a very ancient date, as well as of a large extent: It had been long in contriveing, and howſoever, peradventure firſt thought on in *Ireland*, yet received large contributions towards conſummation out of *England* and other Forreign parts.

The general Plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland* of an ancient date.

I have ſeen an Examination of one, who affirms he heard it confidently averred by *Malone* a Prieſt, one that ſtiled himſelf *Chaplain Major* within the *Pale*, that he himſelf had been ſeaven years imployed in bringing on this plot to perfection, that he had travelled into ſeveral parts about it.

Maſter *Goldſmith* a Miniſter in *Connaught* told me, that he did a full year before the Rebellion brake out, receive a Letter from a Brother of his reſiding at *Bruſſels*, wherein he gave him notice thereof, though ſo obſcurely, as he well underſtood it not till afterwards.

Patrick O Bryen, of the Pariſh of *Galloom*, in the County of *Fermanagh*,

Francis Sacheveril, Esq; his Examination.

The Irish have had it long in design to shake off the English Government.

sign to shake off the *English* Government, to settle the whole power in the State in the Hands of the Natives, and to repossess themselves of the Lands now enjoyed by the *British* throughout the Kingdom. And though in this plot they did but go about to actuate those confused general notions, and to put them in a way of execution. Now they supposed there could never be offered unto them a fairer opportunity than this most unhappy conjuncture of the affairs of *Great Britain*, when *Scotland* lately in Arms, had by their own proper and wise managements, drawn his Majesty to *condescend* to their entire *satisfaction*, as well in their Church discipline, as the liberties of that Kingdom. And in *England*, the distractions being grown up to some height, thro' the great mis-understanding betwixt the King and his *Parliament*; *Ireland* was at this time left naked and unregarded, the Government in the hands of Justices, the old Army dispersed in places of so great distance, as it could be of little advantage, the common Soldiers most of them *Irish*, and all the old *Commanders* and *Captains*, except some few, worn out and gone: This, as the first plotters thought, was the time to work out their own ends; and masking their perfidious designs under the publick pretences of *Religion*, and the Defence of His Majesty's Prerogative, they let loose the reins of their own vindictive humour and irreconcileable hatred to their *British* Neighbours.

I will not presume to say, they knew what would fall out in *England*, or what miserable embroilments that Kingdom was ready to break out into; for undoubtedly the first plot was laid, and most exactly formed, many months before the War brake out between the King and his people. But thus much I shall be bold to affirm, that upon the very first breaking out of this Rebellion, they did strangely conjecture, and beyond all appearance of reason, even somewhat positively Divine, of the dismal reach and fearful distempers which afterwards follow'd to the disabling of the Kingdom of *England* from applying remedies towards the reducement of *Ireland*. For the attestation of this truth, I could produce the several concurrence of several circumstances, many private Discourses and Advertisements, as also a particular Letter which I had long by me, written as it seems, from a very intelligent Papist, a great Zealot in the cause, unto a Nephew of Sir *Toby Matthew*'s, then in *Dublin*, who though lately Converted, retained yet a great friendship among them. He tells him in the beginning of the Letter; *That he was desired from some well wishing Friends, to advise him, as he tendred his Safety and Security, upon sight of those, instantly to forsake and abandon that Troublesome and Unfortunate Kingdom, for God and Nature had speedily resolved to afflict and punish the over-grown Impieties of those Profane Times; Hearts and Hands happily Conspiring to sin; and that he should do as*

speedy in his passage as was possible, and rather, as the case stood, hazard all dangers by Sea, then the least at Land, to be sure not to stop in England, *especially at* London, *that sink of Sin* (as he calls it) *and center of disorder, for by that time he arrived there, he should be sure to find nothing but Troubles, Factions and desperate Distempers; that he should dispatch therefore for* Paris, *or rather* Brussels, *where there should be order taken for the removal of all mistakes betwixt him and his Uncle.* This Letter was written about the beginning of *November*, 1641. which was some few days after the breaking out of this Rebellion, and full six months before the taking up of Arms in *England*.

The Plot for a Rebellion in *Ireland* first discovered to the Lord *Mac-Guire* and others, about the time of Mr. *John Bellew*'s return out of *England*, with Commission to continue the Parliament in *Ireland*, which was in *Jan.* 1640.

Now for the very time when this great Plot received its first form, though I conceive it of somewhat a more ancient date, yet by all the examinations I have hitherto seen, I can carry it up no higher then the Month of *January*, 1640 and that it was about that time communicated to some of the chief Gentlemen of *Ulster*, the Lord *Mac-Guire* doth sufficiently testify as well in the relation written with his own hand in the *Tower*, and delivered by him to Sir *John Coniers*, then Lieutenant, to be presented to the Lords in Parliament, as also in his Examination taken before the Lord *Lambart* and Sir *Robert Meredith* Knight, in *Ireland*, *March* 26, 1642. In both these he acknowledgeth, that he being in *Dublin*, in Candlemas Term, about the time when Mr. *John Bellew* came out of *England* with the Commission for the continuance of the Parliament in *Ireland*; *Roger Moor* acquainted him, that if the *Irish* would rise, they might make their own conditions for the regaining of their Lands, and Freedom of their Religion; and further saith, that he had spoken with sundry of *Leinster* to that purpose, who would be ready to joyn with them, as likewise a good part of *Conaught*, and that he found all of them willing thereto, if so be they could draw to them the Gentlemen of *Ulster*.

Now for the manner of putting this Plot in execution, the said Lord *Mac-Guire*, doth further testify in his relation aforesaid, that the said *Roger Moor* having the next day acquainted *Philip O Rely*, *Turlagh O Neal* Brother to Sir *Phelim O Neal*, Master *Cosloe*, and *Mac-Mahon* herewith, did propose, that first every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that Act, at least those that did live in own Country with them, and that when they had so done, they should send for the *Irish* in the *Low-Countries* and in *Spain*, to let them know of the day and resolution, so that they might be over with them by that day, or soon after with supply of Arms and Munition, that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own Quarters should rise out that day, and seize upon all the Arms he could get in his own County, and this day to be near Winter, so that *England*

could not be able to send Forces into *Ireland*, before *May*, and by that time there was no doubt to be made, but that they themselves would be supplied by the *Irish* from beyond the Seas. Then he told them further, that there was no doubt to be made of the *Irish* joyning with them, and that all the doubt was in the Gentlemen of the *Pale*; but he said, for his own part, he was really assured, that when they had risen out, the *Pale* Gentlemen would not stay long after, at least they would not oppose any thing; and that in case they did, that they had men enough in the Kingdom without them: Moreover, that he had spoken to a great man (who then should be nameless) who would not fail at the day appointed, to appear and to be seen in the Act, but that till then he was sworn not to reveal him, but yet that upon their importunity, he afterwards told them, it was the Lord of *Mayo*, who was very powerful in the command of men, in those parts of *Connaght*, where he lived: he further saith, that in Lent following, Master *Moor*, according to his promise, came into *Ulster*, but that nothing was done there, but all matters put off till *May* following, where they met at *Dublin*, it being both Parliament and Term time, and that from thence they dispatched one *Tooly Conley*, Parish Priest to Master *Moor*, to Colonel *O Neal*, in the Low-Countries, who within few months after arrived with this answer from the said Colonel desiring them not to delay any time in rising out, but to let him know of the day when they intended it, and that he would not fail to be with them within fourteen days of that day, with good aid, also desiring them by any means to seize on the Castle of *Dublin* if they could. And further he saith, that during the time of these their private meetings, there landed at *Dublin*, Colonel *Birn* Colonel *Flanket*, Captain *Brion O Neal*, and others, who came with directions to carry men away, and that these were acquainted with the Plot, and did offer their service to bring it on, and that they would raise their men under colour to carry them into *Spain*, and then seize on the Castle of *Dublin*, and with the arms found there, arm their Soldiers, and have them ready for any action that should be commanded them. He further also saith, that they had divers private consultations about the carrying on of the conspiracy, not only at *Dublin*, but in several other places in the Province of *Ulster*, that they had set down several days for the putting of it in execution, but meeting with some obstacles did not come to conclude of the certain time till about the beginning of *September*, and that then they peremptorily resolved on the 23. of *October*, for the day to execute this long designed plot in; and that they had respect unto the day of the week, which did fall on Saturday, being the Market-day, on which there would be the less notice taken of people up and down

said

down the ſtreets; that they then ſettled what numbers of men ſhould be brought up out of the ſeveral Provinces for the ſurprize of the Caſtle; what Commanders ſhould lead them on, that ſeeing the Caſtle had [illegible] Gates, that the *Leinſter* men ſhould undertake to ſeize upon the [illegible] Gate, which lay neareſt to the place where the arms and munition was [illegible] ced; & that the great Gate ſhould be undertaken by thoſe of *Ulſter*, [illegible] that Sir *Phelim O Neal* ſhould be there in perſon; but that he excus'd [illegible] ſelf, becauſe he reſolved at the ſame time to ſeize upon *Londonderry*, [illegible] that thereupon by the importunity of the undertakers, it was impos'd [illegible] on him the ſaid L. *Mac Guire*, to be there in perſon at the taking of [illegible] Caſtle of *Dublin*. That it was further reſolved what number of Fo[illegible] ſhould be brought up out of the other Provinces, to make good thoſe p[illegible] ces if poſſeſſed by them, & that Sir *James Dillon* did undertake to be th[illegible] with 1000 men within four days after the taking of the Caſtle; as [illegible] that it was reſolved that every one privy to that matter in every p[illegible] of the Kingdom, ſhould riſe out that day and ſeize on all the Forts [illegible] Arms in the ſeveral Counties; as likewiſe on all the Gentry, and m[illegible] them priſoners, the more to aſſure themſelves againſt any adverſe for[illegible] and not to kill any but where of neceſſity they ſhould be forced there[illegible] to by oppoſition. Theſe particulars, together with many other cir[illegible] ſtances very conſiderable, are ſet down in the relation given in b[illegible] Lord *Mac Guire*, while he remained priſoner in the Tower of *Lon*[illegible] but I have thought fit to forbear to relate them at large, becauſe I [illegible] that relation publiſhed by authority, and ſo preſented to the com[illegible] view. We ſhall find alſo, that *Mac Mahon* in his examination taken [illegible] he was firſt apprehended by the Lords Juſtices and Council h[illegible] doth teſtify that all the chief of the Nobility and Gentry in this K[illegible] dom were acquainted with the firſt Plot, and particularly, that [illegible] the Popiſh Party in the Committee ſ nt into *England*, as likewiſe [illegible] both Houſes of Parliament knew of it: In the Examination [illegible] *William Fitz Gerald*, it is there affirmed, That Sir *Phelim O* [illegible] ſending for him five days after his riſing in Arms, told him, [illegible] he did was by Directions and Conſent of the Prime Nobility [illegible] Gentry of the whole Kingdom; and that what he had done [illegible] the Northern parts, the ſame was Executed at *Dublin*, [illegible] all other Forts and Towns throughout *Ireland*: As being [illegible] Courſe reſolved upon among the Lords and Gentry, for [illegible] preſervation of his *Majeſties Prerogative*, their own Religion [illegible] Liberties, againſt the Puritan Faction in *England*, *Scotland*, [illegible] *Ireland*; and that the Lord of *Cormanſtown* knew of this [illegible] while he was in *England*, is Teſtified by Lieutenant Colonel [illegible]

Examination, as alſo by the Lord *Mac-Guire* in his relation, who ſaith
t Colonel *Plunket* told him, that he being at *London*, had acquainted
me of the *Iriſh* Committee, & particularly the L. of *Gormanſtown*, with
is plot, and that they approved it well: Col. *Plunket* in his Letter to
ther *Patrick Barnwal*, L. *Abbot* of *Melliſont* (as he ſtiles him) doth ſeem
ch to glory in the means he had uſed to incite the *Lords* and *Gentry* of
e *Pale* to appear in that *bleſſed cauſe* (as he terms it) & aſſures him that
e L. of *Garmonſtown*, whom he there calls L. *General*, will go bravely on.
And now it will be no difficult matter to reſolve what were the ſecon-
ry ſteps and motions of this great Plot, as well as by what Perſons
was wrought out in *Ireland*, and carryed on to the very point of
ecution. And firſt it is to be obſerved, that howſoever Sir *Phelim*
Neal, the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, Colonel *Mac-Brian*,
ugh Mac-Mahon and their Adherents, chief of the *Iriſh* Septs in
ſter, and other Counties near adjacent, did firſt appear upon the
ge, and by their Bloody Execution, notoriouſly declared them-
ves chief Actors in this horrid Tragedy: Yet this Rebellion was
her altogether not originally plotted by them, moſt of them had
t ſubordinate notions of it, and they as other of the chief Nobility &
ntry throughout the Kingdom, had ſeveral parts aſſigned them to act
ſeveral times, in ſeveral places, and did but move according to the firſt
ſolutions taken, and ſuch directions as they had received from the firſt
nſpirators: *I* take it to be moſt probable, after the general plot came
be reduced into form, that as the Lord of *Gormanſtown* was one of
e firſt and chief movers in it, ſo he and the chief of the *Pale* joyned
gether to draw in (as they had done in all former Rebellions) the
ncipal Septs of the old *Iriſh*, to engage themſelves, and to appear
ſt in the buſineſs: And after they had joyned together, and ſo finely
ler'd the matter, as they had made it a *general riſing*, as Sir *Phelim O Neal*
ms it, of all the Catholicks throughout the Kingdom, with the gene-
conſent of the prime Nobility and Gentry thereof; then, as it were
h one general voice, they ſounded forth from all the four Provinces
reland the ſame language, they uſed the ſame *Remonſtrances*, and made
very ſame pretences for their juſtification, they began the very ſelf-
ne courſe, firſt in ſtripping, then baniſhing and murdering the *Brit-*
and *Proteſtants*, only in the North, they drove on ſomewhat more
iouſly, and ſpilt much more innocent blood, then in any of the
ier three Provinces: They agreed likewiſe in recalling their Com-
nders, all the four Provinces had their particular Emiſſaries abroad:
oſe of *Leinſter* brought back Colonel *Preſton*, a Branch out of the
uſe of *Gormanſtown*, who had long lived with good reputation in

The firſt contrivers of the Rebellion did not firſt openly appear in it.

Flanders, and him they made General of their Forces there; but of *Ulster* they sent into *Flanders* likewise for *Owen Roe O Neal*, upon whom they conferred the same charge in that Province: The *Munster* men brought over *Garrat Barry*, whom they made General of their forces: And those in *Conaught* drew back one of the *Burks*, to whom they gave the chief command of such men as they were able to draw together for the advancement of the common design: All these held a due correspondency, and in all their actions had a just concurrency towards the main end.

Roger Moor the chief Person imployed to make a conjunction between the meer *Irish* and the *English* for raising a Rebellion.

The great instrument chiefly imployed in this work of drawing the meer *Irish* into a firm combination with the old *English* (as appears by the Lord *Mac-Guire's* relation before mentioned) was *Roger Moor* Esquire, a person of broken fortune, by descent meerly *Irish*, and issued out of the chief family of the *O Moors* in the County of *Leax*, but by inter-marriages allied to some of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*; He Treated with them about the Association; he first broke the design to the Northern *Irish*, he was the man that made several journeys in *Leinster*, into *Ulster* and *Conaught*: Sundry messages were interchangeably sent and returned the Summer before the breaking out of the Rebellion by his means and *entercourse between them*, And all things were so ordred for their agreement, as they were to go hand in hand together; some of the principal Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox.* and others, were designed to joyn with the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Mac-Mahon*, *Brion O Neal Con O Neal*, *Hugh Birn*, for the surprize of his Majesties Castle of *Dublin*. *Cartan Major Domi* to *Owen O Neal* in *Flanders*, in his Examination taken *February* 1641. tells, among many other remarkable passages, of several preparatives to this Rebellion; as that *Con O Neal*, brother to *Daniel O Neal*, was sent by *Owen O Neal* into *England*, and that while he resided there he received letters from the President *Rosse* (which was Sir *Phelim O Neal*) and that he assured him he went on very well in his business; for *Brabant* and *Valence* were joyned together, which as he affirms, signified in those Characters *Ulster* and *Leinster*, and that he expected the coming of *Lewes Lenoy*, *viz. Daniel O Neal*: Besides, as *James Talbot* Esq; testifies in his Letter of the 9 of *November* 1641 written to the Lords Justices out of the County of *Cavan*, that he understood from *Philip Mac Mulmore O Rely*, that there were certain Covenants passed between the Lords of the *Pale* and the Northern *Irish*, for the advancing of the the Rebellion; and that the Remonstrance from the principal *Irish* in the County of *Cavan*, unto the Lords Justices and Council sent by Dean *Jones*, and Master *Waldrone*, there then Prisoner, was framed in the *Pale* and brought unto the said *Irish* by Colonel *Plunket*

one

one of their own; And this was in the very beginning of the Rebellion, long before any jealouſies were entertained by the State of the adherence or conjunction of the old *Engliſh* with the *Iriſh*. What thoſe Covenants or contracts were, I cannot ſay, but it is moſt certain, ſome there were, and ſome Covenants alſo entered into, between the Northern *Iriſh*, and the Lords and Gentlemen of the chief of both the other Provinces, as well as *Leinſter*, and theſe were ſigned with their blood, as Doctor *Maxwell* teſtifies in his examination, he heard Sir *Phelim O Neal* ſay on the 19 of *December* 1641 in his own houſe, and in the hearing of Maſter *Joſeph Travers* and others: If the Lords and Gentlemen (meaning the Papiſts of other Provinces) then not in Arms, would not ariſe, but leave him in the lurch for all, he would produce his Warrant, ſigned with their own hands and written in their own blood which ſhould bring them to the Gallows. And certainly, had there not been ſome very ſtrange and extraordinary engagements, and more then I can well imagine, it had not been poſſible that ſo many perſons of quality, having great poſſeſſions and many Children, ſhould have declared themſelves, after they ſaw the main part of the plot for the ſurprize of the Caſtle of *Dublin* to fail, and the power of the Northern Rebells begin to decline, that the Parliament of *England* had with great alacrity and readineſs undertaken the War, and not only engaged themſelves to his Majeſty to ſend over powerful ſupplies both out of *England* and *Scotland* but by their publick Order of both Houſes, ſent over to the Lords Juſtices, and Printed at *Dublin* in the Month of *November*; fully declared their reſolutions for the vigorous proſecution of the War of *Ireland*: Nay, the Cities of *Galway* and *Limerick*, kept their deſigns very covertly, not doing any open acts of hoſtility, till after the arrival of ſome Forces at *Dublin* out of *England*, and that the ſiege of *Drogheda* or *Tredagh* was raiſed, and thoſe bold perfidious Traitors beaten back into the North the Lords of the *Pale* baniſhed by force of his Majeſty's Arms out of their own habitations, which were all ſpoiled and laid waſte.

Now that then they ſhould declare themſelves, is more then a Miracle to me, and ſuch a myſtery, as I ſhould not know what to think of, but that I find in the Lord *Mac-Guire's* relation before mentioned, that they were acquainted with the firſt beginnings of this great Plot, and had a particular intereſt from time to time in the carriage of it on, ſo as I think I ſhall not wrong them poſitively to determine, that they were too deeply engaged ſlightly to retire; and that howſoever upon the failing of it in the main piece, they at firſt ſtood at a gaze, and were put to take up ſecond Counſels; yet ſuch was the ſtrength of the conſpiracy, and their great confidence in the power of their

Arms, as made them appear in due time to entertain their ſeveral aſſignations, and act their parts with great diligence and induſtry. The wife of *Philip* O *Rely* in the County of *Cavan*, told *James Talbot* (as he openly related it to the Lords Juſtices at the Council-board) that ſhe wondred very much the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale* did not riſe and joyn with them in the very beginning of this Rebellion, adding theſe words, or to this effect; *That if they would have let us alone, and not ſet us on, we were ſo well at eaſe as we would never have begun this troubleſome work.* It cannot certainly be imagined, that thoſe of the *Engliſh Pale* (unleſs they had been the firſt projectors, or deep adventurers) would have yielded that the meer *Iriſh* ſhould have ſeized upon the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*, places of refuge for them in all former troubles, and which would now have given them Protection and Safety againſt the Incurſions of the *Iriſh*.

But I hold it not neceſſary to produce further evidence in this particular; I purpoſe now to declare how thoſe great *Inſtruments* of miſchief, that were the ſupream conductors of this wicked deſign, mov'd forwards ſo ſucceſsfully in the beginning, toward the accompliſhment of their long intended extirpation of all the *Britiſh* and *Proteſtants* out of the Kingdom. I find two ſorts of perſons who did moſt eminently appear in laying thoſe main *fundamentals* whereupon their bloody *ſuperſtructures* were afterwards eaſily reared up: And theſe were ſuch of the *Popiſh Lawyers* as were Natives of the Kingdom, and thoſe of the *Popiſh Clergy* of ſeveral Degrees and Orders. For the firſt, they had in regard of their knowledge in the Laws of the Land, very great reputation and truſt, they now began to ſtand up like great Patriots for the vindication of the liberties of the Subject, and redreſs of their pretended grievances, and having by their bold appearing therein, made a great party in the Houſe of Commons, here then ſitting, ſome of them did there magiſterially obtrude, as undoubted maxims of Law, the pernicious ſpeculations of their own brain, which though plainly diſcerned to be full of virulency, and tending to Sedition, yet ſo ſtrangely were many of the Proteſtants and well meaning men in the Houſe blinded with an apprehenſion of Eaſe and Redreſs, and ſo ſtupified with their bold accuſations of the Government, as moſt thought not fit, others durſt not ſtand up to contradict their fond aſſertions; ſo as what they ſpake was received with great acclamation, and much applauſe by moſt of the Proteſtant Members of the Houſe; many of which under ſpecious pretences of publick zeal to this Country, they had inveigled into their party: And then it was, that having Impeached Sir *Richard Bolton*, Lord Chancellour of *Ireland*, of High-Treaſon, together

The *Romiſh Clergy* and the *Popiſh Lawyers* great inſtruments in the firſt Plotting and carrying on the Rebellion.

The *Iriſh Lawyers* draw a great party in the Houſe of Commons to adhere to them.

together with other prime Officers and Miniſters of State that were of *Engliſh* birth, ſome of thoſe great Maſters took upon them with much confidence to declare the Law. to make new expoſitions of their own upon the Text, to frame their *Queries*, challenges fitter to be taken to a long, wilful, over-grown miſgovernment, then to be made againſt an Authority, that had for many years ſtruggled againſt the beloved irregularities of a ſtubborn people, and which had prevailed far beyond former times, towards the allaying of the long continued diſtempers of the Kingdom: they diſdain'd the moderate qualifications of the Judges, who gave them modeſt anſwers, ſuch as the Law and duty to their Sovereign would admit. But thoſe would not ſerve their turn, they reſolved upon an alteration in the Government, and drawing of it wholly into the hands of the Natives, which they knew they could not compaſs in a Parliamentary way, and therefore only made preparatives there, and delivered ſuch deſperate maxims, which being diffuſed abroad would fit and diſpoſe the people to a change: As they declared it to be Law, That being killed in Rebellion, though found by matter of record, would give the King no forfeiture of eſtates: That though many thouſands ſtood up in Arms in a Kingdom, working all manner of diſtruction, yet if they profeſſed not to riſe againſt the King, that it was no Rebellion: That if a man were out-lawed for Treaſon, and his Land thereby veſted in the Crown or given away by the King, his heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverſe the Out-lawry, and recover his Anceſtors eſtate. And many other poſitions of a perilous conſequence, tending to ſedition and diſturbance, did they continue to publiſh during that Seſſion, and by the power and ſtrength of their party, ſo far did they prevail at laſt, as they preſumed to attempt a ſuſpenſion of *Poynings* Act, and indeed intended the utter abrogation of that Statute, which remains as one of the greateſt ties and beſt monuments the *Engliſh* have of their intire dominion over the *Iriſh* Nation, and the annexion of that Kingdom to the imperial Crown of *England*. They further aſſumed power of Judicature to the Parliament in criminal and capital offences: A right which no former age hath left any preſident for, neither would this admit the example.

And thus carrying all things before them, they continued the Seſſion of Parliament begun in *May*, till about two months before the firſt breaking out of this Rebellion; it being very ill taken, that even then they were adjourned. And this they have ſince aggravated as a high crime againſt the Lords Juſtices, and as one of the chief moving cauſes to the taking up of Arms generally throughout the Kingdom.

But to let thoſe things paſs, how finely ſoever theſe proceedings

were carried on, and being covered over with pretences of zeal and publick affection, passed then currant without any manner of suspition; yet now the eyes of all men are opened, and they are fully resolved that all these passages, together with the other high contestations in Parliament, not to have the newly raised *Irish* Army disbanded, the importunate solicitation of their Agents in *England*, to have the old Army in *Ireland* cashiered, and the Kingdom left to be defended by Trained Bands of their own Nation. As likewise the Commissions procured by several of the most eminent Commanders now in Rebellion, for the raising men to carry into *Spain*, were all parts of this Plot, Prologues to this ensuing Tragedy, Preparatives, such as had been long laid to bring on the suddain execution of this most bloody design, all at one and the same time throughout the Kingdom.

The means used by the Priests and Jesuits to stir up the people to rebel.

Now for the Jesuits, Priests, Friers, and all the rest of the viperous fraternity belonging to the holy Orders; who, as I said, had a main part to *Act*, and have not failed with great affiduity and diligence to discharge the same. They lost no time, but most dexterously applied themselves in all parts of the Country to lay such other dangerous impressions in the minds, as well of the meaner sort as of the chief Gentlemen as might make them ready to take fire upon the first occasion. And when this Plot was so surely, as they thought, laid, as it could not well fail, & the day once prefixt for execution, they did in their publick Devotions long before, recommended by their Prayers, the good success of a great design, much tending to the prosperity of the Kingdom, and the advancement of the Catholick cause. And for the facilitating of the Work, and stirring up of the people with greater animosity and cruelty to put it on at the time prefixed, they loudly in all places declaimed against the Protestants, telling the people that they were Hereticks, and not to be suffered any longer to live among them; that it was no more sin to kill an *Englishman*, than to kill a dog; and that it was a most mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them. Then also they represented with much acramony the severe courses taken by the Parliament in *England*, for the suppressing of the *Romish* Religion in all parts of the Kingdom, and utter extirpation of all professors of it. They told the people that in *England* they had caused the Queens Priest to be hanged before her own face, and that they held her Majesty in her own person under a most severe Discipline: That the same cruel Laws against Popery were here ordered to be put suddainly in execution; and a design secretly laid for bringing and seizing upon all the principle Noblemen and Gentlemen in *Ireland* upon the 23 of *November* next ensuing, and so to make a general Massacre

of

of all that would not desert their Religion and presently become Protestants.

And now also did they take occasion to revive their inveterate hatred and ancient animosities against the *English* Nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard Masters; under whose Government, how pleasent, comfortable and advantageous so ever it was, they would have the world believe they had endured a most miserable captivity & envassalage. They looked with much envy upon their prosperity, considering all the Land they possessed (though a great part bought at high rates of the Natives) as their own proper inheritance. They grudged at the great multitudes of their fair *English* Cattle; at their goodly Houses, though built by their own industry at their own charges; at the large improvements they made of their Estates, by their own travells & careful endeavours. They spake with much scorn and contempt of such as brought little with them into *Ireland*, and having there planted themselves, in a little time contracted great fortunes: they were much troubled, especially in the *Irish* Countries to see the *English* live handsomely, and to have every thing with much decency about them, while they lay nastily buried, as it were, in mire and filthiness; the ordinary sort of people commonly bringing their Cattel into their own stinking Creates, and there naturally delighting to lie among them. These malignant considerations made them with an envious eye impatiently to look upon all the *British* lately come over into the Kingdom. Nothing less then a general extirpation will now serve their turn; they must have restitution of all the Lands to the proper Natives, whom they take to be the ancient proprietors, and only true owners, most unjustly despoiled by the *English*, whom they hold to have made undue acquisitions of all the Land they possess by gift from the Crown, upon the attainder of any of their Ancestors.

The *Irish* revive their ancient animosities against the *English*.

And so impetuous were the disires of the Natives to draw the whole Government of the Kingdom into their own hands, to enjoy the publick profession of their Religon, as well as to disburden the Country of all the *British* inhabitants seated therein, as they made the whole body of the State to be universally disliked; represented the several members as persons altogether corrupt and ill affected; pretended the ill humours and distempers in the Kingdom to be grown to that height as required Cauteriers, deep incisions; and indeed nothing able to work so great a cure, but an universal Rebellion. This was certainly the disease, as appears by all the symptoms, and the joynt concurrence in opinion of all the great Physitians that held themselves wise enough to propose remedies, and prescribe fit applications to

The ends proposed by the first plotters of the rebellion.

to ſo deſperate a Malady, In thoſe Inſtructions privately ſent over into *England* by the Lord *Dillion* of *Coſtelo*z, preſently after the breaking out of the Rebellion, the alteration of the Supream power in the government and ſetling of it in the hands of the Earl of *Ormond*, giving leave to the Grand Council of the Kingdom to remove ſuch Officers of State, as they thought fit, and to recommend Natives to their places, were there poſitively laid down to be a more likely means to appeaſe theſe tumults then a conſiderable Army. In the Remonſtrance of the County of *Longford*, preſented about the ſame time to the Lords Juſtices, by the ſame Lord *Dillon*, as alſo in the frame of the Common-wealth, found at Sir *John Dungars* Houſe, not far from *Dublin*, and ſent up thither out of *Conought* to be Communicated to thoſe of *Leinſter*; pieces which publickly appeared ſoon after the breaking out of the Rebellion, the main points inſiſted upon in them and ſeveral others, were reſtauration of the Publick profeſſion of the *Romiſh Religion*; reſtitution of all the Plantation-lands unto the Natives, and ſettlement of the preſent Government in their hands. All the Remonſtrances from ſeveral parts, *and that came out of the ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom* to concur in theſe Propoſitions, with very little or no difference. And therefore that the deſires with the firſt intentions of thoſe who are now out in Rebellion. may more clearly appear; I have thought fit here to inſert them as I found them, Methodically digeſted into certain Propoſitions, termed.

The true cauſes of the Rebellion.

The Means to reduce this Kingdom unto Peace and Quietneſs.

1 *THat a general and free pardon without any exception be granted to all His Majeſty's Subjects of this Kingdom; and that in purſuance thereof, and for ſtrengthning the ſame, an Act of Abolition may paſs in the* Parliament *here.*

2 *That all marks of National diſtinctions between* Engliſh *and* Iriſh *may be aboliſhed and taken away by Act of* Parliament.

3 *That by ſeveral Acts of* Parliament *to be reſpectively paſſed here and in* England, *it be declared that the* Parliament *of* Ireland *hath no ſubordination with the* Parliament *of* England, *but that the ſame hath in it ſelf Supream Juriſdiction in this Kingdom, as abſolute as the* Parliament *of* England *there hath.*

4 *That the Act of* 12 Henry *the ſeventh commonly Called* Poynings *Act, and all other Acts expounding or explaining the ſame, may be repealed.*

5 *That*

5. *That as in* England *there paſs an Act for a Triennial Parliament, there may paſs in* Ireland *another for a Sexennial Parliament.*

6. *That it may be enacted by Parliament, that the Act of the* 2*d. of Queen* Elizabeth *in* Ireland; *and all other Acts made againſt Catholicks, or the Catholick Religion, ſince the twentieth year of King* Henry *the eighth may be repealed.*

7. *That the Biſhopricks, Deanaries, and all other ſpiritual promotions of this Kingdom, and all Frieries and Nunneries, may be reſtored to the Catholick owners and likewiſe all impropriations of Tythes, and that the Scits, Ambits, and precincts of the Religious houſes of the Monks, may be reſtored to them; but as to the reſt of their temporal poſſeſſions, it is not deſigned to be taken from the preſent proprietors, but to be left to them until God ſhall otherwiſe incline their own hearts.*

8. *That ſuch as are now entitled Catholick Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, or other Dignitaries in this Kingdom by donation of the Pope, may, during their lives, enjoy their ſpiritual promotions; with proteſtation nevertheleſs, and other fit clauſes to be laid down for preſervation of his Majeſties rights of Patronages, Firſt-fruits, and twentieth-parts in manner and quantity, as now his Highneſs receives benefit thereby.*

9 *That all inquiſitions taken ſince the year* 1634 *to entitle his Majeſty to* Conaught, Thomond, Ormond, Eliogarty, Kilnemanagh, Duheara, Wicklow *and* Idvagh, *may be vacated, and their eſtates ſecured, according to his Majeſties late graces.*

10. That *an Act of Parliament may paſs here for the ſecuring the Subjects title to their ſeveral eſtates againſt the Crown, upon any title accrewed unto it before* 60 *years, or under colour or pretext of the preſent commotions.*

11. That *all plantations made ſince the year* 1610 *may be avoid by Parliament, if the Parliament ſhall hold it juſt, and their poſſeſſions reſtored to them or their Heirs, from whom the ſame were taken, they nevertheleſs anſwering to the Crown the Rents and ſervices proportionable, reſerved upon the undertakers.*

12, That *the tranſportation of all native Commodities to all places of the world in peace with his Majeſty, may be free and lawful, his cuſtoms firſt paid, and that the Statutes of* 10, 11, *&* 13 *of Queen* Elizabeth, *for reſtraining the exportation of native Commodities be repealed.*

13. That *all preferments Eccleſiaſtical, Civil and Martial in this Kingdom, that lie in his Majeſties gift, may be conferred on Natives of this Kingdom only, ſuch as his Majeſty ſhall think meet, without any diſtinction for Religion, Provided always that upon the Princes of his blood of* England, *he may beſtow what places he ſhall think meet.*

14. That *a Marſhal and Admiral of this Kingdom may be elected in it, to*

 have

have perpetual ſucceſſion therein with the ſame Prehemimence, Authority and Juriſdiction as they reſpectively have in England, *and that the ſaid places be ever conferred upon Noble-men, Natives of this Kingdom.*

15. *That there may be Trained Bands in all Cities, Towns Corporate, and Counties of this Kingdom, Armed and provided at the charge of the ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Towns, and Commanded by the Natives of the ſame, who ſhall be named by the Counties, Cities and Towns reſpectively.*

16. *That his Majeſty may releaſe all Tenures in* Capite, *and by Knights ſervice; in conſideration whereof, he ſhall receive a ſettled Revenue of* 120000 li. per annum, *being double the Summ which he caſually receives by them; Reliefs, Seiſins, Licenſes for Alienations, Eſcuage and Aids nevertheleſs to remain.*

17. *That all Monopolies may be for ever taken away by Act of Parliament.*

18. *That ſuch new Corporations, as have not the face of Corporate Towns, and were erected to give voices in the Parliament, may be diſſolved, and their Votes taken away, and hereafter no ſuch to be admitted to Voices in Parliament.*

19. *That there may be Agents choſen in Parliament, or otherwiſe, as thought meet to attend continually His Majeſty, to repreſent the grievances of this Nation, that they may be removable by ſuch as did elect them; and in caſe of Death or Removance, others may be for ever ſucceſſively ſubſtituted in that place, and that ſuch Agents may enjoy the freedom of their conſcience in Court, and every where elſe.*

Theſe are the means propoſed by theſe Catholick Remonſtrants, for reducing of the Kingdom to Peace; theſe the great obſtructions they would have removed, and the conſtant Counſel they would have followed, in ſettling the tranquility, and preſent Government of this Land; ſo as we need ſeek no further Evidence, nor make any more curious enquiries into the ſecret cauſes of their firſt riſing: we have here enough out of their own mouths, to reſolve the moſt ſcrupulous unbeliever of their firſt motives in this Rebellion. And now for the matter of Religion, howſoever I am very confident they ever really intended the Re-eſtabliſhment of that of the Church of *Rome*, with all the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, together with the utter extirpation of all of the Reformed profeſſion: Yet conſidering the large indulgence, and free liberty they univerſally enjoyed at that time, in the full exerciſe of that their Religion throughout all the parts of the Kingdom; it may be moſt juſtly ſuſpected (now zealouſly ſoever they now obtrude it) that this was only the bare outward cover-

The re-eſtabliſhment of the *Romiſh Religion*, only a pretence for the Rebellion.

ture

ture made uſe of by the principal Undertakers, to draw on a poor ignorant ſuperſtitious people to ſacrifice their lives in this quarrel. Neither can it by any reaſonable man be ever preſumed, that ſuch perſons as made no Conſcience of committing Treaſon, ſo many cruel Murders, and all other kind of abominable Villanies, not to be parralel'd in any other Country, could be drawn meerly out of Conſcience towards God, to act theſe for the regaining of the free and publick profeſſion of their Religion.

All the grievances of the Kingdom redreſſed before the Rebellion brake out.

This certainly was no more the true and main cauſe of their taking up Arms, then the redreſs of their pretended grievances, whereunto his Majeſty had condeſcended, and out of his inclinations for their preſent relief, had given much more ſatisfaction to their Agents lately in *England*, then ever they could in any other time expect to receive or hope to enjoy. Yet we ſee how little effect thoſe great graces brought over not above two months before this Rebellion brake out, took among them: for preſently after the return of their Agents with them, this moſt deteſtable Conſpiracy, which had been long in hatching began to work, and to be put in execution. And if we ſhall conſider their main deſign and chief ends therein, as they appear in their firſt principles, or will give credit to the ſeveral Speeches and Paſſages that we meet with among the Rebels, in the very beginning of their breaking out; as alſo to ſeveral other Teſtimonies that have ſince privately fallen from ſome particular perſons among them, we muſt believe that their Deſign clearly was to Deſtroy and Root out all the *Britiſh* and *Proteſtants* planted within this Kingdom, to cut off the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England*, and ſo to deliver themſelves from their long continued Subjection to the *Engliſh Nation*,

A *Conſultation* held, whether it will be beſt to murder, or only to baniſh all the *Britiſh* out of *Ireland*.

But to come to one main particular, taken into debate by the prime Movers and chief Incendiaries in this horrid Rebellion, they had a moſt ſerious Conſultation what courſe to take with moſt ſafety to themſelves, for the disburdening of the Kingdom of thoſe multitudes of *Engliſh*, which were in very great numbers diſperſedly planted among them. Some were of opinion that they ſhould ſpare their Lives, not render themſelves Guilty of the ſpilling of ſo much Innocent Blood, but that they ſhould Seize on their Goods, Expel them their Habitations, and after Baniſhing them out of the Kingdom, proceed as the *Spaniards* did with many Hundred thouſands of the *Moors*, whom, as it were in a moment, they cleared out of their Dominions. Others there were who much oppoſed this kind of lenity and moderation, remonſtrating the high inconveniencies

which would inevitably redound to themſelves thereby. Firſt, That the *Britiſh* were in ſo great numbers, as they could not either by diſarming, impriſoning, or any other means poſſible, ever hope to ſecure them from miſchief: Then that if they onely expelled them out of the Kingdom, they would remain ſtill as ſo many fit inſtruments to be entertained in *England*, and from thence returned back full of revengefull thoughts to recover their loſſes; that by their long experience and knowledge in the Country they would be better guides, more deeply engaged to proſecute the War; and having their bodies inured to this Climate, would prove much more able Soldiers then any new men that could be raiſed, or any otherways brought over. How they determined this particular I ſhall not undertake to declare; my intelligence fails me, and I am able to deliver no more of the reſult of this great Council then appears in the bloody effects and horrid executions acted in the firſt beginnings of their Rebellion. It is moſt probable they came to no poſitive concluſion, but left the chief Actors in this particular at large, to do as ſhould ſeem good to themſelves. We find their firſt proceedings and outrages committed upon the *Engliſh* very various and much differing in ſeveral place, ſome onely ſtripping and expelling of them; others murdring Man, Woman and Child without mercy. But this is certain, and of moſt unqueſtionable truth, that by one means or other, they reſolved univerſally to root all the *Britiſh* & *Proteſtants* out of *Ireland*. And that theſe were the firſt thoughts and bitter fruits of the long premeditated malicious intentions, ſufficiently appears by their Actions, as well as by their virulent expreſſions uttered upon their firſt riſing, when they thought the Kingdom their own. They then ſaid openly, that they meant to deſtroy the *Engliſh*, and that they had made a Covenant no *Engliſhman* ſhould ſet footing among them. Some of the *Iriſh* would not endure the very ſound of that language, but would have penalties inflicted upon them that ſpake *Engliſh*, and all the *Engliſh* names of places changed into the old *Iriſh* denominations: others profeſſed that they would not leave an *Engliſh* man or woman alive in the Kingdom, but that all ſhould be gone, no not ſo much as an *Engliſh* Beaſt, or any of the breed of them.

The *Iriſh* reſolve to root the *Engliſh* out of *Ireland*.

Maſter *Creighton* in his Examination.

The Iriſh *in many places Killed* Engliſh *Cows and Sheep meerly becauſe they were* Engliſh; *in ſome places they cut of their legs, or took out a piece out of their buttocks and ſo let them remain ſtill alive. The Lord* Montgarrat, *Maſter* Edward Butlar; *the Baron of* Logmouth *went with their Forces into* Munſter *about the beginning of the riſing of the* Iriſh *there, and while they remained about* Callen *and* Mallow, *they conſumed no leſs then* 50000 *others ſay* 100000 Engliſh *Sheep, beſides a great abundance of* Engliſh

James

James Hallegan the Prieſt did read an Excommunication in the Church, which, as he alledged, came from their great *Iriſh* Metropolitane, and terrifying his Pariſhoners therewith he told them, that from that day forth, whoſoever did harbour or relieve any *Scot*, *Engliſh* or *Welſhman*, or give them Alms at their doors, ſhould be Excommunicated, whereby as Maſter *Sacheveril* teſtifies in his Examination many were ſtarved and died for want in thoſe parts. We have it from Maſter *Creighton*, a reverend *Miniſter*, one long detained priſoner within the County of *Cavan*, that the Fryers exhorted the people with tears to ſpare none of the *Engliſh*; that the *Iriſh* were reſolved to deſtroy them out of the Kingdom; that they would devour (as their very word was) the ſeed of the *Engliſh* out of *Ireland*, and when they had rid them there, they would go over into *England*, and not leave the Memorial of the *Engliſh* Name under Heaven.

Cattle, and ſuch as they could not eat, yet they killed and left in great multitude, ſtinking, to the great anoyance of the County. This teſtifie by Henry Champart *in his Examination taken before Sir* Robert Meredith *Knight*, &c.

James Show *a Miniſter depoſeth*, That *after the Ceſſation, divers of the Rebels confeſſed the Prieſts had given them the Sacrament, upon condition they ſhould not ſpare Man, Woman nor Child that were Proteſtants; and that he heard divers of them ſay in a bragging manner, that it did them a great deal of good to waſh their hands in the blood of the Proteſtants whom they had ſlain;* Jurat. Jan. 7. 1643.

Thomas Johnſon *Vicar of* Tullah, *of the County of* Mayo, *depoſeth, that he heard* Stephen Linoh *Prior of* Strade, *being asked if it were not lawfull to kill this Deponent becauſe he would not go to Maſs; anſwered, That it was as lawful for them to kill him, as to kill a Sheep or a Dog: anddivers of the rebellious Souldiers told him to his face, that they would no more care to kill him, then they would do a* Pig.

John Addis *of the County of* Weſt-meath *depoſeth, That* Robert Magohagan *Prieſt, ſaid to this Deponent, That it was no more pity nor Conſcience to take* Engliſhmens *lives or goods from them, then to take a bone out of a Dogs mouth*, Jurat. July 21. 1642.

And ſo fond and vain were their imaginations, and to ſuch a height of madneſs were they grown, as they could not terminate their thoughts in the reduction of *Ireland* under the power of their own nation. But as ſoon as they had begun their Rebellion there, they spake confidently in all places of tranſporting their Arms into *England*, That they would ſend 30000 men over into that Kingdom, and that they would draw in forreign Auxiliaries thither to joyn with them; and ſo by a high hand eſtabliſh the free exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion within that Kingdom. A deſign cer-

tainly which the Priests and Jesuits had taken up in their own thoughts, and by their correspondencies abroad intended powerfully to bring about, as soon as they had settled their affairs in *Ireland*. And if it had not pleased God in an Extraordinary way to bring the first Plot to light, and so to bless the weak endeavours of the State here, as to enable them by the assistance of those small Forces they confusedly gathered together, to hold out till the arrival of the Succours sent out of *England*, I leave it to every one to consider with how much advantage they might have gone on that time towards the accomplishment of so desperate a Project. And for my self, I must profess that I am clearly resolved, that had they at first over-mastered the unexpected difficulties and fatal impediments they met withall at home, and possessed themselves of the Arms and Munition within the Castle of *Dublin*, and so flesht and blooded in the slaughter of many thousands of the *English* Nation, had transported a numerous Army of *Irish* Rebells, and suddenly landed them in some good Port within the Kingdom of *England*: They would have prevailed very far towards the miserable desolation and ruine thereof It must be remembred in what a most unhappy discomposure the affairs were at that time there, what a diseased body the State then had, and what high distempers then strongly working soon after brake out, what a strong party they might have found within, and with what great reputation they would have marched on under the glory of their late victories atchieved in *Ireland*, signalizing the power of their Arms with such horrid cruelties and bloody butcheries as would have wrought a strange terror among the people.

Thus we see what were the Causes and first Motives to this unnatural Rebellion; as likewise who were the chief Actors and the great instruments designed by the first Plotters to pre-dispose the people to a readiness to take Arms for the rooting out of the *British* Inhabitance from among them. The Preparatives being all made the Plot in all points ripe for execution, it was carried on to the very evening before the day appointed for the taking of the Castle of *Dublin* without discovery. And though it pleased God to bring it then to light (as hath been declared) and so happily to disappoint it in the main Piece, yet it took in the Northern parts, being that very day fully executed in most of the chief places of strength within the Province of *Ulster*. And whereas the Priests did long before in their publick Devotions at Mass pray for a blessing upon a great design they had then in hand; so now, as I have heard

heard, they did in many places, the very day before the breaking out of this Rebellion, give the people a diſmiſs at Maſs, with free liberty to go out, and take poſſeſſion of all their Lands, which they pretended, unjuſtly detained from them by the *Engliſh*; as alſo to Strip, Rob, and deſpoil them of all their Goods and Cattle. They had without doubt, by one means or other, either private or publick Inſtructions, not to leave to the *Engliſh* any thing that might afford the leaſt comfort or hope of longer ſubſiſtance among them. This was the main bait uſed to draw on the common people; and this wrought far more powerfully then all other perſwaſions, fictions, or wild *Chimera*'s that they infuſed into them. It is moſt apparent, that the prime Gentlemen in all parts, as well as their Clergy, preſſed them on to deſpoil the *Engliſh* of all the Goods and Cattle, well knowing their avaricious humour and greedy deſires to get them into their poſſeſſion, and that they could not poſſibly find out any other thing that would engage them more readily to undertake, or more deſperately to execute all manner of villanies, then the hopes of enjoying ſo rich a prey now presented unto them.

The Engliſh Goods preſented to the Iriſh as a chief means to raiſe them up againſt them.

‖ The people being now ſet at liberty and prepoſſeſſed by their Prieſts with a belief that it was Lawful for them to riſe up, and deſtroy all the Proteſtants, who, they told them, were worſe then Dogs; that they were Devils, and ſerved the Devil; aſſuring them the killing of ſuch was a meritorious act, and a rare preſervative againſt the pains of Purgatory, gathered themſelves together in great numbers, aſſembling in ſeveral companies through the ſeveral parts of the Northern Counties, with Staves, Sithes, and Pitch-forks, for at firſt they had not many better weapons: And ſo in a moſt confuſed manner, they began tumultuouſly to drive away at the firſt only the Cattle belonging to the *Engliſh*, and then to break into their Houſes, and ſeize upon their Goods. It is true, there were ſome murders committed the very firſt day of their riſing, and ſome houſes ſet on fire, but theſe as I conceive, were for the moſt part out of

‖ The people made believe by their Prieſts that it was a Meritorious act to kill the Engliſh.

John Parry *of* Deurmoſh, *in the County of* Armagh, *depoſeth, that* O Cullan *a Prieſt, told his Auditors at Maſs, that the bodies of ſuch as died in this Quarrel, ſhould not be cold before their Souls ſhould aſcend up into Heaven, and that they ſhould be free from the pains of Purgatory.*

Margaret Bromly *in her Examination depoſeth, that ſome of the Rebels would ſay, after their cruel butcheries, that they knew if themſelves ſhould now die, their Souls ſhould go to Heaven, and that they were glad of the revenge they had taken of the* Engliſh.

The Iriſh riſe and firſt drive away all the Cattel belonging to the Engliſh.

of private ſpleen, or where they had particular inſtructions ſo to
as they had from the Lord *Mac-Guire*, to kill Maſter *Arthur Champ*
a Juſtice of Peace in the County of *Fermanagh*, who with ſeveral o
of his Neighbours, were Murthered at his own Houſe, upon the
of *October* in the Morning. But certainly that which they mainly
tended at firſt, and which they moſt buſily employed themſelves abo
was the driving away the *Engliſh-mens* Cattle, and poſſeſſing th
Goods: Wherein the common people were not the only Actors,
even the chief Gentlemen of the *Iriſh* in many places, moſt notorio
appeared, and under plauſible pretences of Securing their Goods fr
the Rapine and Spoil of the common ſort, got much peaceably i
their hands: And ſo confident were the *Engliſh* of their good deali
at firſt, as many delivered their Goods by Retail unto them, g
them particular Inventories of all they had, nay digged up ſuch
their beſt things as they had hidden under ground, to depoſite in t
cuſtody. Much likewiſe they got by fair promiſes and deep enga
ments to do them no further miſchief, to ſuffer them, their Wi
and Children quietly to retire and leave the Country: But othe
and eſpecially the meaner ſort of people fell more rudely to wo
at the very firſt, breaking up of their houſes, and uſing all manner
force and violence, to make themſelves Maſters of their Goods.

The Iriſh Gentlemen poſſeſs themſelves of the Goods belonging to the *Engliſh*, under pretence of ſecuring them.

The next Act was to ſtrip the *Engliſh*, man, woman, and child ſtark naked, and to turn them out of their own doors. All manner of relief forbidden to the *Engliſh* as they paſſed upon the High-way ſtripped and deſpoiled of all they had.

And having thus ſeized upon all their Goods and Cattle, ranſa
their Houſes, gotten their perſons under their power; the next thi
they did, was to ſtrip Man, Women and Child, many of them ſt
naked, and ſo to turn them out of their own doors, not perm
ting them in ſome places ſo much as to ſhelter themſelves un
Buſhes, or in the Woods, and ſtrictly prohibiting all the *Iriſh* un
great penalties, to give them Entertainment, or any kind of Relief,
they paſſed on upon the High-ways. And certainly their deſign
this, moſt notoriouſly appears to have been no other then that all ſ
as they would not lay their hands upon, and cruelly Murder in c
blood, might miſerably periſh of themſelves through Cold, Naked
and Want; and therefore as faſt as any of them ſo ſtripped got old r
to cover their Nakedneſs, they endeavoured to ſtrip them again,
again; as may appear by the Examination of *John Gourly*,
depoſeth, that ſome were ſtripped twice, ſome thrice, as faſt as t
could get any old rags to cover their Nakedneſs, the next *Iriſh-mo*
or even the Children that met them would take them off: And
and his Wife further depoſe, that when their houſe, together
the Town of *Armagh* were ſet on fire by the Rebels, ſhe was ſtrip

her Clothes seven several times after she got other Clothes; and at gth, they left her not so much as her Smock or Hair-lace, and that she to a place and hid her self in a hutch for three or four days, and after nt to find out her Children, two of which had the Small Pox visibly on them. *Jurat.* Nov. 8 1642.

The manner of stripping the *English*.

How infallibly this course succeeded, and how surely they compass their Devilish ends hereby, is but too well known; The *English* ving sufficient Monuments in the High-ways as they passed, as well in the Towns wherein they arrived, of the dismal mortality it bred ong them. And for the fuller satisfaction of any one who shall bt thereof, I have thought fit to insert these two ensuing Exami-ions.

The miseries and mortality it brought among them

James Redfern, of the County of *London-derry*, Deposeth, That in Town of *Colerain*, since the Rebellion began, there died of Robbed Stripped people that fled thither for Succour, many hundreds, be-es those of the Town who had Anciently dwelt there, and that the rtality there was such, and so great, as many thousands died there two days, and that the living, though scarce able to do it, laid the rcases of those dead persons in great ranks, into vast and wide es, laying them so close and thick, as if they had packed up Her-gs together.

Magdalen Redman, late of the *Dowris* in the *Kings-County*, Widow, g Sworn and Examined, deposeth and saith; That she this De-ent and divers other Protestants her Neighbours, and amongst rest 22 Widows, after they were all Robbed were also Stript stark ed, and then they covering themselves in a House with Straw, the els then and there lighted the Straw with Fire, and threw amongst m, of purpose to burn them, where they had been Burned or othered, but that some of the Rebels more pittiful then the rest, mmanded these cruel Rebels to forbear, so as they escaped: Yet Rebels kept and drove them naked into the wild Woods, from sday until Saturday in Frost and Snow, so as the Snow unmelted lay upon some of their skins, and some of their Children died heir Arms; And when as the Deponent and the rest endeavoured ave gone away for Refuge to the *Burre*, the cruel Rebels turned m again, saying, they should go towards *Dublin*; and when y endeavoured to go towards *Dublin*, they hindered them again, said, they should go to the *Burre*; and so tossed them to and Yet at length, such of those poor stripped people as died not

before they got away out of the hands of the Rebels, escaped to the *Burre*, where they were harboured and relieved by one *William Parsons* Esq; And yet there died at the *Burre* of those stript persons, about forty Man, Women and Children. And this Deponent and those other stript people that survived, lived miserably at the *Burre* aforesaid, until they with the rest, had quarter to come from thence to *Dublin*.

Jur. 7 March 1642.
Joh. Wansbr.
Will. Aldrich.

Isabel, the Relict of *Christopher Porter*, late of *Dowris* in the *Kings County*, Sworn and Examined, Deposeth and Saith, in all the particulars above-mentioned as *Magdalen Redman* before Examined, being her Neighbour.

Some of the most Notorious Cruelties, and Barbarous Murthers Committed by the *Irish* Rebels, attested upon Oath, as they appear in several Examinations annexed in the Margin.

A particular Enumeration of several Bloody Massacres and horrid cruelties, exercised upon the *British*, all testified upon *Oath*, and taken out of several Examinations, which are inserted in the Margin.

WE may in these poor Souls, as it were, in large Characters, behold the miseries of all those multitudes of Men, Women and Children, that were in all parts of the Kingdom thus inhumanly stript and so exposed to the same want, cold and nakedness. The mercies of the wicked are cruel; how bitter was their compassion to all those *Irish* that thus suffered? How Horrid, Barbarous, and Insupportable was the Commiseration they thus expressed towards them? Yet these were as they told them at first, but the beginnings of their sorrows: for when the Northern Rebels began to find their own strength, and that partly by Treachery, partly by Force they had possessed themselves of all the chief places of strength in *Ulster*, Disarmed the *English*, Robbed them of their Goods and Cattel, Stripped them of their Clothes, and had their persons now under their power, and all this without any considerable resistance made by them; then they could contain themselves no longer but in a most fierce outragious manner, furiously broke out acting in all places of that Province, with most abominable cruelty, those horrid Massacres and execrable Murders, as would make any Christian Ear to tingle at the sad Commemoration of them: Then they beg-

to appear in their own colours, & with great delight to satisfie their ancient implacable malice, in their long wished & often plotted destruction of all the *British* Inhabitants. Within the County of *Fermanagh* multitudes were presently killed in cold blood, some taken at the Plough, others as they sate peaceably in their own houses, others travelling upon the ways, all without any manner of provocation by them given, suddainly surprized and unexpectedly cut off. At the Castle of [1] *Lisgool* within that County above 150 men, women and children almost all consumed by fire. At the Castle of [2] *Moneah*, near 100 *British* there slain all together: And the same bloody company of Rebels were no sooner admitted into the Castle of [3] *Tullah*, which was delivered up into the hands of *Roury Mac-Guire*, upon composition, and faithful promises of fair quarter, but that within the very court they began to strip the people, & most cruelly put them to the Sword, murdering them all without mercy. [4] At *Lisfuskeah* they hanged or otherwise killed above 100 persons, most of them of the *Scotch* Nation; for after once they had the *English* in their power, they spared none of them, but used all the *Scots* with as much cruelty as they did the *English*. This County was very well planted by the *British* undertakers, and all of them and their Tenants in a very short space after a most horrible manner quite

multitudes killed in cold blood.

[1] Thomas Wenslaw & John Simson, *of the County of* Fermanagh, *Gentlemen, depose and say, That in the Castle of* Lisgool, *there were* 152 *men, women and children burnt, or smothered, when the said Castle was set on fire; not above two or three escaped, as appears in their Examination.* Jurat. Jan. 12. Anno Dom. 1641.

[2] Thomas Wenslaw *further deposeth, that at the Castle of* Moneah, *there were ninety Protestants more slain and murthered: And that from the* [3] *Castle of* Moneah, *the Rebels marched to the Castle of* Tullah, *where by their own confession, they promised those Protestants that were there fair quarters: But when they had delivered up their Arms and the Castle, those Rebels in the Bawn of the Castle, first stripped them all of their clothes, and then, and there most cruelly murdred them.*

Richard Bourk, *Batchelor in Divinity, of the County of* Fermanagh *deposeth, that he heard and verily believeth the burning and killing of one hundred at least in the Castle of* Tullah, *and that the same was done after fair quarter promised.* Jurat July. 12. 1643

[4] Roury Mac-Guire, *upon the* 24 *of* October 1641. *came with his Company into* Lisnaskeah, *and desired in a friendly manner to speak with Master* Middleton, *who had the keeping of the Castle. The first thing he did, as soon as he was entred, was to burn the Records of the County, whereby* [illegible] *destroyed*

dleton *was the keeper, being Clerk of the Peace, which he enforced him to deliver unto him; as likewise one thousand pounds he had in his hands of Sir* William Baulfours; *which as soon as he had, he compelled the said* Middleton *to hear Mass, swear never to alter from it, and immediately after caused him, his wife and his children to be hanged up, and hanged and murdered one hundred persons besides, at least in that Town. These particulars and several other set down at large in a Relation sent me in by Sir* John Dunbar *Knight, one of the Justices of Peace within the County of* Fermanagh.

destroyed, or utterly banished from their Habitations. In the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, where the *British* were much more numerous, and Sir *Phelim O Neal*, and his Brother *Turlagh O Neal*, the principal actors; the murdeer of the *British* were much more multiplied and committed with greater cruelty, if it were possible, then in any other places.

There were (5) one thousand men, women and children carried out at several times in several troops, & all unmercifully drowned at the bridge of *Portnedown*, which was broken down in the midst, and so driving and forcing them on, threw them into the River: And as other Relations gave it in, (6) four thousand persons were drowned within the several parts of that County. (7) The Rebels in a most barbarous manner drove on many of those miserable stripped Christians unto the place of their sufferings like Swine, and if any were slack in their pace, they sometimes pricked them forwards with their swords and pikes, often hastening on the rest thether by killing or wounding some of their fellows in the way.

(5) 1000 *Men women and children drowned in one place. This number is deposed in Doctor* Maxwels *Examination taken the* 22 *of* Aug. 1642.

(6) *This number of so many persons drowned within the County of* Armagh, *is deposed by* Thomas Green *and* Elizabeth *his wife, as appears by their Examinations taken* November 10. 1643.

(7) William Clerk *of the County of* Armagh Tanner, *saith, That he with* 100 *men, women and children, or thereabout, were by the Rebels driven like hogs about six miles, to a River called the* Band: *in which space the foresaid Christians were most barbarously used, by forcing them to go fast with Swords and Pikes, thrusting them into their sides, and they murdered three by the way, and the rest they drove to the River aforesaid, and there forced them to go upon the bridge, which was cut down, and with their Pikes, and Swords, and other weapons, thrust them down headlong into the said River, and immediatly they perished, and those who assumed to swim to the shore, the Rebels stood and shot at.*

Jurat. Jan. 7. 1641.

Mary *the wife of* Ralph Corn *deposeth, That* 180 English *were taken by the Irish, and driven like Cattel from Castle Cumber to Athy,*

[8] Other companies they carried out under pretence of giving them safe conduct out of the Country, and so got them to go cheerfully on by vertue of Sir *Phelim O Neals* Pass, until they came at some place fit for their execution. [9] And if they drowned them, then they had some prepared to shoot or knock down with Poles any such as could swim, or used any other means to escape out of the water. [10] Amongst many other, a Gentlewoman whose name was Mistris *Cambell*, being forcibly brought by them to the River, and she finding no means to escape their fury, suddainly clasped her arms about one of the chief Rebels that was most forward to thrust her into the water, (as I find it credibly related upon Oath) carried him to the bottom with her, and so they were both drowned together. [11] The *Cathedral* Church and Town of *Armagh* were burnt, many Towns laid waste, all the fair Plantations made by the *British* left desolate with their adherents, maliciously set on fire the goodly Cathedral Church of Armagh, and Town of Armagh, and murdered and drowned there 500 persons young and old, the Parish of Killaman 48 Families were then murdered by directions from Sir Phelim, who had remained protected by him three quarters of a year. Jurat. March 8. 1643.

[8] Elizabeth *the wife of Captain* Rue Price *of the Town and County of* Armagh, *deposeth, That five of her Children, together with* 110 *other Protestants out of the Parishes of* Armagh, Laughaul, *and other places were sent away with passes from Sir* Phelim O Neal *with promise to be safely conveyed over to their friends in* England: *That their Conductor was Captain* Manus O Cane *and his Souldiers, who having brought or rather driven them like sheep or Beasts to the Bridge of* Portnedown, *there forced or threw all those poor prisoners into the water, together with the Deponents five children, and then and there drowned most of them.* [9] *And those who could swim and came to the shore, they either knocked them on the head, and so after drowned them; or else shot them to death in the water.* Jurat Jan. 29. 1641.

Christian Stanhaw, *the relict of* Hen. Stanhaw, *of the Parish of* Laughaul, *in the County of* Armagh *deposeth, That upon the drowning of* 140 *Protestants one time at* Portnedown-Bridge, *after they had thrown them in, some of them swimming to the shore, the Rebels with their muskets knocked out their brains.* Jurat. July 23. 1642.

[10] James Shaw *of* Market-hill *in the County of* Armagh, *deposeth the manner of Mistres* Cambels *pulling the Rebel into the water, and how he was drowned with her* Jurat Aug. 14. 1642.

[11] *Captain* Parkin *deposeth, That Sir* Phelim O Neal *flying from* Dundalk, *went to* Armagh, *where he began his bloody massacres, causing* Manus O Cane *to get together all the Protestants which were left thereabouts, to conduct them to* Colerain; *but before they were scarce 6 days journey from him, they were all murdered, and so were several others by special direction from Sir* Phelim O Neal, *and his Brother* Turlagh, *notwithstanding they were protected by them. All the aged people in* Armagh *were by the same directions carried away, but murdred also at* Charlemount. *And presently after, his Brother and he*

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late in some Parishes [12] two hundred Families murdred and destroyed, the whole County, as it were a common Butchery, & thorough all parts of it very many thousands perished in short time by Sword, Famine, Fire, Water, and all other manner of cruel deaths, that rage & malice could invent.

[12] Jane Grace *the wife of* Nicholas Grace *late of* Kilmore, *in the County of* Armagh, *deposeth, That there were two and twenty* English Protestants *burned in one House, within two miles of* Kilmore; *and that the Rebels stripped, killed, or murthered all, or the most of the* English *of that Parish, which consisted of two hundred Families. That they set many in the Stocks until they confessed their money, and when they could get no more, that then they murdred them.*

Some horrid inhuman cruelties exercised upon particular persons.

But before I leave this Subject, I shall pass a little further, & out of some Examinations (taken here upon oath, which I have perused) present a brief collection of some other horrid inhuman cruelties, which I find were used in the murdering of many poor innocent souls. To many, these bloody villains shewed so much favour as suddainly to dispatch them out of their pain, by no means allowing them leave, or (13) time to make their prayers; for others, they held a sudden death too easy a punishment: Therefore they imprisoned (14) some in most beastly Dungeons, full of dirt and mire, and their clapping bolts on their heels, suffered them to perish at leasure; others they barbarously (15) mangled, and left languishing upon the Highways, crying out but

(13) Edward Saltinglass *of the County of* Armagh *Gent. deposeth, and saith, That* George Lawlis *a rebel of the said County, resolving to kill* John Cowder, *told him he would kill him, but bid him first say his Prayers; whereupon the said* Cowder *kneeling down to pray, the said* Lawlis *instantly cut off his head as he was upon his knees.* Jurat. Jun. 1. 1642.

Elizabeth Price *deposeth, That whenas divers of the* English *were about to be murdered, and desired the Rebels on their knees first to admit them to make their prayers to God; the Rebels have often, in her the deponents hearing, in* Irish *answered and said, bequeath your soul to the Devil; and at other times the Rebels would say, why should you pray, your soul is with the Devil already? and with those words in their mouths would slaughter and put them to death.* Jurat. ut supra.

(14) Edward Banks *of* Cassel, *in the County of* Tipperary, *Clerk, deposeth, That the Rebels there on the first day of* January *killed fifteen men and women, all* English Protestants, *at* Cassell, *and that they entred and took the Town, and having the same, that they took this deponent and other Clergy men, and then and there forthwith caused them to be put in the Dungeon, where they continued twelve weeks in most miserable slavery.* Jurat. April 21. 1642.

(15) John Cregg *in the County of* Armagh, *Yeomen, deposeth, That in the Parish of* Levilegish, *there were divers* English-men *cruelly murdred, some twice,*

for

for ſo much mercy as to be delivered out of their pain. Others they buried [16] alive, a manner of death they uſed to ſeveral *Britiſh* in ſeveral places: and [17] at *Clewnis* within the County of *Fermanagh*, there were 17 perſons having been hanged till they were half dead, caſt together into a Pit, and being covered over with a little earth, lay pittifully, ſending out moſt lamentable groans for a good time after. [18] Some were deadly wounded and ſo hang'd upon Tentor-hooks [19] Some had ropes put about their necks, and ſo drawn through the water; ſome had withes, and ſo drawn up and down thorow Woods & Bogs; others were *ſome thrice hanged up, and others wounded and left half dead, crying out lamentably for ſome to come and end their miſeries by killing of them.* Jurat. Jan. 7. 1641.

[16] William Parkinſon *of* Caſtle-Cumber *in the County of* Kilkenny, *Gent. depoſeth, That by the credible report both of* Engliſh *and ſome* Iriſh, *who affirmed they were Eye-witneſſes of a bloody Murder committed near* Kilfeal *in the* Queens-County, *upon an* Engliſh-man, *his Wife, four or five Children, and a Maid. All which were Hanged by the command of Sir* Morgan Cavanah, *and* Robert Harpool, *and afterwards put all in one hole, the youngeſt Child being not fully dead, put out the Hand and cryed Mammy, Mammy, when without mercy they Buried him alive,* Jurat. Feb. 11. 1642.

Elizabeth Price *depoſeth, That* Thomas Maſon, *an* Engliſh Proteſtant *of* Laugal, *being extreamly beaten and wounded, was carried away by his Wife and ſome others; for revenge of which, the Rebels moſt cruelly hacked, ſlaſhed and wounded them: and that done, dragged the ſaid* Maſon *unto a hole, and then and there threw Earth, Stones and Rubbiſh upon him, and with the weight thereof kept him under, ſo as the ſaid* Maſon's *Wife told this Deponent, he cryed out and languiſhed till his own Wife, to put him out of his pain, rather then hear him cry ſtill; tyed her Handkerchief over his mouth, and therewith ſtopped his breath, ſo as he died.* Jurat. Jun. 29. 1641.

[17] *This particular, concerning the Seventeen men Buried alive at* Clewnis, *was teſtified unto me by Mrs.* Aldrich, *who was then kept Priſoner in the Town by the Rebels, and heard their pittiful cries.*

[18] William Parkinſon, *late of* Caſtle-Cumber *in the County of* Kilkenny, *depoſeth, that he ſaw* Lewis O Brenan, *with his Sword drawn in the ſaid Town, purſuing after an* Engliſh *Boy of Eight or Nine years of age, or thereabouts, by name* Richard Bernet, *into an Houſe, and ſaw the ſaid* Lewis *lead the ſaid Boy forth of the Houſe, the Blood running about his Ears, in a Hair Rope, and led the Boy to his Fathers Tenters, and there Hanged him with* John Banks *another little Boy.* Jurat. ut ſupra.

[19] Edward Saltingſtone, *of the County of* Armagh *Gent. depoſeth, that* Manus O Cane, Bryan O Kelly, Shane O Neil, Neil Oge O Neil, *Gent. did take* William Blundel *of* Grange, *in the County of* Armagh *Yeoman, and put a rope about his neck, and drew him into the Black water at* Charlemount, *and drew him up and down the water to make him Confeſs his money, who thereupon gave them* 21 *pounds, yet within* 3 *weeks after*

hanged

he, his Wife, and seven Children were drowned by the Rebels: And further saith, that Samuel Law *of* Grenan, *in the Parish of* Armagh, *was by the said* Neil Oge O Nell, *and others, brought to a Wood, and that then, they there put a With about his neck, and so drew him up and down by the neck, until he was glad to promise them ten pounds.* Jurat. ut supra.

Margaret Fermeny *in the County of* Fermanagh, *Deposeth, That the Rebels bound her and her Husbands hands behind them, to make them confess their Money, and dragged them up and down in a Rope, and cut his Throat in her own sight with a Skein, having first knocked him down, and striped him, and that being an Aged Woman of 75 years old, as she came up afterwards to* Dublin, *she was stripped by the* Irish *seven times in one day, the Rebels bidding them go and look for their God, and bid him give them Clothes.* Jurat.

[20] Edward Wilson *of the County of* Monaghan, *Deposeth, That among other cruelties used by the Rebels to the* English, *they hung up some by the Arms, and then hacked them with their Swords, to see how many blows they could endure before they died.* Jurat.

[21] Anne *the Wife of* Mervin Madesly, *late of the City of* Kilkenny, *Gent. Sworn and Examined, deposeth, That some of the Rebels in* Kilkenny *aforesaid, struck and beat a poor* English-woman *until she was forced into a Ditch, where she died, those Barbarous Rebels having first ript up her Child, of about Six years of age, and let her Guts run about her heels.* Jurat.

James Geare *of the County of* Monaghan *deposeth, That the Rebels at* Clewnis *Murdered one* James Nettervile, *Proctor to the Minister there, who, although he was diversly wounded, his Belly ript up, and his Entrails taken out and laid above a yard from him, yet he bled not at all, until they lifted him up and carried him away; at which this Deponent being an Eye-witness, much wondred; and thus Barbarously they used him after they had drawn him to go to Mass with them.* Jurat. April 6. 1642.

[22] Owen Frankland *of the City of* Dublin, *Deposeth, That* Michael Garray *told this Deponent, that there was a* Scotch-man, *who being driven by the Rebels out of the* Newry, *and knockt on the Head by the* Irish, *recovered himself, and came again into the Town naked: Whereupon the Rebels carried him and his Wife out of the* Town, *cut him all to pieces, and with a Skein ripped his Wives Belly, so as a Child dropped out of her Womb.* Jurat. July 23. 1642.

hanged up and taken down, and hanged up again several times, and all to make them confess their money, which as soon as they had told, they then dispatched them out of the way. [20] Others were hanged up by the Arms, and with many slashes and cuts they made the Experiment with their Swords how many blows an *English-man* would endure before he died. Some had their [21] Bellies ript up, and so left with their guts running about their heels. But this horrid kind of cruelty was principally reserved by these inhuman Monsters for [22] Women, whose sex they neither *pitty'd* nor *spar'd* hanging up several Women, many of them great with child,

child, whose [23] bellies they ripped up as they hung, and so let the little Infants fall out; a course they ordinarily took with such as they found in that sad condition. [24] And sometimes they gave their Children to Swine; [25] Some the Dogs eat; and some [26] taken alive out of their Mothers Bellies, they cast into ditches. And for sucking Children, and others of a riper age, some [27] had their Brains knockt out; others [28] were trampled under foot to death.

[23] *At* Ballimcolough *within four miles of the City of* Ross, *in* April 1642. John Stone *of the* Graige, *his son, his two sons-in-Law, and his two daughters, were hanged; one of his daughters being great with child, her belly was ripped up, her child taken forth, and such barbarous beastly actions used to her, as are not fit to be mentioned.*

[24] Philip Taylor, *late of* Portnedown, *deposeth, That the Rebels killed a Dyers Wife of* Ross-trever, *at the* Newry, *and ript up her Belly, she being great with child of two children, and threw her and her children into a ditch, and that he this Deponent drove away Swine from eating one of the Children.* Jurat.

[25] John Montgomery *of the County of* Monaghan, *sworn and examined saith, That one* Brian Mac Erony, *Ringleader of the Rebels in the County of* Fermanagh, *killed Ensign* Floyd, Robert Worknum, *and four of their Servants, one of which they having wounded, though not to Death, they buried quick. As also, that he was credibly informed, that the Daughter-in-law of one* Foard *in the Parish of* Clownish, *being delivered of a child in the Fields, the Rebels, who had formerly killed her Husband and Father, killed her and two of her children, and suffered the Dogs to eat up and devour her new-born child.* Jurat. June 26. 1642.

[26] Katherine, *the Relict of* William Coke, *of the County of* Armagh, *Carpenter, deposeth, That the Rebels of the said County robbed, stripped and murthered a great company of Protestants, some by burning, some by the sword, some by hanging, and the rest by starving, and other deaths. And this Deponent, to shun their rage, and save her poor life, hid her self in a ditch of water, and sat there among high Rushes so long as that she was almost frozen and starved to death, and then crawled away secretly. And further saith, that some of the Rebels that escaped and fled from the battel of* Lisnagarvey, *meeting one Mrs.* Hoard *and Mrs.* Frankland, *both great with child, and six of their children with them, those Rebels then and there with their pikes killed and murdred them all, and after ripped open the Gentlewomens Bellies, took out their children, the one of them being quick, and threw them into a ditch, in the sight of* Jane *this Deponents Daughter; who escaped because she spake* Irish, *and said she was an* Irish *woman.* Jurat. Febr 24. 1643.

(27) James Stevenson, *Clerk. of the County of* Letrim, *deposeth, That the Rebels there took* Isabel Stevenson, *a young child left at* Fostering, *with one* Hugh Mic Arran, *and enquiring whose child it was, they told him it was a* Scotish-mans *child, whereupon they took the child by the heels, and run and beat the Brains of it out against a Tree.* Jurat. April 20. 1643.

(28) Ann Hill, *Wife of* Arthur Hill, *in the County of* Caterlagh, *deposeth, That*

as she passed through the County of Wicklow, William *the Plaisterer, with nine or ten Rebels more, pulled off her back a young Child of one year and a quarter old, threw it on the ground, trod on it that it died, stripped her self and four small children, who by the cold they thereby got, since died.* Jurat.

(28) John Stubs *of the County of* Longford, *Gent. deposeth, That he heard by some of the Sheriffs men, that* Henry Mead *and his Wife,* John Bigel, William Stell, *and* Daniel Stubs *the Deponents brother, were put to death by* Lisagh Farrols, *and* Oli. Fitz-Gerralds *men, who hanged them upon a Windmil, and when they were half dead, they cut them in pieces with their Skeins.* Jurat. Novemb. 21. 1641.

(28) Some they cut in gobbets and pieces, (29) others they ript up alive; (30) some were found in the fields, sucking the Breasts of their murdred Mothers; others lay stifled in Vaults and Cel-

El. Price *deposeth, That a great number of poor Protestants, especially of Women and Children, they pricked and stabbed with their Skeins, Pitchforks and Swords, and would slash, mangle and cut them in their heads, breasts, faces, arms, and other parts of the body, but not kill them out-right, but leave them wallowing in their blood, to languish, starve and pine to death; and whereas those so mangled desired them to kill them out of their pain, they would deny it; but sometimes after a day or two, they would dash out their Brains with stones, or by some other cruel way, which they accounted done as a favour, of which she hath in many Particulars been an Eye witness.* Jurat. June 29. 1642.

(29) William Parkinson *of* Kilkenny *Esq; deposeth, That the Wife of* John Harvey *told him, That she being at* Kilkenny, *and having there turned to Mass to save her Life; was notwithstanding stripped again, together with her Children, and one* Purcell *a Butcher, after he had stripped her daughter of five years of age, ripped up her body till her intrails fell out, whereof she died that night; whereof she complaining to the Major of* Kilkenny, *he bid away with her and dispatch her, so as not only the Butcher, but many others did beat and wound her, so as she hardly escaped with her life.* Jurat. ut supra.

(30) Elisabeth Champion *late Wife of* Arthur Champion *in the County of* Fermanagh *Esq; deposeth, That when the Castle of* Lisgool *was set on fire by the Rebels, a Woman leaping out of a Window to save her self from burning, was murdred by the Rebels; and next morning her Child was found sucking her breast, and also murdred by them.* Jurat. April 26. 1642.

Charity Chappel, *late Wife of* Richard Chappel *Esq; of the Town and County of* Armagh, *deposeth, That as she hath credibly heard, the Rebels murdred great numbers of Protestants, and that many Children were seen lying murder'd in Vaults and Cellars, whither they fled to hide themselves.* Jurat. July 2. 1642.

Thomas Fleetwood, *late Curate of* Kilbeggan *in the County of* West meath, *deposeth, That he hath heard from the mouth of the Rebels themselves of great cruelties acted by them: And for one instance, that they stab'd the Mother, one* Jane Addis *by name, and left her little sucking child, not a quarter old, by the dead corps; and then they put the breast of its dead Mother into its mouth, and bid it suck* English-*bastard, and so*

lars: others [31] ſtarved in Caves, crying out to their Mothers rather to ſend them out to be killed by the Rebels, than to ſuffer them to ſtarve there.

Multitudes of [32] Men, Women and Children, were found drowned, caſt into ditches, hoggs and turf-pits; the ordinary Sepultures of the *Britiſh* Nation. Thouſands died of cold and want in all parts of the Countrey, being neither permitted to depart, nor relieved where they were enforced to ſtay. * Multitudes encloſed in Houſes, which being ſet on fire, they were there moſt miſerably conſumed. [33] Some dragged out of their *left it there to periſh.* Jurat. March 22. 1642.

[31] Mary Barlow *depoſeth, That her Husband being by the Rebels hanged before her face, ſhe and ſix children were ſtripped ſtark naked, and turned out a begging in froſt and ſnow, by means whereof they were almoſt ſtarved, having nothing to eat in three weeks, while they lay in a Cave, but two old Calf-Skins, which they beat with ſtones, and ſo eat them, hair and all; her Children crying out unto her, rather to go out and be killed by the Rebels, than to ſtarve there.* Jurat.

[32] John Duffield *of the County of* Armagh *Gent. depoſeth, That the Rebels wounded* John Ward *and* Richard Duffield, *ſo as they thereof died, and that their Wives and the ſaid* John's *ſix Children, being all ſtript, died of want and cold. And further ſaith, That many thouſands of Proteſtants, Men, Women, and Children, being ſtripped of their Cloaths, died alſo of cold and want in ſeveral parts of the Country.* Jurat. Aug. 9. 1642.

* Jane *the Wife of* Gabriel Conſtable, *late of* Drumcad *in the County of* Armagh, *Gent. ſworn and examined ſaith, That her Husband and his Mother about* 88 *years old, and his Brother, being murdred by the Rebels in the Pariſh of* Kilmore, *that a great number of Proteſtants were about* Candlemas 1641. *by the means and inſtigation of* Joan Hemskin, *formerly a Proteſtant, but a meer* Iriſh *woman, and lately turned to Maſs, and of divers other her aſſiſtants, forced and thruſt into a thatch'd Houſe within the Pariſh of* Kilmore, *and then and there, the Proteſtants being almoſt naked, covered with Rags only, the ſame Houſe was by that bloody Woman and her barbarous aſſiſtants, ſet on fire in ſeveral parts thereof, the poor impriſoned parties (who were by armed parties kept there lock'd in) were miſerably burned to death, and at length the Houſe fell upon them; and the combuſtible part of the Houſe being conſumed before the bodies of all thoſe miſerable wretches were burned to aſhes, the bodies of many of them lay there in holes, to the great terror of the beholders that were Proteſtants, three only eſcaped out of a hole of the Houſe, and the reſt that attempted to eſcape the flames, were then and there forced and thrown in again, and ſo burned to death.* Jurat. June 16. 1642.

[33] Katharine Madeſon *of the County of* Fermanagh, *depoſeth, That they drew ſome lying ſick of Fevers, out of their Beds, and hanged them; and that they drove before them of Men, Women and Children, to the number of ſixteen, and drowned them in a Boggy-pit, knocking ſuch on the Head with Poles, as endeavoured to get out.*

(34) Thomas Green *in the Parish of* Dumcres *in the County of* Armagh *Yeoman, and* Elizabeth *his Wife, sworn and examined, saith, That the Deponent* Thomas Green *hardly escaped away with his Life, but that the other Deponent and six Children were all left among the Rebels, and so stripped of their Cloaths, and hunger-starved, that five of the Children dyed, and she this Deponent being put to beg among the mercilesse* Rebels, *was at length rescued from them by the* Scotish *Army: She further saith, that the Rebels did drown in a Bog* 17 *Men, Women, and Children, at one time within the said Parish; and she is verily perswaded that the Rebels at several times and places within the County of* Armagh, *drowned above* 4000 *Protestants, enforcing the Sons and Daughters of those very aged People, who were not able to go themselves, to take them out of their Beds and Houses, and carry them to drowning, especially in the River of* Toll, *in the Parish of* Loghgall. Jurat. November 10. 1643.

(35) John Rutledge *deposeth, That such were the barbarous and inhumane Cruelties of the Rebels, that sometimes they enforced the Wife to kill the Husband, the Son to kill the Father, and the Daughter to kill the Mother, and then they would hang or put to death the last Bloodshedder. He further saith, That of his knowledge the Rebels in the Town of* Slego, *forced one* Lewes *the younger to kill his Father, and then hanged the Son; and in* Mogne, *in the County of* Mayo, *the Rebels forced one* Simon Lepers *Wife to kill her Husband, and then caused her Son to kill her, and then they hanged the Son.*

(36) *This is deposed in Mr.* Goldsmith's *Examination, which is set forth at large in the Pages following.*

(37) Ann Read *the Relict of* Helchiah Read, *of the County of* Letrim, *deposeth, That she being stripped of all she had, some of her Children died of want and famine, and that one of her Sons called* Stephen Read, *being about six years of age, was about the* 10 *of* February, 1641. *in the House of* James Gray *of the County of* Cavan, *and going forth to play, there then gathered about him six* Irish *Children of that Town, who suddenly fell upon him, and in such manner, that some with sticks, and some with stones put out his Eyes, and bruised his Body extreamly, so that he by means of those Children (which were none of them as she is perswaded above eight years of age) not long after died, and had been killed out-right in the place, had not an* English *Woman come thither, who took up the Dying Child from them, saying, she wonder'd they could find in their hearts so to deal with a poor Child; but they answered, They would do as much for her if they were able.* Jurat. July 12. 1642.

sick beds to the place of execution, (34) children enforced to carry their aged Parents to the places designed for their slaughter; (35) nay, some Children compelled most unnaturally to be the Executioners of their own Parents, Wives to help hang their Husbands, (36) Mothers to cast their own Children into the Water; and yet after these enforced acts, which no doubt were performed out of hopes and assurance to have their own Lives saved, always murdered. And such was the malice and most detestable hatred born to the *English* by the *Irish*, as they taught their (37) Children to kill *English* Children, and

the

the (38) *Irish* women did naturally expreſs as much cruelty as the chiefeſt Rebels among them.

If theſe be not ſufficient, let us over-look the particular ends of ſome particular perſons, and we ſhall yet in them behold more horrid cruelties than theſe before-mentioned. What (39) ſhall we ſay to a child boyled to death in a cauldron, a (40) woman hanged on a tree, and in the hair of her head her own daughter hanged up with her; a woman (41) miſerably rent and torn to pieces; (42) ſome ta-

(38) Dennis Kelly *of the County of* Meath, *depoſeth, That* Garret Tallon *of* Cruiſetown *in the ſaid County, Gent. (as it is commonly reported) hired two men to kill* Ann Hagely, *Wife to* Edw. Tallon *his Son, a Papiſt, and at that time abſent from home; and the ſaid two men did in moſt bloody manner, with Skeins, kill the ſaid* Ann Hagely *and her Daughter, and her Daughters two Children, becauſe they would not conſent to go to Maſs; and after they would not permit them to be buried in a Church or Church-yard, but they four were buried in a ditch.* Jurat. Aug: 23. 1643.

John Griſſel *of the* Queens County *depoſeth, That the women and Children in thoſe parts, were as cruel and forward as the Men Rebels, the Children tho' young, being very bold in their Roberies, bidding this Deponent and the reſt of the* Engliſh *be gone, or elſe they ſhould be hanged.*

Elizabeth Baskervile *depoſeth, That ſhe heard the Wife of* Florence Fitz-Patrick *find much fault with her Husbands Soldiers, becauſe they did not bring along with them the Greaſe of Mrs.* Nicholſon, *whom they had ſlain, for her to make Candles with-*

al. Jurat. April 26. 1643.

Martha Culm *depoſeth, That ſhe heard ſome of the* Iriſh *themſelves deteſt the cruelty of the Women who followed their Camp, and put them on in cruelty, ſaying, Spare neither Man, Woman, nor Child:* Jurat.

(39) *This particular depoſed by* Margaret Parkin, *as alſo by* Elizabeth Burſel, *who ſaith, That the Child was of twelve years of age, being the Child of* Thomas Straton *of* Newtown. Jurat. Jan. 19. 1641.

(40) *The Wife of* Jonathan Linn *and his Daughter, were ſeized upon by the Rebels near the Town of* Caterlagh, *carried by them into a little Wood, called* Stapletown-wood, *and there the mother was hanged, and the Daughter hanged in the hair of her Mothers Head, as is depoſed by* James Shaw, *Vicar of old* Laughlin, Jan. 8. 1643.

(41) Adam Clover *depoſeth, That he ſaw upon the high-way a woman left by the Rebels ſtripped to her ſmock, ſet upon by three women and ſome children, being* Iriſh, *who miſerably rent and tore the ſaid poor* Engliſh *woman, and ſtripped her of her ſmock in a bitter froſt and ſnow, ſo that ſhe fell in labour in their hands, and both ſhe and her child died there.* Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

(42) *This cruelty was uſed to ſome* Engliſh *in the Province of* Conaught, *as was teſtified by the Lords Juſtices and Council, as doth appear by their Letters.*

Tho: Fleetwood *Curate of* Kilbeggan, *in the County of* Weſt-meath, *depoſeth, That the* L. *Preſident of* Conaught, *cauſed an* Engliſh *woman who could ſpeak* Iriſh, *to go*

toward Dublin *with a Letter, but ſhe was taken within five miles of the Town of* Athlone, *brought back and ſtoned to death by the women of the* Town, *dwelling on the hither ſide of the Bridge.* Jurat.

[43] James *of* Hackets Town *in the County of* Catherlagh, *depoſeth, That an* Iriſh *Gentlewoman told him and others, that ſhe turned an* Engliſh *woman away who was her ſervant, and had a Child; and that before the poor woman and child were gone half a mile, divers* Iriſh *women ſlew them with ſtones.* Jurat. April 21. 1643.

[44] John Clerk *of* Knockback *Gent. depoſeth, That he heard credibly from Mr.* Lightboun, *Miniſter of the* Naas, *that the Rebels ſhot a Pariſh-Clerk near* Kildare, *through both his thighs, and afterwards digged a deep hole in the ground, wherein they ſet him upright on his feet, and filled up the hole in the earth, leaving out only his head, in which ſtate and poſture they left the poor wounded man, till he pined, languiſhed, and ſo died.* Jurat. Octob. 24. 1643.

[45] Katharine, *the Relict of* William Coke, *of the County of* Armagh, *depoſeth, That many of her Neighbours who had been Priſoners among the Rebels, ſaid and affirmed, that divers of the Rebels would confeſs, brag, and boaſt, how they took an* Engliſh Proteſtant, *one* Robert Wilkinſon *at* Kilmore, *and held his Feet in the fire until they burned him to death: And the ſame* Robert Wilkinſon's *own Son was preſent, and a Priſoner, when that cruelty was exerciſed on his Father.* Jurat. February 24. 1643.

[46] *At* Caſhel *in* Munſter, *beſide many Miniſters which they there hanged after a moſt barbarous manner, they ſtript one naked, and drove him through the Town, pricking him forward with Darts and Rapiers, and ſo purſuing him till he fell down dead.* Jurat. ut ſupra.

[47] Chriſtian Stanſhaw, *the Relict of* Hen. Stanſhaw, *late of the County of* Armagh *Eſq; depoſeth, That a woman that formerly lived near* Laugale, *abſolutely informed this Deponent, that the Rebels enforced a great number of Proteſtants, men, women and children, into a Houſe which they ſet on fire purpoſely to burn them, as they did, and ſtill as any of them offered to come out, to ſhun the fire, the wicked Rebels with ſythes, which they had in their hands, cut them in pieces, and caſt them into the fire, and burned them with the reſt.* Jurat. July 23. 1642.

ken by the Rebels, their eyes plucked out, their hands cut off, and ſo turned out to wander up and down; [43] others ſtoned to death; [44] a man wounded and ſet upright in a hole digged in the earth, and ſo covered up to the very chin, there left in that miſerable manner to periſh: a [45] mans feet held in the fire till he was burnt to death, his wife hanged at his door [46] a Miniſter ſtripped ſtark naked, and ſo driven like a Beaſt thorough the Town of *Caſhel*, the Rebels following and pricking him forward with darts and rapiers: [47] a company of men, women and children put into a houſe, and as they were burning ſome children that made an eſcape out of the flames were taken by ſome of the Rebels who ſtood by, cut them in pieces with ſythes, and ſo caſt them into the fire again.

Neither

Neither did theſe horrible Tortures, which they put theſe poor innocent Chriſtians unto, aſſuage their fury, their malice towards them did not determine with their breath. But after ſo many ſeveral bloody ways and cruel Inventions wherewith they rent their Souls from their wretched Bodies, even to their (48) dead carkaſſes, in ſome places, they denied all manner of burial; ſome (49) they caſt into ditches, others (50) they left to be devoured by dogs and ſwine, others by fowls and ravenous birds: nay (51) ſeveral which had been formerly buried, they digged up, and left them to putrifie above ground.

(48) Adam Clover *of the County of* Cavan, *depoſeth, That he obſerved 30 perſons to be moſt barbarouſly murdered, and about 150 more cruelly wounded, ſo that traces of blood iſſuing from them, lay upon the high-way for 12 miles together, and many very young children were left and periſhed by the way, to the number of 60, or thereabouts; becauſe the cruelties of the Rebels were ſuch, that their Parents and Friends could not carry them further. And further ſaith, That ſome of the Rebels vowed, that if any digged Graves wherein to bury the dead Children they ſhould be buried therein themſelves: So the poor people left moſt of them unburied, expoſed to ravenous beaſts and fowls.* Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

(49) Edward Saltinſtale *depoſeth, That the Rebels killed* William Loverden *when he was naked, his Wife and children looking on, and cutting off his head, held it up to his Wife and* Children; *and his ſorrowful Wife taking his Corps and burying of it in a Garden,* Patrick O Dally *a Rebel, took it up, and threw it into a Ditch.* Jurat ut ſupra.

(50) Thomas Green *and* Elizabeth *his Wife, depoſe, That the Rebels at ſeveral times murder'd, killed and deſtroyed the moſt part of the Proteſtants in the Pariſh of* Dumcres, *being about 300, and indeed moſt of the Proteſtants in all the County thereabouts did they kill and deſtroy by drowning, hanging, burning, the ſword, ſtarving and other deaths, expoſing their ſlaughtered bodies to be devoured by dogs, ſwine, and other ravenous creatures: And this Deponent* Elizabeth, *ſaw the dogs feed upon thoſe dead carcaſſes.* Jurat. Nov. 10. 1643.

(51) Richard Bourk *Batchelour of Divinity depoſeth, That he was informed, that Mr.* Lodge, *Archdeacon of* Killalow, *being buried about ſix years ſince, and divers other Miniſters Bones were digged out of their Graves as Patrons of Hereſie, by direction of the tituler Biſhop of* Killalow, *and* Robert Jones *a Miniſter was not admitted Chriſtian Burial, by direction of ſome Popiſh Prieſt.* Jurat. July 12. 1643.

David Buck *depoſeth, That in the Pariſh of* Munrath *in the* Queens County, *the Rebels digged up a number of* Engliſh *Mens Graves, and left the Corps above ground to be abuſed by Dogs, Hogs, or any other ravenous Creatures.*

And theſe truly are but ſome of thoſe ways, among many others which with moſt exquiſite pains and cruel tortures, were uſed by theſe mercileſs (52) Rebels to let

(52) Arthur Agmoughty *depoſeth, That during the Siege of* Caſtle Forbez, *the Rebels killed poor children that went out to eat weeds or graſs; and that a poor Woman whoſe Husband was taken by the Rebels, went to them with two Children at her feet, and one at her breaſt, hoping to beg her Husbands life, but they ſlew her*

in

and her ſucking child, broke the neck of another of her children, and the third hardly eſcaped. Jurat. Sept. 23. 1643.

[53] *Mr.* Creighton *depoſeth in his Examination, That ſometimes the chief of the* Iriſh *would make heavy moan for the evils they perceived were coming on their Country and Kindred, and ſaid, They ſaw utter deſtruction at hand, for that they had covered ſo great a bitterneſs ſo long in their hearts againſt the* Engliſh, *and now ſo ſuddenly broken out againſt them, that had brought them up, kept them in their houſes like Children, and had made no difference between them, their* Engliſh *Friends & Kindred, by all which the* Engliſh *had ſo well deſerved of them, and they had requited them ſo evil, that the* Engliſh *would never truſt them hereafter; and now it remains that either they muſt deſtroy the* Engliſh, *or the* Engliſh *them.* Jurat. ut ſupr

in death among an innocent, unprovoking, unreſiſting people, that had always lived peaceably with them, [53] adminiſtring all manner of helps and comforts to thoſe who were in diſtreſs, that made no difference betwixt them and thoſe of their own Nation, but ever cheriſhed them as Friends, and loving Neighbours, without giving any cauſe of Unkindneſs or Diſtaſte unto them. It is not poſſible to recollect or expreſs the wickedneſs of their miſchievous Inventions, or horrour of their bloody Executions, actuated with all kind of circumſtances that might aggravate the height of their cruelty towards them. Alas, who can comprehend the fears, terrours, anguiſh, bitterneſs and perplexity of their Souls, the deſpairing paſſions and conſternation of their Mind! What ſtrange amazed Thoughts muſt it needs raiſe in their ſad Hearts, to find themſelves ſo ſuddenly ſurprized without Remedy, and inextricably wrapt up in all kind of outward Miſeries which could poſſibly by Man be inflicted upon any humane Creatures! What Sighs, Groans, Trembling, Aſtoniſhment! What Schrieches, Cries, and bitter Lamentations of Wife and Children, Friends and Servants, howling and weeping about them, all finding themſelves without any manner of Hope or Deliverance from their preſent Miſery and Pain! How inexorable were their barbarous Tormentors that compaſſed them on every ſide without all Bowels of Compaſſion, any ſenſe of their Sufferings, or the leaſt commiſeration and pity, the common comforters of Men in Miſery.

[54] Fran. Barbour *of* Dublin, *Gent. depoſeth, That at the beginning of the Rebellion, he heard ſeveral of the Rebels publickly ſay, That now the day was their own, & that they had been ſlaves to the* Engliſh *a long time, but that now they would be revenged to the full, and would not leave before* Chriſtmas-Day, *an* Engliſh *Proteſtant Rogue living, with other like bitter words.* Jurat. Jan. 5. 1643.

[54] Jane *the Relict of* Gabriel Conſtable, *depoſeth, That the Rebels having half killed one* Ellen Millington, *and then put her into a dry hole made for a Well, and made her faſt in with ſtones, whereof ſhe languiſhed and died.*

It was no ſmall addition to their Sorrows, to hear [54] the baſe Reviling Speeches uſed againſt their country and

country-men, some loudly threatning [55] all should be cut off, and utterly destroyed that had one drop of *English* Blood in them; the *Irish* Women crying out to spare neither man, woman nor child that was *English*; that the *English* was meat for dogs, and their children bastards.

How grievous and insupportable must it needs be to a true christian Soul, to hear a base [56] villain boast, that his hands were so weary with killing and knocking down Protestants into a bogg, that he could not lift his arms up to his head? or others to say, [57] that they had killed so many *English* men, that the grease or fat which remained

[55] Elizabeth *the Wife of* Thomas Green *deposeth, That she heard the Rebels say,* The English *were meat for Dogs; that there should not be one drop of* English *Blood left within the Kingdom, and that they would destroy all, the very* English *Children, whom they called Bastards.* Jurat. November 10. 1643.

Richard Cleybrook *deposeth, That he heard* Luke Toole *say, That they would not leave an* English *man or* English *woman in the Kingdom, that they would not leave an* English *Beast alive, or any of the Breed of them.* Jurat.

Samuel Man *of the County of* Fermanagh *Gent. deposeth, That he heard some of the* Irish *say, That there should not be one* English *man, woman or child left in the Kingdom.* Jurat.

Elizabeth Dickingson *deposeth, That she heard some of the Company of* Roury Mac Guire, *say, That the* Irish *had command to leave never a drop of* English *Blood in* Ireland. Jurat. November 17. 1642.

Katherine Madeson *of the County of* Fermanagh *deposeth, That she hath often heard the Rebels say, That they would drive all the* English *and* Scotish *out of the Kingdom, and that both man, woman, and child should be cut off and destroyed.* Jurat. November 17. 1642.

[56] Elenor Fullerton *the Relict of* Will. Fullerton, *late Parson of* Lougall, *deposeth, That in Lent* 1641. *a young roguing Cow-boy gave out and affirmed in this Doponents hearing, That his hands were so weary in killing and knocking down Protestants into a bog-pit, that he could hardly lift his arms to his head.* Jurat. Septemb. 16. 1642.

Owen Frankland *deposeth, That he heard* Hugh O Can, *late Servant to Mrs.* Stanshaw, *calling to his fellows in a boasting manner, asking them what they had been doing at home all the day, that he had been abroad and had killed sixteen of the Rogues, and shewed them some money.* Jurat. ut supra.

[57] Elizabeth Champion, *late Wife of* Arthur Champion *in the County of* Fermanagh, Esq; *saith, That she heard the Rebels say, That they had killed so many* English *men, that the grease or fat which remained upon their Swords and Skeins, might well serve to make an* Irish *candle* Jurat. April 14. 1642.

(58) John Birn *late of* Donganmon *in the County of* Tyron *deposeth, That he heard some of the native* Irish *that were somewhat more merciful than the rest, complain that two young Cow-boys within the Parish of* Tullah, *had at several times murdred and drowned 36 Women and Children.* Jurat. Jan. 12. 1643.

(59) James Shaw *a Minister deposeth, That after the Cessation made with the* Irish, *divers of them confessed the Priests had given them the Sacrament, upon condition they should not spare man, woman or child that were Protestants, and that he heard divers of them say in a bragging manner, that it did them much good to wash their hands in the Blood of the Protestants which they had slain.* Jurat. Jan. 7. 1643.

on their Swords or Skeins might have made an Irish Candle; or to consider, that two (58) young Cow-boys should have it in their power to murder 36 Protestants. Whosoever shall seriously weigh these particulars, will not much wonder that so great numbers of *British* and Protestants, should be destroyed in so short a time after the first breaking out of the Rebellion, as Master *Cunningham* (59) deposeth in his Examination: He there saith, That the account of the persons killed by the Rebels from the time of the beginning of the Rebellion, *Octob.* 23. 1641. unto the month of *April* following, was as the Priests weekly gave it in, in their several Parishes, one hundred and five thousand. *Jurat.* April 22. 1641.

(60) Elizabeth Champin *deposeth That when the Rebels had set the Castle of* Lisgool *on fire upon the Protestants there enclosed, and saw the said House so burning, they said among themselves rejoycingly, O how sweetly do they fry!* Jurat. ut supra.

When the Castle of Lisgool (60) was set on fire by the Rebels, and so many *British* as are before mentioned consumed in the flames, those mischievous Villains that had done that wicked fact cried out with much joy, How sweetly do they fry! How did the Inhabitants (61) of *Kilkenny* (a City planted with old *English*, where Civility and good Manners seemed to flourish) solace and please themselves in abusing most unchristianly the heads of a Minister and six other Protestants, brought in a kind of Triumph into that Town: Certainly it is not to be imagined, much

(61) William Lucas *of the City of* Kilkenny *deposeth, That altho' he lived in the Town till about five or six weeks past, in which time he is assured divers murders and cruel acts were committed, yet he durst not go abroad to see any of them: But he doth confidently believe that the Rebels having brought seven Protestants Heads, whereof one was the Head of Mr.* Bingham *a Minister, they did then and there as Triumphs of their Victory, set them upon the Market-cross on a Market-day, and that the Rebels slash'd, stabb'd and mangled those Heads, put a Gag or Carrot in the said Mr.* Bingham's *Mouth, slit up his Cheeks to his Ears, laying a leaf of a Bible before him, and bid him preach, for his Mouth was wide enough, and after they had so solaced themselves, threw those Heads in a hole in* St. James *Green.* Jurat. Aug. 16. 1643.

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less expressed, with what Scorn and Derision they acted these great Cruelties upon all *British*, which they had gotten into their power; with what joy and exultation their Eyes did behold the sad spectacle of their miseries, what [62] greedy delight and pleasure they took in their bloody Executions; what [63] malice and hatred they expressed towards them, many with the last stroke of death giving them in their last agony [64] that

[62] Julian Johnson, *the Relict of* John Johnson *of the County of* Gallway *deposeth, That after the slaughter of some* English, *she heard one* O Moloy *a Friar say in a triumphing manner, It was a brave sport to see the young men (meaning some of the* English *then slain) descending themselves on every side, and their two Eyes burning in their hands. And further, that she heard some of the cruel Soldiers then and there brag and boast of the brave sport they had, by putting fire to the straw which a stripped* English *woman had tyed about her, saying, How bravely the fire then made the* English *Jade to dance!* Jurat. February 8. 1643.

Joan Constable *the Relict of* Gabriel Constable, *deposeth, That the outcries, lamentations, and shrieches of the poor Protestants burned in a thatch'd house in the Parish of* Kilmore, *in the County of* Armagh, *were exceeding loud and pitiful, yet did nothing prevail to mollify the hardned hearts of their murderers, but they most boldly made brags thereof, and took pride and glory in imitating those cries, and in telling the Deponent and others, how the children gaped when the fire began to burn them; and threatned and told her this Deponent, that before it were long she and the rest of the Protestants should suffer the like deaths. And further saith, That the Rebels within the County of* Armagh *did act and commit divers other bloody barbarous Cruelties (betwixt the time of the beginning of the Rebellion, and her escape from Imprisonment out of the said County) by burning, drowning, hanging, the sword, starving, and other fearful deaths: That they did drown at one time betwixt* Tinon *and* Kinnard, *sixty* British *women and children, their respective husbands and fathers, all their male friends that were men, being murdred before: And that they did in the same water at another time drown one Mrs.* Maxwel, *the Wife of* Mr. James Maxwel, *when she was in labour, and so forward therein, as some of those bloody Actors told and bragg'd to her this Deponent, that the very Childs Arm appeared, and waved in the Water, the Child being half born when the Mother was drowned.* Jurat. ut supra.

[63] Henry Brinkhurst *of the County of* Mayo, *deposeth, That after the Massacre of* Shreul, *one of the Rebels that had acted his part there, came into a house with his hands and cloaths all bloody, saying, It was* English *Blood; that he hoped to have more of it, and that his Skein had pinked the clean white Skins of many at* Shreul, *even to the hilt thereof, and that amongst others it had been in the Body of a fair complexion'd man, whose name was* Jones. *At which time of his discourse, the Wife of the said* Jones, *with four of her small Children, sat by, and durst not cry out, but striving to suppress her extream grief, fell into a swoon, and was conveyed out of the Room, for fear he should have done the like by her and her poor children.* Henry Brinkhurst. Jurat. March 11. 1643.

(64) *This Particular deposed in the Examination of* Dr. Maxwel *and Mrs.* Price,

[65] Margaret Stokes *the Wife of* Hugh Stokes, *duly sworn and examined, deposeth* inter alia, *that when the Rebels, or any of them, had killed an* English *man in the Country, many others of them would come one after another, and every of them in most cruel manner stab, wound and cut him, and almost mangle him; and to shew their further malice, would not suffer or permit any to bury them, but would have them to lie naked, for the dogs, beasts, and fowls of the air to devour them. And further saith, When they had so killed the* English, *they would reckon up and account the number of them, and in rejoycing and boasting manner would say, That they had made the Devil beholding to them, in sending so many Souls to him to Hell.* Jurat. coram Sir Gerrard Lowther.

Edward Dean *of* Ocram *in the County of* Wicklow, Tanner, *deposeth, That the* Irish *Rebels made Proclamation, That all* English *Men and Women that did not depart the Country within 24 hours should be hanged drawn and quartered, and that the* Irish *Houses that kept any of the* English *Children, should be burned. And further saith, That the said Rebels burned two Protestant Bibles, and then said, That it was Hell fire that burnt.* Jurat. Jan. 7. 1641.

[66] John Kerdif, *Clerk of the County of* Tyron, *deposeth* inter alia, *That Friar* Malon *of* Skerries, *did take the poor mens Bibles which he found in the Boat, and cut them in pieces, and cast them into the fire with these words, That he would deal in like manner with all Protestant and Puritan Bibles.* Jurat. Feb. 8. 1641.

Henry Fisher *of* Powerscourt *in the County of* Wicklow, *deposeth, That the Rebels entred the Parish Church at* Powerscourt, *and burnt up the Pews, Pulpit, Chests and Bibles belonging to the said Church, with extream violence and triumph, and expressing of hatred to Religion.* Jurat. Jan. 25. 1641.

Adam Clover *of* Slonoly *in the County of* Cavan, *duly sworn, deposeth, That* James O Rely, Hugh Brady, *and other Rebels, did ostentake into their hands the Protestant Bibles, and wetting them in the dirty water, did five or six times dash the same on the face of this Deponent and other Protestants, saying, Come, I know you love a good Lesson, here is an excellent one for you; come to morrow, and you shall have as good a Sermon as this; and used other scornful and disgraceful words unto them: And further saith, That dragging divers Protestants by the hair of the head, and in other cruel manner, into the Church, there stripped, robbed, whipped, and most cruelly used them, saying, If you come to morrow you shall hear the like Sermon.* Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

Edward Slack *of* Gusteen *in the County of* Fermanagh, *Clerk, deposeth, That the Rebels there took his Bible, opened it, and laying the open side in a puddle of water, leaped and trampled upon it, saying, A plague on it, this Bible hath bred all the quarel; and that he be-*

fearful Valediction, in Irish, *Anim a duel*, Thy Soul to the Devil.

But it is no wonder that they carried themselves after this barbarous manner to these poor innocent Christians, when they spared not most fearfully to belch out their rage against their Maker. What open [65] hellish Blasphemies were uttered by these wicked miscreants? [66] With what indignation and reproach did they

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ed within few weeks all the Bibles in Ireland *should be used as that was, or worse, and that none should be left in the Kingdom.* Jurat. Jan. 4. 1641.

ear, trample under their feet, the sacred Word of GOD! How despitefully did they upbraid the Profession of the Truth to those blessed Souls, whom neither by Threats nor Terrors, Pains nor Torments, they could draw to forsake their Religion!

But I shall not here touch any further upon those who dyed thus gloriously; this will be a worthy Work for some more able Pen to undertake, and indeed fit for a Martyrology. If we shall take a Survey of the Primitive Times, and look into the Sufferings of the first Christians that suffered under the Tyranny and cruel Persecutions of those Heathenish Emperours, we shall not certainly find any one Kingdom, though of a far larger Continent, where there were more Christians suffered, or more Uparallell'd Cruelties acted in many years upon them, than were in *Ireland*, within the space of the first two months after the breaking out of this Rebellion. And howsoever [67] some by outward inflictions and tortures were drawn to profess the change of their Religion, and had presently their reward: for many of those they suddenly dispatched with great scorn, saying, It was fit to send them out of the world in that good mood; [68] yet I dare say we shall find many

[67] Alexander Creighton *of* Glaslough *in the County of* Monaghan, *Gent. deposeth, That he heard it credibly reported among the Rebels aforesaid at* Glaslough, *that* Hugh Mac O Degan, *a Priest, had done a most meritorious Act in drawing betwixt fourty and fifty* English *and* Scotish *in the Parish of* Ganally, *in the County of* Fermanagh, *to reconciliation with the Church of* Rome, *and after giving them the Sacrament, demanded of them whether Christs Body was really in the Sacrament or no? And they said, Yea: And that he demanded further, Whether they held the Pope to be supream head of the Church? They likewise answered, He was: And that thereupon he presently told them, they were in a good Faith; and for fear they should fall from it, and turn Heretieks, he and the rest that were with him cut all their throats.* Jurat. March 1. 1641.

[68] John Glass *of* Montwrath *in the* Queens County, *sworn and examind, saith, That* Florence Fit-Patrick *of the said County, Esquire, having received Master* John Nicholson *and his Wife* Ann Nicholson, *under his Protection, did endeavour all he could to turn them to Mass, or the present Rebellion; but they both professed, that rather then they would either forsake their Religion, or fight against their Countreymen, they would die the death, the Husband professing how much they abhorred it, and his Wife even shewing greater Resolution: They would have had her burnt her Bible; but her answer was, Before she would either burn her Bible, or turn against her Countreymen, she would die upon the point of the Sword; which was made good by them; for on a Sabbath day in the morning before Mass, they were cruelly butchered and murdred by the com-*

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mand of the said Florence Fitz-Patrick. *The Instrument that acted the Villany, was one* John Harding, *who since hath been beyond all expression tormented in his conscience, and with continued apparitions of them (as he conceived) in such manner as he murdred them; so as he is even now consumed away with the horror of it, as is most frequently reported among the Rebels.* Jurat. April 8. 1642.

thus cruelly put to Death, equal to some of those antient Worthies for their Patience, Constancy, Courage, Magnanimity in their sufferings, not accepting Deliverance, but triumphing and insulting with their last breath, over the Insolency, Rage and Malice of their most inhumane and cruel Persecutors.

We shall find in the *Roman* Story, during the several cruel Contestations betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*, when their Factious Followers filled the whole City of *Rome* with Streams of Blood, strange and most incomparable Passages of Friendships; one exposing himself to all manner of Dangers for the preservation of his Friend of a contrary Faction; Servants willingly sacrificing themselves to save the Lives of their beloved Masters. But here on the contrary, what open Violations of all the Bands of Humanity and Friendship? No Contracts, no Promises observed; Quarter given in the most solemn manner, with the greatest Oaths and severest Execrations, under hand and seal, suddenly broken. The *Irish* Landlords making a prey of their *English* Tenants; the *Irish* Servants betraying their *English* Masters; and every one esteeming any Act wherein they could declare their Hatred and Malice most against any of the *British* Nation, as gallant, and truly meritorious.

It is not to be denied, but that the first and most bloody Executions were made in the Province of *Ulster*, and there they continued longest to execute their rage and cruelty; yet must it also be acknowledged, that all the other three Provinces did concur with them, as it were, with one common consent to destroy and pluck up by the roots all the *British* planted throughout the Kingdom. And for this purpose they went on, not only murdring, stripping, and driving out all of them, Men, Women, and Children, but they laid waste their Habitations, burnt their Evidentes, defaced in many places all the Monuments of Civility and Devotion, the Courts and Places of the *English* Government; nay, as some of themselves express it, they resolved not to leave them either Name or Posterity in *Ireland*.

How they proceeded on in this Work, or how far they co-operated each with other, will be a Task of a large size, and more proper for another place in this Story.

I shall here conclude this Discourse concerning the Cruelties exercised upon the

he *Britiſh* and Proteſtants, with theſe following Examinations. They re Eight in number, two Witneſſes, as it were, taken out of each Pro-ince to declare their bloody Proceedings: I ſhall begin with *Munſter*, rom whence we have yet very few Examinations brought up, the chiefeſt f them having been moſt unhappily carried another way. Therefore I ave thought fit, for the more full expreſſing their Miſeries, to inſert their General Remonſtrance, made upon the Concluſion of the late Ceſſation, n the year 1643. The two next enſuing are concerning the Province of *Conaught*, then thoſe of the Province of *Ulſter*; and laſtly, two Examina-ions taken of ſome Acts of Cruelty committed within the Province of *Lem-ſter*. I have made choice, for the moſt part of them, of ſuch as have been ut in by perſons of good Quality, of known Integrity and Credit. They re all upon Oath, as all the other Examinations concerning Cruelties be-ore-mentioned likewiſe are. I ſhall leave the ſeveral Particulars to the Conſideration of ſuch as ſhall pleaſe to take the Pains to read them over. And I may well ſay of them, in reſpect of the former Cruelties inſerted, as was ſaid to the Prophet *Ezekiel* in another caſe, *Turn thee yet again, and thou ſhalt ſee greater Abominations than theſe.* Ezek. 8, 13

Here follow ſeveral Examinations taken upon Oath, of ſeveral horrid murders, and moſt abominable cruelties acted within the four Provinces.

A GENERAL REMONSTRANCE of the Diſtreſſed PROTESTANTS IN THE PROVINCE OF *MUNSTER*.

SEtting forth, from the gaſping Condition of their moſt ſad and diſtreſſed Souls, That whereas the Province of Munſter, *through the vaſt Expence of* Engliſh *Treaſure and Blood, was reduced from the height of Barbariſm to ſuch a degree of Civi-lity, that the Power and Dignity of the* Engliſh *Crown, was much Advanced and Extended by the Sureſt and Nobleſt Bonds of a Flouriſhing People; thoſe of Religion, Civility and Profit: Of Religion, witneſſed by the Enlarged Congregations both in Cathedral and Parochial Churches: Civility by the many coſtly Plantations, fair and ſtrong Buildings, plentiful Markets, and bountiful Hoſpitality: And Profit, by the free Trade and Commerce throughout* Chriſtendom. *Lands fully Improved, a-bounding*

bounding with Herds and Flocks of all sorts of the best English Cattel, which enabled us to advance great Sums to His Majesties Customs, contribute large Subsidies, and to supply the West of England with such a considerable proportion of Wooll and Cattel, that a great part of the Trade of those parts subsisted thereby. And this begun at the great charge of the English Undertakers, in the time of Queen Elizabeth of famous memory; since when few parts of Christendom from their beginning (in so short space) had such a Rise and Growth; which was not alone to our selves, but the very Natives must confess, that their Estates were hugely augmented by our Improvements. And therefore let it not be wondred at, that when we consider from what we are faln, to what we are faln; if the pain of Loss, strive to equal that of Sense; and if the depth of our Miseries have not sunk our Souls to stupidity, we may compare our Woes to the saddest Parallel of any Story. Our Temples demolished, or worse, prophaned by Sacrifices to Idols; our Houses and Castles become ruinous heaps, our Nation extirpated, destroyed: No Quality, Age, Sex, priviledged from Massacres and lingring Death; by being robbed and stripp'd naked through Cold or Famine, Passages of a notable piece of Clemency and Mercy. The famished Infants of Murdred Parents swarm in our Streets, and for want of Bread perish before our Faces; and many of our yet miserable Remnant, which lived plentifully, and relieved others, are forced to ask Relief, and those they ask of, constrained by want to refuse them; So as undoubtedly our present Miseries are not far distant of those of Samaria's Siege; and all those cast upon us by this Unparallell'd Rebellion, at a time when we were most confident and secure, more and greater Immunities and Bounties being granted by his Majesty that now is, than ever was by his Royal Progenitors; for what Cause, Offence, or least seeming Provocation, our Souls never imagine (Sin excepted) save that we were Protestants, and His Majesties Loyal Subjects, and could not endure their Poysonous Breaths to belch out such Prophaneness, as in a deep measure pierced and wounded the Sacred Fame of our King; and to colour this, we must go under the notorious Names of first Puritans, and later of Roundheads; for

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particular inſtances, time would fail, and length weary the Reader. But we are altogether confident to make it manifeſt, by abundant inſtances, That the Depopulations in this Province of Munſter, *do well near equal thoſe of the whole* Kingdom. *The Particulars whereof, as of the multitude of Inhuman Cruelties, were Collected and Reduced to ſeveral Inſtances, with ample Proof, by the many Months Endeavours of a Reverend Divine, one Arch-Deacon* Biſs, *thereunto Authorized by vertue of a Commiſſion under the Broad Seal of this Kingdom; who was moſt barbarouſly murthered by the* Iriſh, *expreſſing that to be the cauſe. And becauſe it may be thought requiſite to touch ſomething of the Demeanours of the* Iriſh *ſince the Ceſſation, as well as before; many* Engliſh *have been murthered as they Travelled, with other Expreſſions of that utter deteſtation of the* Engliſh, *that if any remain (which few do) nor ſurely will do, that can but breathe elſewhere; then muſt they be in a degree worſe than any known Slavery: And likewiſe for other parts of the Ceſſation, they have been totally broken, and our Quarters, being of large Extent, univerſally taken from us, even to the Walls of our Gariſons; wherein we have often call'd to the chief of them for Juſtice; which being denied (or which is worſe) delayed, want of means to juſtifie our ſelves, leaves us without Remedy. All which we pour forth our Griefs and Supplications, above, to* GOD alone; *and here on Earth,* to our Dread Soveraign.

bounding with Herds and Flocks of all sorts of the best English *Cattel, which enabled us to advance great Sums to His Majesties Customs, contribute large Subsidies, and to supply the West of* England *with such a considerable proportion of Wooll and Cattel, that a great part of the Trade of those parts subsisted thereby. And this begun at the great charge of the* English *Undertakers, in the time of Queen* Elizabeth *of famous memory; since when few parts of* Christendom *from their beginning (in so short space) had such a Rise and Growth; which was not alone to our selves, but the very Natives must confess, that their Estates were hugely augmented by our Improvements. And therefore let it not be wondred at, that when we consider* from what we are faln, to what we are faln; *if the pain of Loss, strive to equal that of Sense; and if the depth of our Miseries have not sunk our Souls to stupidity, we may compare our Woes to the saddest Parallel of any Story. Our Temples demolished, or worse, prophaned by Sacrifices to Idols; our Houses and Castles become ruinous heaps, our Nation extirpated, destroyed: No Quality, Age, Sex, priviledged from Massacres and lingring Death; by being robbed and stripp'd naked, through Cold or Famine, Passages of a notable piece of Clemency and Mercy. The famished Infants of Murdred Parents swarm in our Streets, and for want of Bread perish before our Faces; and many of our yet miserable Remnant, which lived plentifully, and relieved others, are forced to ask Relief, and those they ask of, constrained by want to refuse them; So as undoubtedly our present Miseries are not far distant of those of* Samaria's *Siege; and all those cast upon us by this Unparallell'd Rebellion, at a time when we were most confident and secure, more and greater Immunities and Bounties being granted by his Majesty that now is, than ever was by his Royal Progenitors; for what Cause, Offence, or least seeming Provocation, our Souls never imagine (Sin excepted) save that we were Protestants, and His Majesties Loyal Subjects, and could not endure their Poysonous Breaths to belch out such Prophaneness, as in a deep measure pierced and wounded the Sacred Fame of our King; and to colour this, we must go under the notorious Names of first Puritans, and later of Roundheads; for*

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particular inſtances, time would fail, and length weary the Reader. But we are altogether confident to make it manifeſt, by abundant inſtances, That the Depopulations in this Province of Munſter, *do well near equal thoſe of the whole* Kingdom. *The Particulars whereof, as of the multitude of Inhuman Cruelties, were Collected and Reduced to ſeveral Inſtances, with ample Proof, by the many Months Endeavours of a Reverend Divine, one Arch-Deacon* Biſs, *thereunto Authorized by vertue of a Commiſſion under the Broad Seal of this Kingdom; who was moſt barbarouſly murthered by the* Iriſh, *expreſſing that to be the cauſe. And becauſe it may be thought requiſite to touch ſomething of the Demeanours of the* Iriſh *ſince the Ceſſation, as well as before; many* Engliſh *have been murthered as they Travelled, with other Expreſſions of that utter deteſtation of the* Engliſh, *that if any remain (which few do) nor ſurely will do, that can but breathe elſewhere; then muſt they be in a degree worſe than any known Slavery: And likewiſe for other parts of the Ceſſation, they have been totally broken, and our Quarters, being of large Extent, univerſally taken from us, even to the Walls of our Gariſons; wherein we have often call'd to the chief of them for Juſtice; which being denied (or which is worſe) delayed, want of means to juſtifie our ſelves, leaves us without Remedy. All which we pour forth our Griefs and Supplications, above, to* GOD alone; *and here on Earth,* to our Dread Soveraign.

Province of *Munſter.*

The Examination of Ann *the late Wife of* John Sherring, *late of the Territory of* Ormond, *near the* Silver-works *in the County of* Tipperary, *aged about twenty five years, Sworn and Examined, depoſeth and ſaith,*

THat about *Candlemas* was two years, the ſaid *John Sherring* her then Husband, going from his Farm, which he held from Mr. *John Kenedy* Eſq; near to the *Silverworks*, one *Hugh Kenedy*, one of the Brothers of the ſaid *John Kenedy*, a cruel Rebel, together with a great Multitude of *Iriſh* Rebellious Souldiers, then and there fiercely aſſaulted and ſet upon her ſaid Husband, and upon one *William Brock*, *William Laughlin*, *Thomas Colloy*, and eight more *Engliſh* Proteſtant Men, and about ten Women, and upon ſome Children in their company, and then and there ſtript them of their Cloaths, and then with Stones, Poleaxes, Skeins, Swords, Pikes, Darts, and other Weapons, moſt barbarouſly maſſacred and murdered her ſaid Husband, and all thoſe Proteſtant Men, Women, and Children: In the time of which Maſſacre, a moſt loud and fearful Noiſe and Storm of Thunder, Lightning, Wind, Hailſtones and Rain began: The time being on a Sabbath-Day, about an hour before Night, the former part of that Day being all very fair, but that Thunder, Lightning and Tempeſt, happening ſuddenly after the Maſſacre was begun, much affrighted and terrified this Deponent and many others, inſomuch that thoſe Murderers themſelves confeſſed it be a ſign of Gods anger and threatning of them for ſuch their then cruelty; yet it deterred them not, but they perſiſted in their Bloody Act, until they had murdered thoſe ſaid *Engliſh* Proteſtants, and had hack'd, hew'd, ſlaſh'd, ſtabb'd, and ſo maſſacred them, that many of them were cut all to pieces; and her Husband for his part had thirty grievous Wounds then and there given him, (*viz.*) ſome through or near his heart, ten mortal wounds in his head, three in his belly, and in either arm four, and the reſt in his thighs, legs, back and neck: And that murder done, thoſe barbarous Rebels tied Wyths about their Necks, and drew them out of the Refining Mill (where indeed they ſlew them) and threw them or moſt of them into a deep hole, (formerly made) one upon another, ſo that none of thoſe twenty three men, women, nor children, did eſcape death. How beit, one *Tho. Ladell*, a *Scottiſh* man, and one *George Kelſy*, who then and there endured and had many grievous Wounds, and being left on the Ground for Dead, crawled up, (after the Rebels were gone away) and with much difficulty eſcaped with their Lives: And further ſaith, That ſuch was God's Judgment upon the ſaid *Hugh Kenedy*, for that bloody fact, that he preſently fell into a moſt

deſperate

desperate Madneſs and Diſtraction, and could not reſt Day nor Night; yet coveting to do more miſchief upon the *Engliſh*, but being prevented, and denied to do it, he about a week after drowned himſelf in the next River to the *Silverworks*, but his barbarous and wicked Souldiers went on in their wickedneſs, and afterwards bragged how they had killed a Miniſter and his Wife and four Children near the City of *Limrick*; and this Deponent is too well aſſured, that thoſe and other *Iriſh* Rebels in that part of the Country, exerciſed and committed a great number of bloody Murders, Robberies, and Outrages upon the Perſons and Goods of the Proteſtants, ſo as very few eſcaped with their Lives, and none at all ſaved their Goods. And further ſaith, That all the Popiſh Gentry in the Country thereabouts, eſpecially all thoſe of the *Septs*, and Names of the *O Briens*, and the *Coghluns*, and the *Kenedies*, were all Actors in the preſent Rebellion againſt his Majeſty; and either acted, aſſiſted, incited or conſented to all the Murders, Robberies, Cruelties, and Rebellious Acts aforeſaid. And ſhe further ſaith, That by means of the ſaid Rebellion, her ſaid Husband and ſhe were at *Weſtwood* about *Candlemas* 1641. robbed and deprived of their Cattel, Houſhold-ſtuff, Corn, Mault, Proviſion, ready Money, Debts, the Benefit of their Leaſe, and other their Goods and Chattels, of the value, and to their Loſs, of one hundred and threeſcore Pounds at the leaſt; and that the ſaid *John Kenedy* Eſquire, their Landlord, was the Man that ſo deprived and robbed them thereof; and the other Rebels ſtript her ſtark naked. *Jurat. Febr.* 10. 1643.

Henry Jones.
Henry Brereton. *Ann Sherring.*

The Examination *of* John Goldſmith, *Parſon of* Braſhoul *in the County of* Mayo, *Sworn and Examined, ſaith,* The Province of *Conaught.*

THat the Lord of *Mayo* being to convoy all thoſe of *Caſtle-Burre* to *Galway*, *viz.* Sir *Henry Bingham* with all his Company, and the Biſhop of *Killalla*, with all his Company, with many of the Neighbouring *Engliſh*, being about threeſcore in number, whereof there were ſome fifteen Miniſters, covenanted with one *Edmund Bourk* for the ſafe convoy of the ſame Parties upon a certain day; and the ſaid Lord of *Mayo* appointed them all to meet him at *Belgharah*, having firſt ſeparated this Deponent from them to attend his Lady in the work of the Miniſtry. At which day, the

titulary Archbishop and the Lord of *Mayo* meeting with their whole number went on their Journey to *Shreul*; at which place the Lord of *Mayo* left them in the custody of the said last named *Edmund Bourk*: But as one Mr. *Bringhurst* told the Deponent, the Lord of *Mayo* was not gone far from them, but the said *Edmund Bourk* drew out his Sword, directing the rest what they should do, and began to massacre those Protestants, and accordingly some were shot to death, some stabb'd with Skeins, some run through with Pikes, some cast into the water and drowned, and the women that were stripped naked, lying upon their Husbands to save them, were run through with Pikes; and very few of those *English* then and there escaped alive, but the most part were murdred in the place: Amongst the rest, the Bishop of *Killala* escaped with his Life, but was then and there wounded in his head; and one Mr. *Crowd* a Minister, was then and there so beaten with cudgels on his feet, that he died shortly after. And this Deponent further saith, That in the Town of *Sligo* 40 Persons of *English* and *Scotish*, were by the Rebels stript and lock'd up in a Cellar, and about Midnight a Butcher, which was sent unto them on purpose, with his Ax knocked them all on the heads, and so then and there murdred them: Which Butcher coming afterwards to *Castle Curre*, did there confess his bloody Fact.

In *Tirawly* in the County of about 30 or 40 *English* (formerly turned Papists) had their Choice given them, whether they would die by the Sword, or drown themselves: They making choice of drowning, were brought to the Sea-side by the Rebels, who had their Skeins drawn in their hands, and forced them to wade into the Sea: The Mothers, with their Children in their arms (crying for drink) having waded to the chin, at length cast or dived themselves and Children into the Sea, yielding themselves to the Mastery of the Waves, and so perished.

The Torments the Rebels would use to the Protestants to make them confess their Moneys, were these, *viz.* Some they would take and wrythe Wyths about their heads, till the Blood sprang out of the crown of their heads; others they would hang until they were half dead, then they would let them down and do the same so often over, until they confessed their Moneys.

And this Deponent further saith, That a young youth of about fifteen years of age, the Son of Mr. *Montgomery* the Minister, meeting with a bloody Rebel who had been his Schoolmaster, this Rebel drew his Skein, and began furiously to slash and cut him therewith; the Boy cried unto him, *Good Master do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will*; nevertheless the merciless and cruel Rebel most barbarously murdred him.

A *Scotchman* travelling in the high-way, with his Wife and Children, near were beset by the Rebels, who wounded and stabb'd him with their Pikes, put him alive upon a Car, brought him to a Ditch, and buri-

buried him alive, as the poor Wife afterwards (with great grief) told him this Deponent.

The Vicar of *Urras* turned Papiſt, and became Drummer to Captain *Bourk*, and vvas after murdred for his Pains by the Rebels.

Another *Scotchman* near *Ballenhen* was hanged by the Rebels.

Jurat. 30 *Decembris* 1643.
Henry Jones,
Henry Brereton. *Jo. Goldſmith.*

The Province of *Conaught.*

The Examination *of* Jane, *the Wife of* Thomas Stewart, *late of the Town and County of* Sligo, *Merchant*; *Sworn and Examined before His Majeſties Commiſſioners in that behalf Authorized: Depoſeth and ſaith,*

THat after the preſent Rebellion vvas begun, *viz.* about the beginning of *December* 1641. her ſaid Husband living as a Merchant in the Town aforeſaid, vvith her this Deponent, as for twenty ſix years he had done in very good Eſtate and Condition; and having continually furniſhed the Inhabitants of that part thereabouts with all ſorts of Wares and Merchandize; and by that courſe having acquired and gained to himſelf an Eſtate of good value: He the ſaid *Thomas Stewart*, and ſhe this Deponent, then poſſeſſing that Eſtate, were then at *Sligo* aforeſaid, by *Andrew Crean* of *Slogo* Eſquire, then High Sheriff of that County, *Neil O Hart* of *Donelly* in the ſaid County Gentleman, *Roger O Conner* of *Skarden* in the ſame County, Gent. *Donnel O Conner* of Gent. Brother-in-law to *Teige O Conner Sligo*, *Richard O Crean* of *Tirreragh* Gent. *John O Crean* Eſq; and a Juſtice of Peace, Son to the ſaid *Andrew Crean*, *Anthony Screan* of near *Ballyſhany*, Gent. forcibly deprived, robbed and deſpoiled of their Houſhold-Goods, Wares, Merchandize, Specialties, Cattel, Horſes, Plate, Money, and other Goods and Chattels, of the value of one thouſand two hundred pounds *Sterl.* or thereabouts: Which robbery and outrage vvas committed in or about the beginning of *December* aforeſaid, at the very time of the Rebels ſurprizing, robbing and pillaging of all the *Engliſh* and *Scots* of the Town of *Sligo*. In the doing vvhereof not only the Perſons, Rebels before named, but alſo *Teige O Conner Sligo*, now of the Caſtle of *Sligo*, General of the Rebels in thoſe parts; *James French* of *Sligo* aforeſaid, Eſq; a Juſtice of the Peace (a notorious and cruel Rebel) *Brian O Conner* of *Drumcleer*, Gent. Captain *Charles O Con-*

ner a Friar, and Captain *Hugh O Conner*, all three Captains, and Brothers to the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, Captain *Patrick Plunket* near *Killoony* in the same County (a Justice of the Peace) Captain *Phelim O Conner*, Captain *Teige O Conner* of the *Glan*, Captain *Con O Conner* of the same, and divers others whose Names she cannot for the present remember, were most forward and cruel Actors; and those Rebels having altogether deprived and stripped all the *Brittish* of all their Estates they had, she this Deponent, and her Husband, and many other *Brittish* were left in that Town, and among the rest, there were left there, which she can well remember, *viz.* *William Braxton*, the Deponent and her Husband and six Children, *James Scot* and his Son of the age of four or five years, *Sampson Port* and his Wife, *Mary Port* and her Father (of the Age of seventy years, or thereabouts) *John Little*, *Arthur Martin*, *William Dowlittle*, and his Wife and Children, *William Carter*, and *John Lewes*, and *Elizabeth* his Wife, *Robert Scyens*, *Elizabeth Marlow*, and one woman that was great with Child, and within a month of her time, *Isabel Beard*, who was great with Child, and very near her time, and others whom she cannot name; which *Brittish* People (although they were promised fair quarter, and taken into the Protection of the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, who promised them a Collection) yet they were daily threatned to be murdred, if they would not turn Papists in one month then next after; which for saving of their lives they were enforced to do: Notwithstanding which, about the sixth of *January* then next following, the said *O Conner Sligo* (having before called a Meeting of his Followers and Kindred, in the Counties of *Sligo* and *Letrim*, and considered with them, and with a Covent of Friars of the Abbey of *Sligo* for three days together, where they sat in Council) all the Men, Women, and Children of the *Brittish* that then could be found within the same Town (saving this Deponent, who was so sick that she could not stir) were summoned to go into the Goal, and as many as could be met withal were carried and put into the Goal of *Sligo*, where about twelve a clock in the night they were stripped stark naked, and most of them were most cruelly and barbarously murdred with Swords, Axes and Skeins, and particularly by two Butchers, named *James Buts* and *Robert Buts* of *Sligo*, who murdered many of them; wherein also were Actors *Charles O Conner* the Friar, and *Hugh O Conner* aforenamed, Brother to the said *Teige O Conner Sligo*, and *Teige O Sheile*, *Kedagh O Hart* Labourer, *Richard Walsh* and *Thomas Walsh*, the one the Jaylor, the other a Butcher, and divers others whom she cannot name: And saith, That above 30 of the *British* which were so put into the Goal, were then and there murdred; besides *Robert Gumble*, then Provost of the said Town of *Sligo*, *Edward Newsham* and *Edward Mercer*, who were wounded and left for dead amongst the rest, and *Jo. Stewart* this Deponents Son, which four being the next day

found

found alive, yet all besmeared with Blood, were spared to live. All which particulars the Deponent was credibly told by those that so escaped, and by her *Irish* Servants, and others of the Town; and saith, that some of the Women so murdred being big with Child (by their Wounds received) the very Arms and Legs of the Children in their Wombs appeared and were thrust out; and one Woman, *viz. Isabel Beard*, being in the House of the Friars, and hearing the lamentable Cry that was made, ran into the Street, and was pursued by one of the Friars men unto the River, where she was barbarously murdred, and found the next day with the Childs feet appearing, and thrust out of her Wounds in her sides. And further saith, That on the said sixth day of *January* there were murdred in the Streets of the Town of *Sligo*, these *Brittish* Protestants following, *viz. William Sheiles* and *John Sheiles* his Son, *William Mapwel* and *Robert Akin*. And the Deponent further saith, (as she was credibly informed by the Persons before-named) that the inhuman Rebels after their Murders committed in the said Goal, laid and placed some of the dead Bodies of the naked murdred men upon the naked Bodies of the Women, in a most immodest posture, not fit for chaste Ears to hear: In which posture they continued to be seen the next morning by those *Irish* of the Town that came into the said Goal, who were delighted and rejoyced at those bloody Murders and uncivil Actions: And that they of the *Irish* that came to bury them, stood up to the mid-leg in the Blood and Brains of those that were so murdered, who were carried out, and cast into a Pit digged for that purpose in the Garden of Mr. *Ricrofts*, Minister of *Sligo*. And she further saith, That whereas the River of *Sligo* was before very plentiful of Fish, it did not for a long time after those Murders, afford any fish at all: And this Deponent saw the Friars in their White Habits, in great Companies in Procession, going to sanctifie the Water, casting thereto Holy Water: She saith also, That the Prior of the Covent of *Sligo*, after the murder of the said Woman in the River, fell frantick, and ran so about the Streets, and continued in that frenzy for three or four weeks; and saith, That of her six Children, three were starved and dyed, after her release of Imprisonment, which had been for Eighteen Months amongst the Rebels.

Jurat. 23 *Aprilis* 1644.
Henry Jones.
Henry Brereton.

Signum predict. VVV.
Janæ Stewart, *alias*
Menize.

Captain

Province of *Ulster.* *Captain* Anthony Stratford *of* Charlemont *in the County of* Armagh *Esq*; *Aged Threescore years, or thereabouts*; *Sworn and Examined before His Majesties Commissioners, by vertue of a Commission in that behalf, directed under the Great Seal of* Ireland, *Deposeth and Saith,*

THat these Protestant Ministers following, about the beginning of the present Rebellion, vvere murdered in the Counties of *Tyrone*, *Armagh*, viz. Mr. *John Matthew*, Mr. *Blyth*, Mr. *Hastings*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Durragh*, Mr. *Birge*, and eight more, vvhose Names this Deponent hath forgotten, by the Rebels, none of vvhich vvould the Rebels permit to be buried; the Names of such as murdred, this Examinant knovveth not; his cause of knowledge of the said murders is, that some of his this Deponents Servants, who were among the Rebels, did give him this relation, and he verily believeth them; and besides, this Deponent heard the same confessed and averred by many of the Rebels themselves, and by some of those Protestants that had escaped; and that he this Deponent was a Prisoner among the Rebels at *Castle-Caufield*, near the place of those murders, where he continued fourteen Months. And further saith, That in *Dungannon*, in the County of *Tyrone*, or near thereunto, the Rebels murdred three hundred and sixteen Protestants; and between *Charlmount* and *Dungannon*, above four hundred. that were murdred and drowned at and in the River by *Benburb*, the *Black-Water*, between the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, two hundred and six Protestants; and *Patrick MacCrea* of *Dungannon* aforesaid, murdred thirty one in one morning; and two young Rebels, viz, *John Begbrian* and *Hary*, murdred in the said County of *Tyrone*, one hundred and fourty poor women and children that could make no resistance; and that the wife of *Brian Kelly* of *Loghal* in the County of *Armagh* (one of the Rebels Captains) did with her own hand murder foury five. And this Deponent further saith, That one *Thomas King*, sometimes Serjeant to the late Lord *Caulfield*'s Company (which this Deponent commanded) he being inforced to serve under the Rebels, and was one of their Provost Marshals, gave the Deponent a List of every Housholders Name so murdered, and the number of the Persons so murdred; which List this Deponent durst not keep. At *Portadown* there were drowned at several times about three hundred and eight, who were sent away by about fourty, or such-like numbers at once, with Convoys, and there drowned: There was a *Lough* near *Loghgal* aforesaid, where were drowned above two hundred, of which this Deponent was informed by

several

several Persons, and particularly by the wife of Dr. *Hodges*, and two of her sons, who were present, and designed for the like end; but by Gods mercy that gave them favour in the eyes of some of the Rebels, they escaped; and the said Mrs. *Hodges* and her sons gave the Deponent a List of the Names of many of those that were so drowned, which the Deponent durst not keep; & saith, that the said Dr. *Hodges* was employed by Sir *Phelim O Neil*, to make Powder; but he failing of his undertaking, was first half hanged, then cut down, and kept Prisoner three months, and then murdred with forty four more, within a quarter of a mile of *Charlmounts* aforesaid, (they being by *Tirlogh Oge O Neil*, Brother to Sir *Phelim*, sent to *Dungannon* Prisoners, and in the way murdred.) This Deponent was shewed the Pit where they were all cast in.

At a Mill-Pond in the Parish of *Killamen* in the County of *Tyron*, there were drowned in one day 300; and in the same Parish there were murdred of *English* and *Scotish* 1200, as this Deponent was informed by Mr. *Birge*, the late Minister of the said Parish, who certified the same under his hand, which Note the Deponent durst not keep: The said Mr. *Birge* was murdred three months after: All which muders were in the first breaking out of the Rebellion, but the particular times this Deponent cannot remember, neither the persons by whom they were committed. This Deponent was credibly informed by the said Serjeant, and others of this Deponents Servants (who kept company with the Rebels, and saw the same) that many young Children were cut into quarters and gobbets by the Rebels, and that eighteen *Scotish* Infants were hanged on a Clothiers Tenterhook, and that they murdred a young fat *Scotish* man, and made Candles of his Greese; they took another *Scotish* man and ripped up his Belly, that they might come to his small Guts, the one end whereof they tied to a Tree, and made him go round until he had drawn them all out of his Body; they then saying, That they would try whether a dogs or a *Scotch* mans Guts were the longer.

Deposed March 9. 1643. *before us,*

Henry Jones.
Henry Brereton. *Anthony Stratford.*

Province of *Ulster.*

The Examination *of* Robert Maxwell *Clerk, Arch-Deacon of* Down, *Sworn and Examined, Deposeth and Saith*, inter alia,

THat by Command from Sir *Phelim O Neil*, the Rebels dragged the Deponents Brother, Lieutenant *James Maxwell*, out of his Bed, in the rage and height of a burning Fever; and left any of his Acquaintance or Friends should bury him, they carried him two miles from any Church, and there cruelly Butchered him, when he neither knew what he did or said; and thus Sir *Phelim* paid him two hundred and sixty pound which he owed him: And his Wife *Grissel Maxwell* being in Child-birth, the Child half born and half unborn, they stript stark naked, drove her about an Arrow flight to the *Black-water*, and drowned her: The like they did to another *English* Woman in the same Parish, in the beginning of the Rebellion, which was little inferiour, if not more unnatural and barbarous, than the roasting of Mr. *Wilson* alive, after they had cut a Collop out of either Buttock. And further saith, That a *Scotish* woman was found in the *Glinwood* lying dead, her belly ripped up, and a living Child crawling in her Womb cut out of the Cawl; and that Mr. *Starkey*, School-Master at *Armagh*, a Gentleman of good Parentage and Parts, being upwards of an hundred years of age, the Rebels stript naked, caused two of his Daughters, Virgins, being likewise naked, to support him under each Arm, he being not able to go of himself; and in that posture carried them all three a quarter of a mile, to a Turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the lusts of their Eyes and the cruelty of their hearts with the self-same Objects at the same time. At the Siege of *Augher*, they would not kill any *English Beast*, and then eat it, but they cut Collops out of them being alive, letting them there roar till they had no more flesh upon their Backs, so that sometimes a Beast would live two or three day together in that torment; the like they did at *Armagh*, when they murdred *Hugh Echlin* Esq; they hanged and murdred all his *Irish* Servants which had any way proved faithful or useful to him during this Rebellion. And touching Exemplary Constancy in Religion, this Deponent saith, That *Henry Cowel* Esq; a gallant and well bred Gentleman, was murdred because he would not consent to marry a Beastly Trull, *Mary Ny Neil*, near Kinswoman of Sir *Phelim*'s: He was profered his Life without the Blouse, if he would have gone to Mass, but he chose rather to die, than to do either. There was made the like proffer of Life for going to Mass, to *Robert Ecklin*, a Child of Eleven or Twelve years of Age, but he also refused it, saying *He saw nothing in their Religion for which he would change his own.* And this Deponent further saith, That very many of the *British* Protestants

the Rebels buried alive, and took great pleasure to hear them speak unto them, as they digged down old Ditches upon them; except those whom they thus buried, they buried none of the Protestants, neither would permit any that survived to perform that duty for them: And further saith, That the Rebels would send their Children abroad in great Troops, especially neat unto *Kinnard*, armed with long Wattles and Whips, who would therewith beat dead mens bodies about their privy members, until they beat, or rather thrash'd thed them off, and then would return in great joy to their Parents, who received them for such Service as it were in triumph. And further saith, That if any women were found dead lying with their faces downward, they would turn them upon their backs, and in great flocks resort unto them, censuring all parts of their bodies, but especially such as are not fit to be named, which afterwards they abused so many ways, and so filthily, as chaste ears would not endure the very naming thereof.

Many of the Protestants the Rebels would not kill out-right, but being half dead, would so leave them, entreating for no better favour at their hands two or three days after, but to kill them out-right, which sometimes was granted, sometimes denied.

A young youth having his Back-bone broken, was found in a Field, having like a Beast eaten all the grass round about him; the Deponent could not learn that they killed him out, but that they removed him to a place of better Pasture; so that in those most bloody and execrable Wretches, that of the holy Ghost is clearly verified, *The very mercy of the wicked is cruelty*: And further saith, That the Rebels themselves told him, this Deponent, that they murdred 954 in one morning in the County of *Antrim*; and that besides them, they supposed that they killed above 1100 or 1200 more, in that County: They told him likewise, that Colonel *Bryan O Neil* killed about 1000 in the County of *Down*, besides 300 killed neat *Killeleigh*, and many hundreds both before and after in both those Counties.

At Sir *Phelim*'s return from *Lisnegarvy*, some of the Soldiers forced about 24 *Brittish* into a house, where they burned them alive, whose terrible outcries they desired very much to imitate and express unto others; and saith, That he heard Sir *Phelim* likewise report, that he killed 600 *English* at *Garmagh* in the County of *Derry*; and that he had left neither man, woman, nor Child alive in the Barony of *Munterlong* in the County of *Tyron*, and betwixt *Armagh* and the *Newry*, in the several Plantations and Lands of Sir *Archibald Atcheson*, *John Hamilton* Esq; the Lord *Caufield*, and the Lord *Mount Norrice*: And saith also, That there were above 2000 of the *Brittish* murdred for the most part in their own Houses, whereof he was informed by a *Scotsman*, who was in those parts with Sir *Phelim*, and saw their houses filled with their dead bod In the *Glinwood* towards *Dromore*, there were slaughtred,

as the Rebels told the Deponent, upwards of twelve thousand in all, who were all kiled in their flight to the County of *Down*: The number of the people drowned at the Bridge of *Portadown*, are diversly reported according as men staid amongst the Rebels, this Deponent who staid as long as any, and had better intelligence then most of the *English* amongst them, and had best reason to know the truth, saith, There were (by their own report) 190 drowned with Master *Fullerton*: At another time they threw 140 over the said Bridge; At another time 36 or 37 and so continued drowning more or fewer, for seven or eight weeks, so as the fewest which can be supposed there to have perished, must needs be above 1000 besides as many more drowned betwixt that Bridge and the great *Lough* of *Montjoy*, besides those who perished by the Sword, fire and famine, in *Coubrassil*, and the *English* Plantations adjacent: Which in regard there escaped not 300 out of all those quarters, must needs amount to many thousands.

Near unto the Deponents House thirty six persons were carried to the *Cure-bridge* at one time, and drowned. At another time six and fifty, Men, Women and Children; all of them being taken out of the Deponents House; and at several other times several other numbers; Besides those that were drowned in the Black-water at *Kinnard*. In which Town and the Parish of *Tinon* (whereof the Deponent was Rector) there was Drowned, Slaughtered and died of Famine, and for want of Clothes, about six hundred. The Deponent might add to these many thousands more; but the Diary which he this Deponent wrote amongst the Rebels being burned, with his Houses Books and all his Papers; he referreth himself to the number in gross, which the Rebels themselves have upon inquiry found out and acknowledged; which notwithstanding will come short of all that have been Murdred in *Ireland*; there being above one hundred and fifty four thousand now wanting of the *British* within the very precincts of *Ulster*.

The numbers of *British* destroyed within the Province of *Ulster*.

And this Deponent further saith, That it was common Table-talk amongst the Rebels, that the Ghost of Master *William Fullerton*, *Timothy Jephes*, and the most of those who were thrown over *Portadown-bridge* were daily and nightly seen to walk upon the River, sometime singing of Psalms, sometimes brandishing of naked Swords, sometimes screeching in a most hideous and fearful manner. The Deponent did not believe the same at first, neither doth he yet know whether to believe it or no; but saith that divers of the Rebels assured him that they themselves did dwell near to the same River, and being daily affrighted with those apparitions, but especially with their horrible screeching, were in conclusion inforced to remove further into the Country: Their own Priests and Friers could not deny the truth thereof. But as it was by the Deponent Objected unto them;

them; said it was but a cunning slight of the Devil to hinder this great work of propagating the Catholick Faith, and killing of Hereticks; or that it was wrought by Witchcraft. The Deponent himself lived within thirteen miles of the Bridge, and never heard any man so much as doubt of the truth thereof. Howsoever, obligeth no mans Faith, in regard he saw it not with his own eyes; otherwise he had as much certainty as morrally could be required of such a matter.

And this Deponent further saith; That the degenerate *Pale-English*, were most cruel amongst the *British* Protestants, being beaten from their own Lands; and were never satisfied with their Blood, until they had in a manner seen the last drop thereof; affrighting Sir *Phelim O Neil* every day with their numbers, and perswading him, That whilest they (meaning the Protestants) lived, there would neither be room for them, nor safety for him. It was easie [illegible] on the Cowardly and Bloody Rebel; yet no sooner were the Protestants cut off, but contrary to their expectation, the meer *Irish* took present possession of their Lands and Houses; whereat the *Pale-English* much grumbled; and said, Sir *Phelim* had not kept promise with them; howsoever, they were forced to swallow those and many other injuries.

And further saith, That he knew one Boy, that dwelt near unto himself, and not exceeding fourteen years of age, who killed at *Kinnard*, in one night, fifteen able strong men with his Skein, they being disarmed, and most of their feet in the Stocks.

Another not above twelve years of age, killed two women at the Siege of *Augher*.

Another that was a woman and Tenant to this Deponent, killed seven men and women, of her fellow *English* Tenents, in one morning. And it was very usual in all parts, for the Rebels children to murder the Protestants children; and sometimes with Lath-Swords heavy, and well sharpned, they would venture upon people of riper years, cruelties not to be believed, if there were not so many eye-witnesses of them.

Deposed 22. *of August*, 1642.

Henry Brereton. *William Aldrich.*

The Province of Munster.

The Examination of Dame Ann Butler, *Wife unto Sir* Thomas Butler *of* Rathealin *in the County of* Catherlagh, *Knight, duly Sworn, Deposeth,*

THat after *Walter* [illegible] of *Dunlickny* in the County of *Catherlagh* Esq. and *Walter Butler*, with a great number of men, had in a violent manner entred this Deponents House, they not able to resist, they set strict guard over this Deponent, her Husband and Family, and brought them from their settled dwelling unto *Loghlin-Bridge*, where they kept her self, her Husband and Children in restraint for two weeks, and from thence conveyed them with a strict Guard to the Town of *Kilkenny*; and there they were brought before the Lord *Mount Garrot*; where *Walter* [illegible] and *James Butler*, Brother to the Lord *Mount Garrot*, did use all means possible to move the said Lord to put this Deponent, her Husband and Family, to death and torture; alledging that they were rank Puritan Protestants; and desperately provoking, used these words, saying, *There's but one way, we or they*, meaning Papists or Protestants, *must perish.* To which malicious Provocation the said Lord did not hearken. And this Deponent further deposeth, That *Walter* [illegible], with his rebellious company, apprehended *Richard Lak* an *English* Protestant, and his Servant, with his Wife and four Children, and one *Richard Taylor* of *Loghlin-Bridge*, his Wife and Children, *Samuel Hayes* of the same, his Wife and Children, an *English* woman called *Jone*, and her Daughter, and was credibly informed by *Dorothy Renals*, who had been several times an Eye-witness of these lamentable spectacles, that she had seen to the number of five and thirty *English* going to execution; and that she had seen them when they were executed, their Bodies exposed to devouring Ravens, and not afforded so much as burial. Another *English* woman who was newly delivered of two Children in one Birth, they violently compelled her in her great pain and sickness, to rise from her Childbed, and took the Infant that was left alive, and dashed his Brains against the stones and after threw him into the River of the *Barrow*: And having a piece of Salmon to Dinner, Mr. *Brian Cavanagh*'s Wife being with her, she the said Mrs. *Cavanagh* refused to eat any part of the Salmon, and being demanded the reason, she said she would never eat any Fish that came out of the *Barrow*, because she had seen several Infants Bodies, and other Carkases of the *English* taken up in the Wear.

And this Deponent saith, That Sir *Edward Butler* did credibly inform her, that *James Butler* of *Finyhinch* had hanged and put to death all the *English* that were at *Goran* and *Wells*, and all thereabouts. And further deposeth

poſeth, That ſhe being in *Kilkenny* a Priſoner in reſtraint, and having intelli-
ence that ſome of her own Cattel were brought thither by *Walter*
he petitioned (being in great Extremity) to the Lord of *Mount*
procure her ſome of her own Cattel for her Relief; whereupon he recom-
mended her Suit to the Mayor and Corporation of *Kilkenny*; who concluded,
ecauſe ſhe and her Family were Proteſtants, and would not turn to Maſs,
hey ſhould have no Relief. *Jane Jones*, Servant to the Deponent, did
ee the *Engliſh* formerly ſpecified, going to their Execution; and as ſhe con-
ceived they were about the number of 35; and was told by *Elizabeth*
Homes, that there were 40 gone to Execution.

Jurat. 7 Septem. 1642. *Ann Butler.*

John Watſon.

The Examination *of* Joſeph Wheeler *of* Stancarty *in the Coun-* The Pro-
ty of Kilkenny, *Eſq*; Elizabeth *the Relict of Lieutenant* Wil- vince of
liam Gilbert. *of Captain* Ridgway's *Company*; Rebecca Hill, *Leinſter.*
the Relict of Thomas Hill, *late Lieutenant to the ſaid Captain*
Ridgway; Thomas Lewis, *late of* Kilkenny, *Gent.* Jonas
Wheeler *of* Stancarty *aforeſaid, Gent. and* Patrick Maxwel
of the Graige *in the ſame County, Gent. Sworn and Exami-*
ned, Depoſe and Say,

THat about *Eaſter* 1642. one *Richard Philips* and five others, who were old Gariſon Soldiers, then under the Command of Captain *Farrel*, a Captain on his Majeſties Party, were by the Command of the Lord *Mount Garrot*, at the End of a Houſe in *Kilkenny*, hanged to Death by that cruel and bloody Rebel and Provoſt Marſh.! *Thomas Cantwel*, of *Cantwel-Court*, Eſq; or ſome of his Servants or Souldiers in his preſence, who would hardly ſuffer them to ſay their Prayers after they were taken out of the Priſon before they were put to death; thoſe poor Men dying very patiently and reſolutely, in the maintainance of the Proteſtant Faith; but one of them, becauſe he was an *Iriſh* man, was offered his Life if he would turn Papiſt, but he rather choſe death, which he quickly had with the other five.

And further ſay, That a little before *Chriſtmas* 1641. Mr. *William Hill* of

the

the Abby of in the *Queens County*, Esquire, and the said Lieu- *Thomas Hill* his Son, coming to *Kilkenny*, to fetch home *Mary Hill*, the Wife of him the said *William Hill*, and the said *Rebecca*; one of these Depo- nents were then and there sent for by the Lord *Mount Garrot*, and by him com- mitted prisoners to the Goal of *Kilkenny*; where they continued in a dark Dun- geon bolted for two Months, but were offered freedom if they would joyn with the Rebels, and become Papists; but they refused, and after the said Lord *Mount Garrot* was gon into *Munster* with his Forces, (which was an example to all the rest of the wicked *Irish* there to rise unto Rebellion) one *Florence Fitz Patrick* of *Castletown* in the *Queens County* Esquire, a Captain of the Re- bels, and his Soldiers came to *Kilkenny*, and then and there (without resistance of any) broke open the Goal there, and forcibly took and carried away with them into *Ossory* aforesaid, the said *William* and *Thomas Hill*, where they kept them in miserable durance for some time, and then hanged them both; and a poore young Girle being sent from the Town of *Ballin- kill* to see what was become of them, and the said *Florence Fitz Patrick* meeting her, caused her to be half hanged, then letten down, and after to be buried quick: And by report of one *Jone Grace* (that said she was an eye-witness) the Rebels threw the dead Body of the said *William* and *Thomas Hill*, into a Saw pit, leaving them so far unburied, that their Heads and Legs lay bare, until she came and cover'd them with earth about a week after: And further saith, that they have credibly heard and believed, That the said *Florence Fitz Patrick* having enticed a rich Merchant of *Montrath* to his the said *Fitz Patricks* House, to bring thither his goods which he promised should be safely protected, and safely re- delivered; he, the said *Florence Fitz Patrick*, possessing those goods afterwards caused the said Merchant and his Wife to be hanged; and they have credibly heard, that the said *Florence Fitz Partick* also hanged Lieu- tenant *Keies* and his Son, one *Hughes* a Shool-master, and divers other Protestants: And these Deponents further say, that Master *Edmond Butler*, eldest Son to the Lord *Mount Garrot*, *Edward Butler* his second Son, Captain *Garret Blankfield*, and divers other rebellious Comman- ders and Soldiers, to the number of 6 or 700 Horse and Foot a little before *Michaelmas* 1642. marched from *Balliragget* near to the Iron Forge of *Ballinekil*, and there met with Lieutenant *Gilbert* aforenamed Ensign *William Alfry* the younger, Master *Thomas Bingham* the Minister, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bently*, and about sixty more of the *English Soldiers*, both the same parties joyned in Battle; but the *English Soldiers*, though fighting valiantly, and killed many Rebels (and one *Walter Butler*, Captain amongst the rest) were at last so overcome with multitudes of the Rebels, that then and there they, the said Lieutenant *Gilbert* *William*

William Alfry, *Thomas Bingham*, *Robert Graves*, *Richard Bently*, and two other *Engliſh* Soldiers were abſolutely ſlain, and the heads of all thoſe ſeven carried to *Kilkenny* by thoſe Rebels (their pipes for joy playing before them on hors-back) and on a market day which hapned to be on the next day following, thoſe heads as triumphs of their Victories, there brought out and ſet upon the Market-croſs, where the Rebels, but eſpecially the women there, and amongſt the reſt *Elice Butler*, a reputed mother of ſeveral baſtards, yet the daughter of the ſaid *Mount Garrot*, ſtab'd, cut and ſlaſht thoſe heads (the ſaid *Elice Butler* drawing her ſkein, ſlaſht the face of the ſaid *William Alfry*, and hit him on the noſe, and thoſe that could but get a blow or ſtab at thoſe heads, ſeemed to account themſelves happy: And the Rebels then and there put a gag in the mouth of the ſaid *Thomas Bingham* the Miniſter, and laying the leaf of a Bible before him, bad him preach, ſaying, his mouth was open and wide enough, and one of thoſe lewd virago's that had no weapons, ſtruck one of the heads ſo with her hand, that the ſame night her hand grew black and blew, rankled, and ſhe was extreamly lame with it a quarter of a year after, and that lameneſs and the ſwelling thereof growing to an Iſſue, is like to continue till ſhe die: and another of thoſe women that with great rejoycing went and ſaw thoſe heads, did quickly after the ſight thereof fall into ſuch an aſtoniſhment and diſtraction, that for three or four days after ſhe could not ſleep nor reſt, but cried out that ſtill ſhe ſaw thoſe heads before her eyes, which heads being ſaid by the Rebels to be the heads of Hereticks, were not afforded Chriſtian Burial, but buried without the City in a croſs high-way altogether in a hole; the buriers chopping and cutting the heads with their Spades as they threw mold upon them. And to make the manner of their burial, and the heads themſelves yet more contemptible; the Rebels (over the hole where the heads were laid) ſet up a long ſtick, whereto they fixed papers, that all may take notice of the place: And after and from that time, the rebellious roguiſh Boys, took up, and frequently uſed an Oath, *By the Croſs of the ſeven devils heads buried on Saint James Green.* And further ſay, that upon the teſtimony of a roguiſh Boy, that an *Engliſh* man that was a Maulſter to one *Richard Shaw* of *Kilkenny*, had ſaid, *He would believe the Devil as ſoon as the Pope*; the cruel Rebel, the Provoſt Marſhal *Cantwell* aforenamed, ſuddenly took and hanged him up in an Apple-tree till he died: And further ſaith, that one *Uncil Grace*, and diverſe other Rebels in *Kilkenny*, broke open the doors of the Cathedral Church there, and robbed the ſame Church of the Chalices, Surplices, Ornaments, Books, Records and Writings there being; and made Gunpowder in Saint *Patricks* Chuch, and digged the Tombs and graves in the Churches

in *Kilkenny*, under colour of getting up molds whereon to make Gunpowder: And theſe Deponents have credibly heard, and verily believe, that the Rebels at *Goran* took 25 Proteſtants, men, women and children, and pretending and promiſing to them a Convoy to *Dungannon*, hanged them dead in the way, in a Wood near *Newroſs*, and that the Rebels half hanged five more Proteſtants at *Balliragget*, by the command of the ſaid Captain *Edward Butler*, and the ſaid *Thomas Cantwel* the Marſhal, and letting them down again before they were dead ſuffered them ſomewhat to recover, and then buried them quick: And theſe Deponents *Thomas Lewis*, *Patrick Maxwel*, further ſay, That as they have been credibly told by *Walter Archer* of *Kilkenny* a Rebel, that a poor *Engliſh* mans wife that went out to gather ſticks, at a place about two miles from *Kilkenny*, was taken and hanged up by the Rebels: And the Deponents *Elizabeth Gilbert*, *Patrick Maxwel*, further, ſay, That a poor woman and two children, ſhe being the wife of one *Harvy* of *Ballinekil*, coming to *Kilkenny* about Candlemas was twelve month, were then and there aſſaulted and ſet upon by the rebellious Inhabitants of that City, and hunted, baited, and drawn with dogs, cruelly ſtab'd with Skeins, and ſo miſerably uſed, that one of the children died preſently (having the guts plukt out) and the Deponent *Patrick Maxwel* further ſaith, There were taken out of *Graige* by the Rebels, and hanged to death, one *John Stone* and his wife and his ſon, *William Valentine*, *Robert Pym* and his wife, one of their children of a year and a half old, and *Thomas White* a Merchant and his wife, who being great with child, had her belly ripped up after ſhe was hanged, ſo as the child fell out of the cawl alive; *Walter Sherly*, Miſtris *Joan Salter* an ancient Widow, one *John* a ſervant to *Stone* aforenamed; the Rebels that hanged them were *Garret Foreſtal* of *Knockive*, and *Gibbon Forreſtal* of *Tinyhinch*, and the eldeſt ſon of *Richard Barron*, alias *Fitz Geraldin* of *Knockeen* aforeſaid, and diverſe others whom ſhe cannot name, all of the County of *Catherlagh*; which ſaid *Robert Pym* after he was hanged up twice, proved alive in his grave, and ſtruck his hand upon his breſt ſaying, *Chriſt receive my Soul*, and with thoſe words in his mouth was then there buried quick; and one of thoſe poor Proteſtants at *Goran*, by name *Triſtram Robinſon*, the Rebels hanged him twice, thruſt him through with darts, but he ſtill continuing alive, and ſpeaking, they buried him quick: And this Deponent *Jonas Wheeler* farther ſaith, That one old *Engliſh* Proteſtant, who was a Shepheard, and his wife going from *Kilkenny* towards *Ballidownel*, the Rebels hanged up the poor old man, and going a little off, his wife perceiving breath in her Husband, ſaid unto him, *Oh joy you are alive yet*; which when ſome of the Rebels overhearing, hanged him out-right, and dragged him up and down

down until his bowels fell out, then his wife desired them to hang her too, but they refused. And saith, That this Deponent asking the Rebels of *Kilkenny*, how they durst do what they did, considering the King was against them? They answered, That if the King would not hold with them, they could have forty Thousand to come to assist them out of *France* and *Spain*, and bring ammunition and arms enough, and all things necessary, and fight against the King and the *English*. And the Deponent *Elizabeth Gilbert* further saith, That she heard one *James Eustace* a servant to the Rebel Colonel *Cullen*, say publickly in Master *Joseph Wheelers* house in *Kilkenny*; Let the King take heed, for if they (meaning the *Irish*) had not their own desires they would bring in a foreign King; and one *Tristram Dyer* a Protestant was (as his wife told this Deponent) murdered in a Wood with his own Hatchet, and covered with Leaves and Moss.

Examinations touching the Apparitions at Portnedown-Bridge, *within the Province of* Ulster.

James Shaw of *Market-hill* in the County of *Armagh*, Inn-keeper, Deposeth, That many of the *Irish* Rebels, in the time of this Deponents restraint, and staying among them, told him very often, and it was a common report that all that lived about the Bridge of *Portnedown*, were so affrighted with the cries and noise made there of some Spirits or Visions for revenge, as they durst not stay but fled away thence; so as they protested, affrighted to *Market-hill*, saying, They durst not stay nor return thither for fear of those cries and spirits, but took grounds and made creats in or near the Parish of *Mullabrack*, *Jurat. Aug.* 14. 1642.

Joan the relict of *Gabriel Constable*, late of *Drumard* in the County of *Armagh*, Gent. Deposeth and saith, That she hath often heard the Rebels, *Owen O Farren*, *Patrick O Conellan*, and divers others of the Rebels at *Drumard*, earnestly say, protest and tell one another, that the Blood of some of those that were knockt in the heads, and afterwards drowned at *Portnedown-bridge*, still remained on the Bridge, and would not be washed away; and that often there appeared visions or apparitions, sometimes of men, sometimes of women, brest-high above the water,

at or near *Portnedown*, which did most extreamly and fearfully screech and cry out for vengeance against the *Irish* that had murdred their bodies there; and that their crys and screeches did so terrify the *Irish* thereabouts, that none durst stay nor live longer there, but fled and removed further into the Country, and this was a common report amongst the Rebels there, and that it passed for a truth amongst them, for any thing she could ever observe to the contrary, *Jurat. Jan.* 1. 1643.

Katherine the relict of *William Coke*, late of the County of *Armagh*; Carpenter, sworn and examined, saith, That about the 20 of *December*, 1641. a great number of Rebels in that County, did most barbarously drown at that time one hundred and eighty Protestants, men, women and children in the River at the Bridge of *Portnedown*; and that about nine days afterwards, she saw a Vision or Spirit in the shape of a man, as she apprehended, that appeared in that River, in the place of the drowning, bolt upright breast-high, with hands lifted up, and stood in that posture there, untill the latter end of Lent next following: about which time some of the *English* Army marching in those Parts, whereof her Husband was one (as he and they confidently affirmed to this Deponent) saw that Spirit or Vision standing upright, and in the posture aforementioned; but after that time the said Spirit or Vision vanished and appeared no more that she knoweth. And she heard, but saw not, that there were other Visions and Apparitions, and much screeching and strange noise heard in that River at times afterwards, *Jurat. February*, 24. 1643.

Elizabeth the Wife of Captain *Rice Price*, of *Armagh*, deposeth and saith, That she and other women, whose Husbands were murdered, hearing of divers Apparitions and Visions which were seen near *Portnedown-Bridge* since the drowning of her Children, and the rest of the Protestants there went unto the Bridge aforesaid about twilight in the Evening; then and there upon a sudden there appeared unto them a Vision or Spirit, assuming the shape of a Woman, waist-high upright in the water, naked, with elevated and closed hands, her Hair hanging down, very White, her Eyes seemed to twinkle, and her Skin as white Snow; which Spirit seemed to stand straight up in the Water, often repeated the the word *Revenge, Revenge, Revenge*, whereat this Deponent and the rest being put into a strong amazement and affright walked from the place. *Jurat. January* 29. 1642.

Arthur Clum of *Clowoughter* in the County of *Cavan*, Esquire, deposeth, That he was credibly informed by some that were present there, that there were thirty women and young children and seven men flung into the River of *Belterbert*, and when some of them offered to swim for their lives, they were by the Rebels followed in Cots, and knocked on the heads with poles; the same day they hanged two women at *Turbert*; and this Deponent doth verily believe, that *Mulmore O Rely* the then Sheriff, had a hand in the commanding the murder of those said persons, for that he saw him write two Notes which he sent to *Turbert* by *Bryan Rely*, upon whose coming these murders were committed: And those persons who were present also affirmed, that the Bodies of those thirty persons drowned did not appear upon the water till about six weeks after past; as the said *Rely* came to the Town, all the bodies came floating up to the very Bridge; those persons were all formerly stayed in the Town by his protection, when the rest of their Neighbours in the Town went away.

Elizabeth Price Wife of *Michael Price*, of the *Newry*, deposeth, That Sir *Con Mac Gennis* suffered his Soldiers, the Rebels, to kill Master *Turge*, Minister of the *Newry*, and several other Protestants; and he the said Sir *Con Mac-Cennis* on his death-bed was so much affrighted with apprehension that the said Master *Turge* so slain, was still in his presence, as that he commanded no Protestants from that time should be slain, but what should be killed in Battel; and after his death Sir *Con Mac-Gennis* his brother, would have observed his directions, but one *John Mac-Gennis* the young Lord of *Evah* and *Monk Crely* were earnest to have all the rest of the Protestants put to death.

Master *George Creighton*, Minister of *Virginia*, in the County of *Cavan*, deposeth, among other particulars in his Examination, That divers women brought into his House a young woman almost dead, to whom a Rogue came upon the way, these women being present, and required her to give him her mony or else he would kill her, and so drew his sword; her answer was, You cannot kill me unless God give you leave, and his will be done: Whereupon the Rogue thrust three times at her Naked body with his drawn sword, and yet never pierced her skin; whereat he being, as it seems, much confounded, went away and left her; and that he saw this woman, and heard this particular related by divers women who were by and saw what they reported.

Upon

UPon the view of these Examinations all taken upon Oath, it may easily be conjectured how fatally the first plot took, how furiously the Rebels throughout all parts of the Kingdom proceeded on in their barbarous bloody executions, and what were the courses they held to bring about so suddenly the universal destruction of all the *British* and Protestants there planted. It is most true that in *Leinster* and *Munster* (and yet one would scarce believe it that considers the horrid particulars related in the fore-recited Examinations of those two Provinces) they were not generally so bloody, neither did they begin their work so early as in the Provinces of *Ulster* and *Conaught*. The ill success of the enterprise upon the Castle of *Dublin* did cool them for a time, put them to a stand and caused them to take up new Counsels; but when they had once declared themselves, they did in very few days strip and despoil all the *English* settled among them, and drove great nuimbers of them even stark naked to several Ports on the Sea-side, there to provide themselves passage for *England*, or otherways most miserably to starve and perish, as many of them did, being inhumanely denied any kind of relief in those Towns under the command of the Rebels. And here I must not forget to interpose this certain truth, That in all the four Provinces the horrid cruelties used towards the *British* either in their bloody Massacres, or merciless despoiling, stripping, and extirpation of them were generally acted in most parts of the Kingdom before they could gather themselves together, to make any considerable resistance against their fury; and before the State had assembled their Forces, or were enabled by the power of his Majesties Arms to make any inrodes into the Counties possessed by the Rebels: A circumstance which totally destroyes all those vain pretences and fond recriminations, which they have since most falsely taken up to palliate this their most abominable Rebellion. And this is not to be denied, Though it be also true that those *British* whom they suffered to live among them either upon condition of change of their Religion, out of private interest, or such as they kept in prison, were not put to the Sword, until the *Rebels* in the several encounters they had with his Majesties Forces suffered loss of their men, and so being enraged therewith at their return home after any disaster, they fell furiously to take revenge upon such *British*, whether Men, Women, or Children, as they held in most miserable Captivity with them. How far their madness, fury, and most implacable malice, did after the manner of bruit Beasts transport them towards the destruction of those miserable harmless souls they detained among them, doth clearly appear by several particulars expressed in several Examinations. I shall here insert some of them taken upon

The cruelties acted by the *Irish* upon the *British* were before any provocation given them.

The cruelty of the *Irish* in murdering those Protestants which remained among them when at any time they received any loss by the *English* Forces.

uſt from perſons of good quality and credit, who were long priſoners mong them.

I find in one part of Doctor *Maxwels* Examination (which I thought ot fit wholly to inſert, becauſe it is of great length, and many particulars it, nothing tending to that purpoſe for which it is formerly mentioned) hat about *May* 1642, when the *Scotiſh* Army under the command of eneral Major *Monro* had marched down from *Carick fergus*, taken in the *Newry*, beaten the *Iriſh* out of thoſe parts with the ſlaughter of many of em; Sir *Phelim O Neal* cauſe 5000 *Britiſh* whom he detained in *rmagh*, *Tyron*, and other Parts of the North, to be miſerably urdred in the ſpace of three days: *James Shaw* of Market-Hill in the ounty of *Armagh*, depoſeth and ſaith, That during the time this Deonent was in reſtraint, and ſtayed among the Rebels, he obſerved and ell knew that the greateſt part of the Rebels in the County of *Armagh* ent to beſiege the Caſtle of *Augher* where they were repulſed, and ivers of the Rebels of the *Sept* of *O-Neals* ſlain: In revenge whereof, the rand Rebel Sir *Phelim O-Neal* gave direction and warrant to one *Mulmory ac Donel*, a moſt cruel and mercileſs Rebel, to kill all the *Engliſh* and *cotiſh* within the Pariſhes of *Mullebrack*, *Logilly* and *Kilcluny*, whereupon he ſaid Rebel did murder 27 *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* Proteſtants within Musket ot of this Deponents own houſe; and further ſaith that in thoſe three ariſhes there have been before that and ſince, by killing, drowning, and arving, put to death above 1500 Proteſtants within the ſaid three Pariſhes.

William Fitz-Gerald a Clerk, of *Iriſh* birth, dwelling near *Armagh*, d there reſiding when this Rebellion brake out, depoſeth and ſaith, That l places of the North where Sir *Phelim O-Neal* under the name of General f the Catholick Army commanded, were filled with murders of the roteſtants: And that when at *Augher*, *Liſnagarvey*, or any other places e Rebels received loſs of their men, thoſe that eſcaped, excerciſed their uelty upon the Proteſtants every where at their return: And that about e firſt of *May* 1642. When Sir *Phelim O-Neal* had notice of the taking f the *Newry* by his Majeſties Forces, he retired that night in all haſte to e Town of *Armagh*, and the next day as well the Town of *Armagh* as e Cathedral Church there, and all the Villages and Houſes in the Country ound about, together with all proviſions were fired by the Rebels; and any men, women and children murdered as well in the Town as in the ountry round about.

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UPon the view of these Examinations all taken upon Oath, it may easily be conjectured how fatally the first plot took, how furiously the Rebels throughout all parts of the Kingdom proceeded on in their barbarous bloody executions, and what were the courses they held to bring about so suddenly the universal destruction of all the *British* and Protestants there planted. It is most true that in *Leinster* and *Munster* (and yet one would scarce believe it that considers the horrid particulars related in the fore-recited Examinations of those two Provinces) they were not generally so bloody, neither did they begin their work so early as in the Provinces of *Ulster* and *Conaught*. The ill success of the enterprise upon the Castle of *Dublin* did cool them for a time, put them to a stand and caused them to take up new Counsels; but when they had once declared themselves, they did in very few days strip and despoil all the *English* settled among them, and drove great nuimbers of them even stark naked to several Ports on the Sea-side, there to provide themselves passage for *England*, or otherways most miserably to starve and perish, as many of them did, being inhumanely denied any kind of relief in those Towns under the command of the Rebels. And here I must not forget to interpose this certain truth, That in all the four Provinces the horrid cruelties used towards the *British* either in their bloody Massacres, or merciless despoiling, stripping, and extirpation of them were generally acted in most parts of the Kingdom before they could gather themselves together, to make any considerable resistance against their fury; and before the State had assembled their Forces, or were enabled by the power of his Majesties Arms to make any inrodes into the Counties possessed by the Rebels: A circumstance which totally destroyes all those vain pretences and fond recriminations, which they have since most falsely taken up to palliate this their most abominable Rebellion. And this is not to be denied, Though it be also true that those *British* whom they suffered to live among them either upon condition of change of their Religion, out of private interest, or such as they kept in prison, were not put to the Sword, until the *Rebels* in the several encounters they had with his Majesties Forces suffered loss of their men, and so being enraged therewith at their return home after any disaster, they fell furiously to take revenge upon such *British*, whether Men, Women, or Children, as they held in most miserable Captivity with them. How far their madness, fury, and most implacable malice, did after the manner of brute Beasts transport them towards the destruction of those miserable harmless souls they detained among them, doth clearly appear by several particulars expressed in several Examinations. I shall here insert some of them taken upon

The cruelties acted by the *Irish* upon the *British* were before any provocation given them.

The cruelty of the *Irish* in murdering those Protestants which remained among them when at any time they received any loss by the *English* Forces.

uſt from perſons of good quality and credit, who were long priſoners mong them.

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the Lords Justices and Council, who finding the City to grow daily more and more impestred with strangers by reason of the resort of great numbers of ill affected persons that daily made repair thereunto; They issued out several other Proclamations to prohibit the access of all strangers to the Town, and to require such as remained in the City without calling or settled habitation, to depart.

Some Troops of Horse and Regiments of Foot raised by the Lords Justices and Council.

Sr *Henry Tichborn* being dispatched with his Regiment of Foot to *Tredagh* as is formerly mentioned, the Lords Justices took further order for the present raising of other foot Companies; as likewise some Troops of Horse which might serve for the defence of the City of *Dublin*, now in most imminent danger by reason of the approaches made by the Forces of the Rebels. Sir *Charles Coot* had a Commission for a Regiment, which he quickly made up out of the poor stript *English*, who had repaired from divers parts even naked to the Town, and upon the engagements of the State procured cloaths for them. The Lord *Lambert* to whom a Commission also was granted for the raising of another Regiment, began also to get some men together. The Earl of *Ormond* was now arrived in *Dublin*, and brought up with him his Troop consisting of 100 Curassiers compleatly armed: Sir *Thomas Lucas* who had long commanded a Troop of horse in the *Low-Countries*, and Captain *Armstrong* sometime after yet very seasonably came thither: Both of them had mony impressed Sir *Thomas Lucas* to compleat his Troop already brought out of *England*, Captain *Armstrong* to raise a new Troop; Captain *Varner* also arrived soon after at *Dublin*, he was sent out of *England* by the Lord Lieutenant to raise and command his Troop, which in a very short time he made up about 100 Horse, many persons then living in the Town being desirous to put themselves and their Horses into that Troop: Not long after Colonel *Graford* came over also, and bringing with him Letters of Recommendations from the *Prince Elector* then attending his Majesty in *Scotland* under whom he had formerly the command of a Regiment of Dragoons in *Germany*: The Lords Justices thought fit to give him a Regiment which they were then taking order to raise and arm out of such Townsmen as were fit to bear arms within the City of *Dublin*; none were to be admitted into it but Protestants, and out of them they made choice not only of the Soldiers, but of all the Officers belonging to the same. And further for the repressing of the disorders daily appearing within the City and restraining the ill affections of the Papist there inhabiting; they made Sir *Charles Coot* Governour of the City, and gave him an allowance of 40 S *per idem* for the present. Now while these Colonels and Captains are bestirring themselves in getting their men together under their several commands, and in training them up to the use of their arms: and the

Sir *Charles Coot* made Governour of the City of *Dublin*.

Governour of the Town taking ſtrict order for conſtant Watches within, and Guards without to reſtrain the repair of all ſuſpicious and ill-affected perſons: ſhall in the mean time give an account of the adjournment of the Parliament according to the late Prorogation made by the Lords Juſtices, which ſome of the ill-affected members of both Houſes endeavoured to make uſe of for the raiſing of futher troubles.

In the Month of *Auguſt* before the Rebellion brake out, the Parliament was adjourned to the 17 of *November* next enſuing: Now upon the diſcovery of the late conſpiracy for the ſurpriſe of his Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, the ordinary place of meeting of both Houſes of Parliament; the Lords finding that the fire was begun in the North, and fearing a general revolt of all other parts of the Kingdom, Reſolved as a matter highly tending to the ſafety and ſecurity of the City and Caſtle to Prorogue the Parliament, which they did by Proclamation they ſet out, until the 24 of *February*. But two or three days before ſuch of the Lords and Commons then in the Town were to meet of courſe in their ſeveral houſes for declaring the ſaid Prorogation, it was generally noiſed abroad that the putting off the Parliament was extreamly ill taken by the Popiſh Members of both Houſes. Mr. *Burk* who was one of the Committee lately employed into *England*, came to the Lord *Dillon* of *Kilkenny* Weſt, and highly complaining of the injury which (he ſaid) was done thereby to the whole Nation, hindring them from expreſſing their loyal affections to his Majeſty, and ſhewing their deſires to quell this dangerous Rebellion, and that they had reaſon to reſent it ſo far, as to complain to the King thereof, as a point of high injuſtice; His Lordſhip having acquainted the Board herewith, Mr. *Burk* was preſently ſent for, and he uſed the ſame language in effect there, though with much modeſty.

The adjournment of the Parliament.

Hereupon the Lords fell into debate what was fit to be done, and how far it might be thought reaſonable in them to condeſend to their deſires: Some were of opinion that it was fit to diſannul the Prorogation, and to give them leave to continue the Parliament according to the firſt adjournment made the beginning of *Auguſt*. They urged the very ill condition of the whole Kingdom in regard of the Northern Rebellion, and that thoſe of the Counties of *Wiclow* and *Wexford*, as well as ſome other Counties in *Conaght* had already joyned themſelves to them; that this Prorogation might peradventure ſo irritate the *Pale*, and have ſuch an influence into *Munſter* as might raiſe them into Arms, and ſo put the whole Kingdom into a general combuſtion. Others of the Board Voted ſtrongly for the holding of the Prorogation according to the time prefixed by the Proclamation, grounding their opinion upon theſe reaſons; firſt, That it would highly trench upon the gravity and wiſdom

The Popiſh party much diſcontented at it.

of the Board to alter a reſolution ſo ſolemnly taken up, after a moſt ſerious debate and publickly made known throughout the whole Kingdom by Proclamation; That it would be of moſt dangerous conſequence to bring ſo great a multitude of people to the City in ſuch dangerous times, that the Proteſtants and well-affected Members of both Houſes were for the moſt part either deſtroyed, diſperſed, or ſo ſhut up as they could not repair to the preſent meeting, and that therefore the *Iriſh* would be ſuperiour in number and voices, and ſo wholly carry all things according to their own humour, that conſidering the ſmall Forces then in the City, ſuch great numbers as might take occaſion under colour of coming to the Parliament, to repair thither, could not be admitted without apparent danger and diſturbance, and that peradventure they might there find as ill affections as they brought, and ſo both joyning together they might eaſily deſtroy the State with the poor remainders of the *Engliſh* Nation in theſe parts: Whereupon the Lords thought fit to hold to their Prorogation, yet to endeavour ſo to a temper and ſweeten it, as thoſe who were moſt averſe might in ſome meaſure reſt ſatisfied therewith. And therefore after a long debate of all particular circumſtances, they came at length to this reſolution, that the Earl of *Ormond*, the Maſter of the Rolls, and Sir *Pierce Croſby*, three Members of the Board, ſhould have a meeting with Mr. *Darcy*, Mr *Burk*, and ſome others of the moſt active and powerful Members of the Houſe of Commons, and that they ſhould let them know from the Lords, that they have underſtood of their good affections and deſire to do ſomewhat in the Houſe that might tend towards the ſuppreſſion of this preſent Rebellion, that they approved extream well thereof: And that howſoever they could by no means remove abſolutely the Prorogation, yet that they would deſcend ſo far to their ſatisfaction as to limit it to a ſhorter time, and that at preſent they would give them leave to ſit one whole day in caſe they would immediately fall upon the work of making a clear Proteſtation againſt the *Rebels*: As alſo, that they ſhould have liberty if they pleaſed to make choice of ſome Members of their own Houſe to ſend down to Treat with the *Rebels* about laying down of Arms: And for their grievances that their Lordſhips would with all readineſs receive them, and preſently tranſmit them over to his Majeſty for a ſpeedy redreſs: All this was accordingly performed, The meeting was in the Gallery at *Cork* Houſe; Thoſe of the Houſe of Commons ſeemed at firſt to be extreamly troubled when they found there was no poſſibility of altering the preſent Prorogation: But upon a further debate when they came to underſtand how ready the Lords were to yield to their ſatisfaction, and that the time of the Prorogation ſhould be ſhortned, they ſeemed to reſt indifferently contented, undertook to make the Proteſtation in ſuch

ſuch full and ample manner as was deſired, and that they would fall immediately upon it and make it the work of the whole day.

Upon the 17 of *November*, the Lords and Commons met in Parliament which was held in the uſual place of his Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*: And for the better ſecurity of the place as well as of the perſons of thoſe that were to meet, there was a Guard of Musketiers appointed to attend during the time of their meeting, but ſuch care taken that they ſhould carry themſelves ſo free from giving any offence, as no manner of umbrage might be taken at their attendance there. The Houſes were both very thin, there were only in the Houſe of Peers ſome few *Engliſh* Lords, three or four Lords of the *Pale*, and ſome two or three Biſhops. In the Houſe of Commons, they took into their conſideration upon their firſt meeting the framing of the Proteſtation againſt the *Rebels*. But thoſe of the Popiſh party ſpake ſo ambiguouſly, and handled the matter ſo tenderly, as they could not be drawn to ſtile them by the name of *Rebels*: ſo as they ſent up unto the Lords a very meager cold Proteſtation againſt them, which being in their Houſe taken into debate, it was ſtrongly conteſted by the Proteſtant Lords that they ſhould be ſtiled *Rebels*, but that as ſtiffly oppoſed by the others. They therefore fell upon a mean betwixt both which gave a kind of accommodation, ſaying, They had *Rebelliouſly* and *Traiterouſly* raiſed Arms; and ſo both parties being reaſonably ſatisfied, the Proteſtation was drawn up and returned back to the Houſe of Commons in this Tenour as followeth,

The Proteſtation and Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Paliament aſſembled.

WHereas the happy and peaceable Eſtate of this Realm hath been of late, and is ſtill interrupted by ſundry perſons ill-affected to the Peace and Tranquillity thereof, who contrary to their Duty and Loyalty to His Majeſty, and againſt the Laws of God, and the fundamental Laws of the Realm, have Trayterouſly and Rebelliouſly raiſed Arms, have ſeized upon ſome of his Majeſties Forts and Caſtles, and diſpoſſeſſed

many of his Majesties faithful Subjects, of their Houses, Lands and Goods, and have slain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhumane Outrages, and Acts of Hostility within this Realm.

The said Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, being justly moved with a right sense of the said disloyal Rebellious Proceedings and actions of the persons aforesaid, do hereby protest and declare that they the said Lords and Commons from their hearts, do detest and abhor the said abominable Actions, and that they shall and will to their uttermost power maintain the Rights of his Maiesties Crown, and Government of this Realm, and Peace and safety thereof, as well against the persons aforesaid, their Abettors, Adherents, as also against all forrin Princes, Potentates, and other persons, and Attempts whatsoever; and in case the persons aforesaid do not repent of their aforesaid Actions, and lay down Arms, and become humble Sutors to His Majesty for Grace and Mercy, in such convenient time, and in such manner and form as by His Majesty, or the chief Governour or Governours, and Council of this Realm shall be set down; The said Lords and Commons do further protest and declare, That they will take up Arms, and will with their Lives and Fortunes suppress them, and their Attempts, in such a way, as by the Authority of the Parliament of this Kingdom, with the Approbation of his most Excellent Majesty, or of His Majesties Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom shall be thought most effectual.

Copia vera Exam. per Phil. Percival

Cleric. Parliament.

Both Houses of Parliament sat two days, and the time of the Prorogation being shortned unto the 11 of *Jan.* The Lords made choice of the Lord Viscount *Costelo* to go into *England*, to carry over their desires to his Majesty, concerning the means they thought fit to be used for the quenching this present Rebellion: And besides those instructions formerly men-

mentioned, he had (as I heard) from the Popish Lords some more private which were to negotiate the staying such Forces as were intended to be sent out of *England* for that end.

The Houses of Parliament sent to Treat with the *Rebels.*

Both Houses joyned together to appoint certain Lords and some Members of the House of Commons to go down to the Northern *Rebels*, to understand the cause of their rising in Arms: and referred them to the Lords Justices for their instructions, which accordingly they received together with a Commission under the Great Seal. But the Rebellion having a far deeper root then was at that time discovered; this Commission was of little operation, and the intended Treaty soon vanished. The Northern *Rebels* were then so puffed up with their late victories over the poor surprized, unresisting *English* in those Parts, and had so deeply drenched their hands in the blood of those innocents, as they thought to carry the whole Kingdom before them, and therefore would yield to no Treaties, but in a most barbarous manner tore the Order of Parliament together with the Letter sent unto them, and returned a most scornful Answer, fully expressing thereby how far they were from any thought of laying down Arms, or entertaining any overtures towards an Accomodation.

Within a few days after the Adjournment of the Parliament, the Lord *Dillon* of *Castelo* accompanied with the Lord *Taffe* imbarqued for *England*, but by a most impetuous storm were driven into *Scotland*, where they landed and went up to *London*. At the Town of *Ware*, their papers were seized upon by directions from the Parliament of *England*, and their persons committed unto safe custody. Mr. *Thomas Burk* went over much about the same time, and certainly upon the same errand: When the unhappy breach began first betwixt the King and the Parliament of *England*, and that his Majesty thought fit to retire to *York*, those two Lords found means to make an escape, and all three constantly followed the Court, where in those high distempers that afterwards happned in *England*, they easily found means to ingratiate themselves at Court, and had the opportunity to do those good offices for their Country-men which brought on the Cessation of Arms with them in due time.

Letters writen to the Lord Lieutenant.

The Lords Justices and Council by their Letters bearing date about the 20 of *November*, gave unto the Lord Lieutenant a more certain and full acount of the state of the Kingdom, then they could any ways do at the first breaking out of the Rebellion, and thereby making known the very ill condition of their present affairs they moved that the supplies of men, mony, Commanders and Arms, mentioned in their former Letters, might be with all speed sent over unto them, and that his Lordship would presently repair hither in his own person to undertake the management of the War. About the tenth of the Month of *November*,

ber, their Lordſhips received an Anſwer from the Lord Lieutenant to their former Letters of the 25 of *October*; whereby he gave them to underſtand that he had communicated their Letters to the Lords of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, and that by Order from their Lordſhips, he had accquainted both Houſes of Parliament with them; that he had alſo ſent to His Majeſty ſtill continuing at *Edenborough* in *Scotland* to repreſent the condition of their affairs, and that he underſtood His Majeſty had received ſome advertiſements out of the North of *Ireland* of the preſent Rebellion there: His Lordſhip alſo farther let them know, that His Majeſty had referred the whole buſineſs of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*, that they had undertaken the charge and management of the War, that they had declared they ſhould be ſpeedily and vigorouſly aſſiſted and had deſigned for their preſent ſupplies the ſum of 50000 *l.* and had taken order for making of all further Proviſions neceſſary for the Service, as may appear by the Order of Parliament made there at that time, and tranſmitted over by the Lord Lieutenant, together with his ſaid Letters unto the Lords Juſtices, by whoſe command it was re-printed at *Dublin*, *November* 12. 1641. as here followeth, being intituled,

An Order of the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament in *England*, concerning *Ireland.*

THE Lords *and* Commons *in this preſent Parliament, being advertiſed of the dangerous Conſpiracy and Rebellion in* Ireland, *by the Treacherous and wicked Inſtigation of* Romiſh Prieſts *and* Jeſuites, *for the Bloody Maſſacre and Deſtruction of all Proteſtants living there, and other his Majeſties Loyal Subjects of* Engliſh *blood, though of the* Romiſh *Religion, being ancient Inhabitants within ſeveral Counties, and Parts of that Realm, who have always, in former Rebellions, given Teſtimony of their fidelity to this Crown: And for the utter depriving of his Royal Majeſty, and the Crown of* England, *from the Govetnment of that Kingdom, (under pretence of ſetting up the* Popiſh Religion) *Have thereupon taken into their ſerious Conſideration, how thoſe miſchievous Attempts might be moſt ſpeedily, and effectually prevented, wherein the Honour,*

Safety,

Safety and Intereſt of this Kingdom, are moſt nearly and fully concerned, Wherefore they do hereby declare, That they do intend to ſerve his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, for the ſuppreſſing of this wicked Rebellion, in ſuch a way, as ſhall be thought moſt effectual, by the Wiſdom and Authority of Parliament: and thereupon have Ordered and Provided for a preſent Supply of Mony, and raiſing the number of ſix thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand Horſe, to be ſent from England, being the full proportion deſired by the Lords Juſtices, and his Majeſties Council reſident in that Kingdom, with a Reſolution to add ſuch further Succours, as the neceſſity of thoſe Affairs ſhall require. They have alſo reſolved of providing Arms, and Munition, not only for thoſe Men, but likewiſe for his Majeſties faithful Subjects in that Kingdom, with Store of Victuals, and other Neceſſaries, as there ſhall be occaſion, and that theſe Proviſions may more conveniently be tranſported thither, they have appointed three ſeveral Ports of this Kingdom, that is to ſay, Briſtol, Weſtcheſter, and one other in Cumberland, where the Magazines, and Store houſes ſhall be kept for the Supply of the ſeveral parts of Ireland. They have likewiſe, reſolved to be humble Mediators to His moſt Excellent Majeſty, for the encouragement of thoſe Engliſh, or Iriſh, who ſhall upon their own charges, raiſe any number of Horſe, or Foot, for his Service againſt the Rebels, that they ſhall be honourably rewarded with Lands of Inheritance, in Ireland, according to their Merits. And for the better inducing the Rebels to repent of their wicked Attempts, they do hereby commend it to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or in his abſence to the Lord Deputy, or Lords Juſtices there, according to the power of the Commiſſion granted them in that behalf, to beſtow his Majeſties gracious Pardon, to all ſuch as within a convenient time, (to be declared by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or Lords Juſtices, and Council of that Kingdom) ſhall return to their due obedience, the greateſt part whereof, they conceive have been ſeduced upon falſe Grounds, by the cunning and ſubtle practices of ſome of the

moſt

most malignant Rebels, Enemies to this State, and to the [illegible] *formed Religion; and likewise to bestow such* Rewards, *as* [illegible] *be thought fit, and publish'd by the said Lord Lieutenant, Lo* [illegible] *Deputy, or Lords Justices and Council, upon all those who* [illegible] *arrest the Persons. or bring in the Heads of such Traytors, shall be personally named in any Proclamation published by* [illegible] *State there. And they do hereby exhort, and require all his M* [illegible] *jesties loving Subjects, both in this, and in that Kingdom, to* [illegible] *member their duty and conscience to God, and his Religion, a* [illegible] *the great and eminent danger which will involve this whole K* [illegible] *dom in generul, and themselves in particular, if this abomino* Treason *be not timely suppressed; and therefore with all readin* [illegible] *bounty, and chearfulness to confer their Assistance in their Perso* [illegible] *or Estates, to this so important and necessary a Service for t* [illegible] *common good of all.*

Jo: Brown Cleric. Parliamen

Commission granted to the Earl of *Ormond*, to be Lieutenant-General of the Forces in *Ireland.*

About the same time the Lord Lieutenant finding that he could procure so speedy a dispatch of all things necessary for the service of *Ireland*, as would enable him presently to repair thither in his own per made the Earl of *Ormond* Lieutenant General of the Forces there, sent him over a Commission for the same. And the said Earl did wi in few days after receive a Letter from his Majesty out of *Scotla* wherein he was graciously pleased to let him know it was his pleasure confer upon him that charge. There was then likewise brought o the sum of 20000 *l.* from the Parliament; the Coyn which arri here was all in *Spanish* pieces of eight which went for 4 *d.* in a piece h more then in *England*, and this gain the Parliament was content the Mer ants that undertook the transportations should make at that time in reg of the charge and venture they undertook to stand to: It arrived m seasonably even when all that little mony they had was quite spent in rais and paying the new Companies, and that they were wholly destitute of means to draw in any contributions towards the relieving of their pres necessities.

Commissions issued out for the Examination upon Oath of the losses of the *British*, and the cruelties exercised by the *Irish* upon them.

There continued daily to repair unto the City of *Dublin*, a great numb of poor distressed *English*, who had been most barbarously stripp robbed, and despoiled of all their goods and substance, by the *Rebels*. No th

it might appear what their losses were, what cruelties were acted,
murders committed, and who were the chief actors in them throughout
several Provinces; The Lords Justices and Council thought fit to issue
a Commission under the Great Seal, directed to certain of the Clergy
like upon Oath the several Examinations of all such persons, that hav-
suffered by this present Rebellion would think fit to repair unto them,
ill appear by the commission it self; a Copy whereof I have thought
n insert.

CHarles *by the grace of God King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *To our well-beloved* Henry Jones *Dean of* Kilmore, Roger Puttock, lliam Huthock, Randal Adam, John Sterne, William drich, Henry Brereton, *and* John Watson, *Clerks*, *Gree-*; *Whereas divers wicked and disloyal people, have lately ri-in Arms in several parts of this Kingdom, and have robbed spoiled many of our good Subjects,* British *and Protestants, have been seperated from their several habitations, and ttered in most lamentable manner; And for as much as it is dful to take due Examination concerning the same; Know ye we reposing special trust and confidence in your care, diligence, provident circumspection, have nominated and appointed to be our Commissioners, and do hereby give unto you or any or more of you, full power and authority, from time to time all before you, and examine upon Oath on the Holy Evan-ists (which hereby we authorize you or any two or more of you dminister) as well all such persons as have been robbed and oiled, as all the witnesses that can give testimony therein, at robberies and spoils have been committed on them since 22. of* October *last, or shall hereafter be committed on them, any of them: What the particulars were or are, whereof they re or shall be so robbed, or spoiled to what value, by whom, at their names are, or where they now or last dwelt that com-tted those robberies, on what day or night the said robberies spoils committed, or to be committed, were done: what aiterous or disloyal words, speeches, or actions were then or*

at any other time uttered or committed by those robbers or any of them, and how often, and all other circumstances concerning the said particulars and every of them: And you our said Commissioners are to reduce to writing all the Examinations which you or any two or more of you shall take as aforesaid; and the same to return to our Justices and Council of this our Realm of Ireland, *under the hands and seals of any two or more of you as aforesaid. Witness our right trusty and well beloved Counsellours Sir* William Parsons *Knight and Baronet, and Sir* John Borlace *Knight, our Justices of our said Realm of* Ireland: Dublin 23. *of* December *in the seventeenth year of our Raign.*

Carleton.

The Commissioners above nominated, did very seriously address themselves to this work, employing their pains therein with great diligence and faithfulness; and have so well performed the charge imposed upon them as that by several Examinations, many principal Gentlemen of good estates were discovered to be the chief Actors in the Depradations of the *British*, and to have committed many most horrid murders and other notorious cruelties, which through their industry will now remain upon Record, but had otherways been concealed from Posterity, and wrapt up in oblivion. The like Commissions were in a short time after sent into *Munster* and *Ulster:* In the Province of *Munster*, the Commissioners took great care in the Execution of it, many Examinations of high concernement were taken by virtue thereof, though they remain as yet concealed and not returned up according as is required by the said Commissions.

A weekly Fast appointed by the Lords Justices and Council.

Towards the latter end of *November*, the Lords Justices and Council considering the miserable desolations brought upon the whole Kingdom, and the further calamities threatned by War and Famine, did by a Proclamation set forth in Print, give strict charge and command; That upon every Friday a publick and religious fast should be devoutly and piously observed, in and thorow the whole City and Suburbs of *Dublin*, by all his Majesties people therein, and that Divine Service and Sermons be celebrated and heard upon the said day weekly, in every Cathedral, and other Church and Chappel in the said City and Suburbs thereof: And this to be performed as is expressed in the said Proclamation, to the end that the wrath and indignation of Almighty God, may

may be averted from this Kingdom, his divine aid and assistance implored, and that some relief in these calamitous times, may the better be afforded, to such miserable persons as these Traytors, by their rapine and cruelty, have deprived of their fortunes, and sent naked and almost famished up to this City.

The approach of the *Rebels* to *Tredagh.*

The Lords Justices and Council being advertised of the near approach of the *Rebels* to *Tredagh*, prepared to send down supplies both of men and munition, for the re-inforcement of that Garrison: There were already designed Six Hundred Foot and a Troop of horse for that service, and they were almost in a readiness to March when an express from Sir *Henry Tichbourn* came up to the Earl of *Ormond*, to let him know the *Rebels* had that day, being the one and twenty of *November*, appeared within sight of the Town. He conceived they would presently have set down before it, but they advanced no further that day, only while their Forces made a stand there, they sent down a Party of thirteen hundred Foot to *Millifond*, the Lord *Moors* house, which their design was suddenly to surprise; but contrary to their expectation, they found the twenty four Musketiers and fifteen horsemen, who very stoutly defended the house as long as their powder lasted The horsemen when they saw themselves beset so as they could be no further serviceable to the place, opened the gate, issued out and made their passage thorow the midst of the *Rebels*, and so, notwithstanding the opposition they made, escaped safe to *Tredagh*: The foot having refused to accept of the quarter at the first offered, resolved to make good the place to the last man; they endured several assaults, slew a hundred and forty of the *Rebels*, before their powder failed them: and at last they gave up the place upon promise of quarter, which was not kept, for some of them were killed in cold blood, all were stripped, and two old decrepite men slain, the house ransacked, and all the goods carried away.

Supplies both of horse and foot sent for the relief of *Tredagh.*

Upon the receit of Sir *Henry Tichbourn's* Letter, the Lords presently took order for the marching away of the six hundred men, together with a Troop of Horse towards *Tredagh*: They left not the Town till the 27. of *November*, and such was the negligence of the Captains and disorders of the Soldiers, as notwithstanding they had been three days in readiness to march, they went no further that night than *Swoords* a Village six miles distant from *Dublin*: The command of the foot was committed to Serjeant Major *Roper*, and of the horse to Sir *Patrick Weames*, who was appointed with fifty of the Earl of *Ormands* Troop to march with those six Companies to *Tredagh*. The very day of their departure from *Dublin*, there was an advertisement brought unto the Lords, that some Forces of the *Rebels* were drawn on this side the River of the *Boine*, and attended with design to intercept their passage: Whereupon the Earl of *Ormond* by direction

rection from the Lords dispatched an express to give them now upon their March notice thereof, and after to pass on to Sir *Henry Tichbourn* to let him know as much; and that the Recruits designed for the re-inforcement of his Garrison being now upon their march, it highly imported him to take special care for the securing of their passage. And next day his Lordship received an Answer from him of that Letter, with assurance that he would not fail to march out with competent Forces to meet them upon the way, which he did that very day accordingly perform, but they marching no further than *Balrudry*, and so lying that night eight miles short of *Tredagh*, he missed of them, and so went not out (by what accident or upon what reason I know not) the day following till the news of the defeat met him at the very gate of the Town where he stood with his men in a readiness to march towards them: The men being altogether untrained and unaccustomed to travel, and failing of provision by the way, which for their money they could not by any means procure from the Country people as they marched along, were very much discontented, and being somewhat tired with their journey went on next day, but in much disorder, so careless, and so little apprehensive of any danger, as some had arms, but no munition about them; others for their own ease committed the carriage of both to the Carts. As they passed through *Gormanston*, the Major went in to give a visit to the Lord of *Garmanston*. Who told him that there were some Numbers of men lay in the way with an intent to interrupt their Passage. And this his Lordship knew very well, for the very night before (as Mr. *Creighton* affirms in his examination) one of his grooms went to *Slaine* where the Rebels were then lodged, and called them out of their Beds to be in a readiness to come and incounter the *English* Forces now upon their march. The Major had likewise other advertisements to the same purpose, which he neglected, not so much as acquainting his Captain therewith, as some of them afterwards affirmed; He only caused three Scouts out of the Troop to be sent abroad to make discovery whether the passage were clear; two of them returned back a little before he came to the bridge of *Julians* Town, assuring him all was clear; the other went on to a house within a quarter of a mile of the place where the Rebels lay, and while he attended there for his breakfast, a boy belonging to the house, took his Horse, and riding to the Rebels gave them notice of the near approach of our Forces: The Horse passed the Bridge, and the Foot following turned up into a field on the left hand of the Lane, where by reason of a great mist that suddenly fell, they discovered not the Rebels, till they were almost within Musket-shot of them. The Major drew his men presently into Battalia, but the Horse (as some of the foot that escaped affirm) wheeled about without charging any-

The defeat of the forces sent for the relief of *Tredagh*.

any part of the Rebels Forces, who now furiously approached with a great shout; and a Lieutenant giving out the unhappy word of Countermarch, all the men possessed as it were with a Pannick fear, began somewhat confusedly to march back, but were so much amazed with a second shout given by the Rebels (who seeing them in disorder followed close on) as notwithstanding they had gotten into a ground of great advantage, they could not be perswaded to stand a charge, but betook themselves to their heels, and so the Rebels fell sharply on, as their manner is upon the execution.

Sir *Patrick Weames* without the loss of one Horse passed on safely unto *Tredagh*: The Major with two of the Captains more, and about a hundred of their men made an escape thither likewise: The other three Captains with all the rest of the Soldiers that were *English* were there cut off, they spared very few or none that fell into their hands, but such as were *Irish*, whose lives they preserved: The Arms of the whole Six Hundred they possessed themselves of, as likewise of all their Munition and Carriages: and so highly were the *Rebels* encouraged with this defeat given to his Majesties Forces, as the whole *Pale* began presently to waver, they thought the Kingdom their own, and that the *English* would in all parts fall before them, as those poor ill conducted sheep had unhappily done. And this is a true Relation (as near as I could collect it from the mouths of those that were present) of that famous Victory so much boasted of by the *Irish*, whereunto the inexperience of the *English* Commanders, and the disorders of the common Soldiers, who were then but newly taken up and had never seen any service, contributed far more than any skill or ecurage shewed by the *Rebels*, which they had only opportunity at that time to express by a loud shout. Besides, they were treble their number, and had for their leaders *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and *Philip O-Rely*, the two last persons who had been trained in the Wars abroad under the *Spanish* Discipline, and were of greatest experience among them: they brought down a great part of those Forces out of the Counties of *Cavan* and *Monaghan*, and as soon as they came within the River of *Boyne*, great numbers of the ordinary churles of the *Pale* adjoyned themselves unto their men, and so made up a body sufficient to perform that service.

The news of this unhappy defeat was brought the very same day being munday the 29 of *November* at evening, to the Lords Justices as they sate in Council: It troubled them very much, and as it was a matter of great rejoycing among the Popish Inhabitants of the City, so it bred a general sorrow and consternation among the *English* and Protestants: It hapned in a very ill season, the late made Colonels

were

were but then in raising of their men: And such Companies as were compleated, were by the Lords the same day of the marching of the 600 men to *Tredagh*, commanded out under Sir *Charles Coot* into the County of *Wiclow*, for the repressing the insolencies of the *Birnes* and the *Tooles* towards the poor *English*, whom they began to fall upon most furiously, stripping murdering, and driving them all out of that Territory as soon as they had taken in the Kings Fort, in that County called *Carews* Fort, and possessed themselves of the chief places of strength belonging to the *English* Gentlemen there: He marched to the Town of *Wiclow*, where he caused some few men and one woman to be executed, they being found upon Examination guilty of the late spoils committed most barbarously upon the *English* there, and the very cloaths of an *English* woman that was stripped, being found upon the back of that *Irish* woman that was there hanged. In his return *Luke Toole* with near a Thousand *Irish* under his command encountred him, but he quickly made them flie and take to the next Bogge with the loss of some few of their men: And so he returned with all possible speed to *Dublin*, the Lords having sent him notice of the late defection given to the forces sent to *Tredagh*: As soon as he arrived, he applyed himself very carefully to the securing of the Town, which now began to be more desperately threatned then ever, by the near approaches of the *Rebels*: And so great were the disorders then in the City, so inconsiderable the Forces raised, the *English* Inhabitants so strangely dismayed, the Papists so highly raised in spirit and courage, as had the Commanders of the *Rebels* drawn those Forces together as they had in readiness on both sides the River of *Boyne* for the siege of *Tredagh*, and so marching up to *Dublin*, had taken the advantage of the present distractions, and forward affections which they would have undoubtedly found there to assist them; They had in all humane probability made themselves Master of the City, and might straitly have begirt the Castle, as would within a very short time have endangered the surrender of it; But it pleased God to infatuate their Counsels: The strong opinion they had that they should presently carry *Tredagh*, and so possess themselves of all the Armes and Munition they had in that Town, caused them to fix their resollutions there, and to set all their rest upon the obtaining that place. In this as in many other wonderful acts of divine providence which I then observed with great admiration it pleased God to appear even miraculously in the preservation of the City and Castle of *Dublin* with the poor remainders of *English* and Protestants who had there taken sanctuary.

Sir *Charles Coots* Expedition into the County of *Wiclow*.

And now the Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, thought it high time to discover themselves and their affections to the cause: They certainly had not only long entertained a defection in their thought, but we

s the ſeveral foremencioned Examinations teſtifie, the firſt contrivers and bringers in of the Northern *Rebels* into this execrable Plot; they had now likewiſe drawn them into the *Pale*, and therefore they could not hope how much longer to walk under a mask, and entertain the ſtate with further profeſſions of their loyalty: They had gotten a competent proportion of Arms and Munition out of his Majeſties ſtore into their own poſſeſſion: They ſaw now the Northern *Rebels* advanced within the River of *Boyne*, with very conſiderable Forces to ſtrengthen their Party, and by the late encounter and ſucceſsful victory they had therein, they pleaſed their fancies with confident conceits of certain prevailing, if they would now declare themſelves by a publick conjunction in the common cauſe, and raiſing ſuch numbers of men and quantities of proviſion, as the plentiful circuit of the *Pale* did afford, would proſecute the War ſo happily begun and ſo ſucceſsfully managed hitherto.

The defection of the Lords and chief Gentlemen within the *Engliſh Pale.*

The manner of the conjunction of the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Engiſh Pale* with the Northern *Rebels*, expreſſed in the Examination of *Edward Dowdal* Eſq;

These and ſeveral other conſiderations working very powerfully among the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Pale*, they did within very few days after the late defeat ſolemnly proceed on to the actual conſummation of their long meditated revolt; For the manner, places, time, and all other circumſtances, I ſhall refer the Reader to this enſuing Relation given in upon Oath, *March* 1641. before Sir *Robert Meredith* Knight, Chancellour of the Exchequer, in the Examination of *Edward Dowdall* Eſquire a Gentleman of the *Pale*, one very well eſteemed among them, one that was preſent at all their meetings, and deeply engaged in all their counſels and actions.

He depoſeth that ſome four or five days after the defeat of the Engliſh ſoldiers at the Bridge of *Gellianſtown*, there iſſued a Warrant from the Lord of *Gormanſton* to the Sheriff of the County for a generall meeting of all the County at *Dulick*: But the place of meeting was afterwards changed to the Hill of *Croſty*, where all the Lords and Gentry of the Country met, *viz.* The Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſton*, the Lord of *Slaine*, the Lord of *Lowth*, the Lord of *Dunſany*, the Lord of *Trimble ſtone*, the Lord *Netterville*: And of the Gentry Sir *Patrick Barnwall* Sir *Chriſtopher Bellew*, *Patrick Barnwall* of *Kilbrew*, *Nicholas Darcy* of *Plattin*, *James Bath* of *Acharm*, *Garret Fleming* the Lawyer, *Cuſake* of *Gormarſton*, *William Malone* of *Leſmullen*, *Sedgrave* of *Kileglan*, *Lynch* of the *Knos*, *Lynam* of *Adamſtown*, *Clemence Dowdal* of *Athlumney*, *Nicholas Dowdall* of *Brownſtown* this Examinates brother, and him this Examinate with a multitude of others, to the number of a Thouſand perſons at the leaſt, whoſe names he this Examinate cannot for the preſent call to mind. And after about two or three hours ſpent upon the ſaid Hill of *Croſty* by the Lords and

Gentry

These were some of the chief Leaders among the Nothern *Rebels.*

Gentry aforesaid: There came towards them, Colonel *Mahowne*, *Philip O Rely*, *Hugh Boy-Rely*, *Roger Moore*, *Hugh Birne*, and Captain *Fox*, attended on with a guard of Musketiers: And this Examinate saith, That as soon as the parties drew near unto the said Hill, the Lords and Gentry of the *Pale* rode towards them, and the Lord of *Gormanstone*, being one of the first, spake unto them, and demanded of them, Why, and for what reason, they came Armed into the *Pale*; Unto which *Roger Moore* made present Answer, That the ground of their coming thither, and taking up Arms, was for the freedom and liberty of their consciences, the maintenance of his Majesties Prerogativ; in which they understood he was abridged, and the making the subjects in this Kingdom as free as those in *England* were, whereupon the said Lord of *Gormanstone* desired to understand from them truly and faithfully, whether those were not pretences, and not the true grounds indeed of their so doing, and likewise whether they had not some other private ends of their own; which being by all denyed upon profession of their sincerity, his Lordship the Lord of *Gormanstone* then told them: Seeing these be your true ends, we will likewise joyn with you therein: unto which course all agreed. And hereupon it was publickly and generally declared, that whosoever should deny to joyn with them, or refuse to assist them therein, they would account him as an Enemy, and to the utmost of their power labour his destruction. And this Examinate saith, That after the agreement so made as aforesaid, There issued another Warrant to the Sheriff of the County of *Meath*, to summon all the Lords and Gentry of the Connty of *Meath*, to be at the Hill of *Turagh* about a week after; and accordingly there met at the same place the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord of *Gormanstone*, and the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen aforenamed, together with Sir *Thomas Nugent*, and *Nicholas Plunket* the Lawyer, *Birford* the Lawyer, and a multitude of others, and the work of that day was first to make Answer to a Summons made by the State for the calling of the Lords unto *Dublin*, which Answer was brought ready drawn by the Lord of *Gormanstone*, and presented by his Lordship, and being perused by the said Council at Law was signed by the Lords.

In this manner was this great transaction most solemnly consummated betwixt *Leinster*, and *Ulster*; *Valence* and *Brabant*, as Sir *Phelim ONeale* stiles them in his *Characterestical* Letter before mentioned, sent to *Owen Roe O Neale* in *Flanders*, were now publickly united together in that great Assembly. The Lord Viscount *Gormanstone* on the one side, and *Roger Moore* on the other, had both been long tampering about the drawing of this most important work to the form it now received, that had at length brought it unto perfection, they two had the glory of

appeared the great publick instruments of this powerful Union.

The endeavours of those of the Pale to streng. then their party against the power of the State.

The Lords and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, having thus far declared themselves became so high and and presuming, as they little valued what was done or commanded by the State at *Dublin*: they now wholly applyed their endeavours to make such preparatives towards the war, as might strengthen their party, which as it now stood in conjuncture with the Northern *Rebels* they beheld as invincible, and their power not to be resisted by the inconsiderable Forces drawn together by the Lords Justices and Council at *Dublin*. Several Gentlemen who in the several Counties of the *Pale* were made Captains, and had received Arms from the State for their Companies, departed from their obedience, and addressed themselves and their Companies wholly to the service of the *Rebels*. *Nicholas White* Esquire Son and Heir to Sir *Nicholas White* of *Leslip*, was the first that gave the example about the second of *December*: but he carried the matter so handsomely, as his Company ran away to the *Rebels*, as he pretended, without his consent or even his knowledge any longer time before their departure, than to give him opportunity to come and acquaint the State therewith, and his own disability to hinder the same; But before it was possible to use any means of prevention, the men were all gone with their Arms and Munition to the *Rebels*: Many of the other Captains desired no such fine cover for their intentions but delivered themselves and their Arms up to be disposed as they should direct without any further scruple or complement to the State: Whereupon the Lords finding how notoriously they were abused by the very great confidence reposed in such Gentlemen of the *Pale*, as being made Captains, had received Arms from them, and perceiving what course they began now to steer, and how they were resolved to imploy their own Arms against them, they took such order, and with such celerity and diligence made stay of several of those Arms, which were delivered out for the use of the *Pale*, as of the 1700. Arms distributed among the several Counties there were recovered again into their hands 950.

The reasons why the State summon'd the grand Council of all the Lords of the Pale, and others then in the City of *Dublin*.

And now by reason the Northern *Rebels* had settled their Camp within the River of *Boyne*, and so lay betwixt *Tredagh* and the City of *Dublin*, all entercourse in the *Pale* was interrupted, the passages stopt up, and the Lords Justices and Council understood very little or nothing of any proceedings held there. They therefore finding their dangers daily to encrease through the near approach of the *Rebels* unto the City of *Dublin*, the continual affronts, and new scorns the State daily received from them, their own want of strength to repress their bold attempts, or to preserve the poor *English* round about them out of their bloody hands, resolved now in these their high extremities, to try the effects of those large protestations

stations and great professions of loyalty the Lords of the Pale had late made unto them, and to give them a fair opportunity of rendring a mo acceptable service to his Majesty and the state here. For this end therefo they determined to call a grand Council of all the Lords which reside within any convenient distance of the City of *Dublin*: clearly and free to represent unto them the ill condition of their affairs, and how highly imported them in respect of their own particular safety, as well as for th preservation of the whole Kingdom, and not only to contribute their best ad vice and counsel, but even all the Forces they could any ways raise towar the beating of the Northern *Rebels* out of the *Pale*. Several Letters Summons were accordingly writ and sent away to the Earl of *Fingale*, th Lord Viscount *Gormanston*, and the rest of the Lords of the *Pale*; th tenour of them here ensueth.

A Copy of the letter written by the Lords Justices and Council to the Lords of the Pale.

AFter our hearty commendations to your Lordship, for as much as we have present occasion to confer with you concer ing the present estate of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof these times of danger: We pray and require your Lordship to with us here on the eighth day of this Month, at which time o of the Peers are also to be here: And this being to no other en we bid your Lordship very heartily farewel. From his Majest Castle of Dublin *the third of* December, 1641.

Your very loving friends

To our very good Lord

George Earl of *Kildare*.

William Parsan. John Borl Ormond. Ossory. Ant. Midey R. Dillon. Ad. Loft Ge. Shirley. J. Tem Rob. Mered

The like Letters, *eodem die*, to these several Persons following:

Earl of *Ormond*.
Earl of *Antrim*.
Earl of *Fingale*.
Vis. *Gormanston*.
Vis. *Netterville*.
Vis. *Fitzwilliam*.
Lo. *Trimblestone*.
Lord *Dunsany*.
Lord *Slane*.
Lord of *Howth*.
Lord *Louth*.
Lord *Lambert*.

These Letters were presently sent away: But the Lords of the *Pale* being otherways engaged, and having before or much about the time they came unto their hands (though the Lords knew very little, and that very uncertainly of it) made that publick combination with the *Ulster Rebels* before mentioned, durst no more adventure their persons within the City of *Dublin*; but after their meeting at the Hill of *Crofty*, appointed another meeting at the Hill of *Tarah*, and from thence they sent an Answer unto the Lords, which as Mr. *Dowdall* testifies, was brought thither by the Lord of *Gormanston* ready drawn up, and there only signed and so sent away. The Copy of the Letter here followeth:

The Answer of the Lords of the Pale to the Lords Justices.

May it please your Lordships.

WE have received your Letters of the third of this instant, intimating that you had present occasions to confer with us, concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof in these times of danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the eighth day of this instant: We give your Lordships to understand, that we have heretofore presented our selves before your Lordships, and freely offered our advice and furtherance towards the particulars aforesaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us cause to conceive that our Loyalty was suspected by you. We give your Lordships further to understand, that we have received certain advertisement, that Sir Charles Coot *Knight, at the Council Board, hath uttered some speeches tending to a purpose and resolution, to execute upon those of our Religion a general Massacre, by which we are all deterred to wait on your Lordships, not having any security for our safety from these threatned evils, or the safety of our lives; but do rather think it fit to stand upon our best guard until we hear from your Lordships how we shall be secured from these perils. Nevertheless, we all protest that we are and will continue both faithful advisers, and resolute furtherers of his Majesties service concerning the present State of the Kingdom, and the safety thereof to our best abilities, and so with the said tender of our humble service we remain.*

To the Right Honourable our very good Lords the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*.

Your Lordships humble Servants, *Fingal*, *Gormanston*, *Slane*, *Dunsany*, *Nettervill*, *Oliver*, *Lowth*, *Trimblestown*.

Dublin, *Decemb.* 7. Received 11. 1641.

In Answer to this Letter, the Lords Justices and Council, out of their unfeigned desires to give unto those Lords all due satisfaction, and to remove those jealousies and great misunderstanding now grown up between them, thought fit by way of Proclamation to publish and declare to them and all others of His Majesties good Subjects of the *Romish* Religion, That they never heard Sir *Charles Coot*, or any other utter at the Board or elsewhere, any such speeches tending to a purpose or resolution to execute upon those of their profession, or upon any other a general Massacre or any Massacre at all, and that they never intended so to dishonour His Majesty and this State, or wound their own Consciences as to entertain the least thought of acting so odious, impious, and detestable a thing upon any persons whatsoever; and that if any proof can be made of any such words spoken by any person whatsoever, that he shall be severely punished. And therefore that they did pray and require the said Noblemen to attend them at the Board, on the seventeenth day of *December*, that they might confer with them: And for the security of their repair unto them, they did thereby give to all and every of those Noblemen, the word and assurance of the State, that they might then securely and safely come unto them without danger of any trouble or stay whatsoever, from them who neither had nor have any intention to wrong or hurt them.

A Proclamation issued out by the Lords Justices and Council for the satisfaction of the Lords of the Pale.

But now it began to appear unto the Lords Justices and Council, how far they were engaged with the Northern *Rebels*. By the Examinations taken of some *English*, who made their escape out of those parts, the news of their solemn contract and Association before mentioned was brought up to *Dublin*: And they then well enough discerned the main obstruction in their coming, the cause of their tergiversations, and what good reason they had to find out excuses to palliate their *disloyalty*. They then expected no other fruits of their Proclamation than what it produced: Neither indeed had it any other effect and operation among them, than that they did with great boldness and confidence by the way of Answer thereunto, write back a Letter to the Lords Justices wherein they pretend themselves so justly affrighted with Sir *Charles Coot*'s severity and deportment, as that they dare not adventure themselves within the confines of his Government: They heavily impose upon him the inhumane acts perpetrated as they term them in the County of *Wicklow*, the Massacre of *Saintry* and the burning of Mr. *Kings* house and his whole substance at *Clantarfe*, and with a little kind of cunning they seem to pretend a breach of the publick faith, but would transfer the blame from the Lords Justices to Sir *Charles Coot*, and thereupon desire no sinister construction may be made of their stay

Several pretences of the Lords of the Pale to colour their refusal to repair to the Lords Justices and Council.

and that they may have some Commissioners appointed to confer with them, and so conclude with some professions of their Loyalty and readiness to give their advices for the advancement of his Majesties service, and the common peace of the Kingdom.

This was the Answer, such as might justly be expected to come from persons so deeply involved in the guilt of so high a Rebellion. It is no wonder that they were thus put to their shifts, and enforced to take up such fond excuses, and imaginary pretences for their disloyalty: For they could not in their own consciences, but be most sensible of the very great indulgence used by the Lords towards them: They had not failed in several particulars to manifest the great confidence they had in their good affections; They had refrained from giving them any manner of provocation or jealousie. They had forborn the doing some acts of hostility for a time upon some *Rebels* among them, because they would not give them any the least cause of complaint. And however, it appeared by the Examination of *Mac Mahone* and several others, that they were privy to the first Plot, yet the Lords proceeded with so much caution and tenderness towards them, hoping that now the Conspirators had failed in the main part of their design which was the surprisal of the Castle of *Dublin*, that they might yet reclaim them thereby, and draw them into a just concurrence with them, for the preservation of the Kingdom out of the hands of those bloody Northern *Rebels*, who in the beginning were the only appearers in the case: But all was to no purpose, they were too deeply engaged to recede; therefore they ran now violently on, and drew along all the chief Gentlemen likewise of the *Pale* with them.

The great indulgence used by the Lords Justices and Council towards the Lords of the Pale.

And now it shall be declared, how the chief Gentlemen of the *Pale* began and proceeded on to act their parts: About the beginning of *December*, presently after the late defeat given to the *English* Soldiers in their march to *Tredagh*, *Luke Netterville* second Son to the Lord Viscount *Netterville*, caused a Proclamation to be made in the Market-place of *Lusk* requiring all the chief Gentlemen and other Inhabitants thereabouts not to fail upon pain of death, presently to repair unto *Swords*, a Town within six miles of the City of *Dublin*. And within few days after, did meet there the said *Luke Netterville*, *George Blackney* Esq. *George King*, *Joh. Talbot*, *Rich Golding*, *Tho. Russel* *Christopher Russel*, *Patrick Caddel*, *Will. Travers*, *Rich. Barnwell*, *Laurence Bealing Holywood* of *Artaine*, and several other Gentlemen who began to gather great numbers of men about them, and putting such Arms into their hands as they had in readiness, at the present made their provisions to entertain a settled Camp within that place. The Lords understanding of this unlawful tumultuous Assembly, and deeply apprehending the mischievous consequences that might ensue thereupon, sent this Warrant following in a Letter requiring thereby their present repair unto them.

Luke Netterville and others of the chief Gentlemen of the Pale, gather Forces and quarter within six miles of the City of *Dublin*.

The Gentlemen of the Pale required by the Lords Justices and Council to repair to *Dublin*.

By

By the Lords Justices and Council.

William Parsons. Jo. Burlace.

WHereas we have received information, that Luke Netter vile *Esquire*, Blackney of Rickennoro *Esquire*, an George King of Clontarfe *Gentleman*; and ether Gentlemen the County of Dublin, with great numbers of men are assemble together in a body at Swoords and thereabouts, within five mile of this City, for what intent we know not, but apparently to th terrour of his Majesties good Subjects, and although, considerin the unseasonableness of this time chosen for such an act with our privity (whatsoever their pretence is) a construction might made thereof to their disadvantage; yet we being willing to ma an indulgent interpretation of their actions in regard of the go opinion we have of the Loyalty of those Gentlemen who (it seem are principals amongst them in that Assembly, and conceivin there may be some mistaking in that enterprise, we have chos the rather hereby to charge the said Luke Nettervile, Blackne King, and all the persons there Assembled with them, upon th duties of Allegience to his Majesty, immediately upon sight her of to separate, and not to unite any more in that manner wi out direction from us: And that the said Nettervil, Blackne King, and six others of the principal persons of those who so assembled at Swoords or thereabouts as aforesaid, do appe before us to morrow morning at ten of the Clock, to shew t cause of their assembling in that manner, whereof they may fail at their extream perils. Given at his Majesties Castle Dublin 9 December 1641.

Ormond. Offory, Rob. Dillo
Cha. Lambart, Jo. Temp
Charles Coot.

But they were so far from rendring obedience to the commands they received from the Board, as they kept the Messenger in restraint a day and a night, threatning to hang him, and after returned a scornful peremptory answer, signifying unto their Lordships, *That they were constrained to meet there together, for the safety of their lives, that they were put in so great a terrour by the rising out of some horse Troops and foot Companies at* Dublin, *who killed four Catholicks for no other reason, than that they bore the name of that Religion, as they durst not, as they pretended, stay in their houses, and therefore resolved to continue together, till they were assured by their Lordships of the safety of their lives before they run the hazard thereof, by manifesting their obedience due unto their Lordships.* These were the very words and expressions used by those Gentlemen in their Answer: And accordingly they still continued together, encreasing their number of men and threatning to come down and encamp themselves at *Clantarfe*, a little Village standing upon the very Harbour of *Dublin*; where some of their followers had already at a low water leiled upon a Bark lying there, and carried away all the Commodities they found in her; a great part whereof they had put into the then dwelling house of the said *King*, to whom that Village did belong. This was an act of so high a strain, and so eminently tending to the present ruine of the City, as it required a sudden remedy; Delayes were dangerous in a matter of such perilous consequence; and the Lords Justices and Council, plainly perceived that if the *Rebels* were suffered to come down and lodge there, that they might without much difficulty make themselves masters of those few Barks therein the Harbour (the State having at that time no Ships of force to guard them) and so put themselves in a fair way if they could bring the *Wexford* Ships about to joyn with them to block up the Harbour, and stop the coming in to their relief all such succours as should be designed in *England* to Land at that Port. Whereupon the Lords finding that the said *King* continued still with *Luke Nettervile* and those other Gentlemen at *Swoords*, that they carried themselves with such high contumacy, as that disdaining to render any obedience to their Warrant, they neither made their departure from that place, disbanded their men, nor so much as pretended to repair to them according to their commands at the time prefixed therein: It was thought high time to take some other course with them; And therefore about four days after, the day first set down by the Lords for their appearing before them, and the very next day after, another Proclamation published for their immediate separation, the Lords Justices and Council made this ensuing Order, directed to the Earl of *Ormond* Lieutenant General of his Majesties forces in *Ireland*.

The Answer made by the Pale, to the Lords Warrant.

By the Lords Justices and Council.

William Parsons. *Jo. Burlace.*

A Warrant from the Lord Justices and Council for the suppressing of the Rebels of the Pale.

FOrasmuch as divers of the Inhabitants of Clantarse, Raheny *and* Killbarrock, *have declared themselves Rebels, and having robbed and spoiled some of his Majesties good Subjects, are now assembled thereabouts in Arms in great numbers, mustering and training of their Rebellious multitudes, to the terrour and danger of his Majesties good Subjects, as well at Land as at Sea, which their boldness is acted in such manner as to put scorns and affronts upon this State and Government, they acting such depredations even before our faces and in our own view as it were in despight of us: It is therefore ordered, that our very good Lord the Earl of* Ormond *and* Ossory *Lieutenant General of the Army, do forthwith send out a party of Soldiers of Horse and Foot, to fall upon those* Rebels *at* Clantarse *and thereabouts, who in such disdainful manner, stand to out face and dare us, and to endeavour to cut them off, as well for punishment as terrour to others, and to burn and spoil the* Rebels *houses and goods: And to prevent their further annoying of the Shipping, going out and coming in and lying in harbour; those Soldiers are to bring up or cause to be brought up to the new* Crane *at* Dublin, *such of the Boats and Vessels now lying there as they can upon the sudden, and to burn, spoil and sink and make unserviceable the rest. Given at his Majesties Castle of* Dublin, December 14, 1641.

Ormond Ossory, Rob. Dillon.
Cha. Lambart. Ad. Loftus.
Jo. Temple. Cha. Coote.
Fran. Willoughby.

Accord

According to their Lordſhips directions, the Earl of *Ormond* gave pre-
ent order to Sir *Charles Coot* to march out privately with ſome Forces unto
lantarfe, which he did without any noiſe, and meeting there with no
ppoſition, he only ſuffered his men to pillage the Town, whereof they
urnt ſome part, as alſo part of Mr. *Kings* houſe, in which much of the
oods were found that had been taken out of the Bark before mentioned:
nd this was the firſt expedition that the Forces newly raiſed in *Dublin*
ade after the defeat of the ſix hundred men in their paſſage to *Tredagh*:
s for the Maſſacre at *Santry*, mentioned in the Anſwer from the Lords of
e *Pale*, and obtruded to the World, as a juſt pretence to deterr them
om waiting on the Lords at *Dublin*, it was no other than this: Informa-
on was given to ſome of the Officers of the Army, that there had been
robbery newly committed by certain *Rebels* at the houſe of one *Smith*, call-
d the *Buskin*, within five miles of the City: And that if a Party of Soldiers
ight be ſent forth, the Informer offered to bring them upon thoſe *Rebels*,
alſo upon other *Rebels*, who had lately murdered one Mr. *Derick Hubart*
Dutch Merchant at the *Skerries*; whereupon two Officers with forty foot
ere ſent out with direction to fall upon thoſe *Rebels*: They went directly to
antry, and there finding ſome ſtrangers with weapons lodged in ſuſpicious
laces, they ſlew four of them who as was conceived were criminal Offen-
ours, and one of them after upon further enquiry found to be a Prote-
tant.

Sir *Charles Coot* Marches out with ſome Forces to *Clantarfe*.

The true Relation of the pretended Maſſacre at *Santry*.

But how fairly ſoever this matter was carried, yet they reſolved to make uſe
f it for the preſent, by way of juſtification of their diſloyalty: And having ſo
t publickly declared themſelves, they held it not fit to ſit idle any longer,
ut began to put the whole Circuit of the *Pale* into a poſture of War, and
make all ſuch preparatives as might enable them by the powerful aſſiſtance
ey had out of the North, preſently to take in *Tredagh*, and afterwards to
arch up to *Dublin*, and there make themſelves Maſters of that City and
aſtle: A work as now it ſtood repreſented unto them not likely to prove
s glorious than ſucceſsful, and eaſie to be atchieved: They had for this
d many publick meetings among themſelves, as alſo with the chief Com-
anders of the Northern *Rebels*,

The proceedings held by the Lords and chief Gentlemen of the *Engliſh Pale*, after they had joyned with the Northern *Rebels*.

In the firſt place, they declared the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſton* Ge-
ral of the Forces to be raiſed in the *Pale*, *Hugh Birne* Lieutenant
eneral: the Earl of *Fingale* General of the horſe: Then they gave
wer to thoſe Lords to nominate Captains in ſeveral Baronies to
reſpectively appointed out of them, and likewiſe to raiſe Soldiers in
ery ſuch Barony, *viz.* Eight Soldiers out of a Plow-land (which
ntains according to the ancient eſtimation 120. Acres) and every
ow-land to maintain the Soldiers to be ſet out by them: The Ba-

rony of *Duleek* was assigned to the Lord of *Gormanston*, the Barony of *Screene* and *Desse* to the Earl of *Fingale*, the Barony of *Slaine* to the Lord of *Slaine*, the Barony of the *Navan* to the Lord of *Trimblestone*. *Kells* to the Lord *Dunsany*, *Ratogh* and *Dunboine* to Sir *Richard Barnewall* of *Crickstown* Baronite, and *Patrick Barnewall* of *Gilbrew*; and by these persons several Captains were appointed, and numbers of Soldiers raised according to the orders set down at the General meeting: There were also Warrants issued out by the Lord *Gormanston*, whereby those persons appointed to raise the men, and to furnish them with provisions for their entertainment were required upon pain of death to send them out: Other Warrants were likewise sent out to other persons who were appointed Overseers for the threshing out of all the Protestants corn, which was assigned generally through the *Pale* to be applyed towards the maintainance of their Army. The next work was to make a canstant provision of all manner of necessaries for the entertainment of such Forces as were already brought down out of the North, as well as those raised in the *Pale*, and set down at the siege of *Tredagh*. And for this service they sessed the whole Country thereabouts and ordered what proportions of Corn and numbers of Cattle should be brought down out of every part for the Victualling of those that lay encamped about the Town: There was alloted to every Company consisting of a hundred Men, for their daily allowance, one Biese, and half a Barrel of Corn: And that they might with the more facility bring in the Country people to furnish their Army with these proportions; they made not only prohibitions that no Corn should be carried to *Dublin*, but so blocked up the ways as the poor Churles that lived somewhat distant from the City could not carry their Corn thither without apparent danger; whereby the Market began to be very ill provided, and great want and scarcity was much feared by reason of the large accession of people come from several parts of the Kingdom up unto the City for safety. Whereupon the Lords Justices and Council made Proclamations to be published, That all such as had Corn remaining within some few miles distance, should as their usual manner was bring it to the Market at *Dublin*, and they should receive ready Mony for the same in case they did not that, they would presently send out Parties and burn their Corn as it stood in the Haggards, and so prevent the use the *Rebels* intended to make of it for the Victualling of their Army. By this means the City was indifferently well supplied all that Winter with Corn, the Country people though otherways very malicious against the *English* and Protestants, being content though with much hazard, to adventure the bringing their Corn, where they sold it at a good rate for ready Mony, rather than to suffer it to be threshed out by Warrants from the Lord of *Gormanston* for the use of the *Irish* Army then lying before *Tredagh*.

But

But while they continue their fruitleſs and unprofitable attempts there, having neither skill, courage, experience, nor any means to bring about their impetuous deſires and fond endeavours for the taking in of that Town, I ſhall briefly repreſent a view of the ſad eſtate of our affairs in *Dublin*: It was now almoſt full two Months ſince the breaking out of this Rebellion; The Lords Juſtices and Council out of their deep apprehenſions of a general revolt of all the *Iriſh* through the Kingdom, did in the very beginning with much earneſtneſs ſollicite the preſent ſending over of Succours out of *England*: And as ſoon as they began to make a little further diſcovery into the ſtrength of this Conſpiracy, and found their own wants and utter diſabilities to make any long or conſiderable oppoſition againſt the univerſal power of the whole body of the *Iriſh*, as it then began to appear unto them, firmly united with almoſt all the *Old Engliſh* that were of the *Romiſh* Profeſſion, incorporated into their party throughout *Ireland*, they did with much more earneſtneſs by their frequent Letters and ſeveral Agents, repreſent unto His Majeſty and the Parliament of *England*, the very ill even deſperate condition they were in; and therefore deſired that ſupplies both of men, mony and all kind of warlike proviſions, might be ſent away with all ſpeed unto them, declaring that unleſs they received them preſently, and that in great proportions, they were not able longer to ſubſiſt as they ſtood now environed on all ſides with multitudes of the *Rebels*, but had juſt reaſon to apprehend their own preſent ruin, and the inevitable loſs of the whole Kingdom: And becauſe they conceived the Levies in *England* could not be ſo ſuddenly made, nor the men ſo eaſily tranſported from thence into the North of *Ireland* (where the *Rebels* appeared in greateſt numbers, and had by their moſt unparallel'd cruelty towards the *Engliſh* done moſt miſchief) as out of *Scotland*: They made a propoſition to the Lord Lieutentant, to move both His Majeſty and the Parliament, that 10000 *Scots* might be preſently raiſed and ſent over into thoſe parts. This they preſſed with much earneſtneſs, repreſenting the very great errour the meer *Iriſh* had of that Nation, that their bodies would better ſort with that Climate, endure more hardſhip, and with leſs diſtemper undergo the toil and miſeries of an *Iriſh* war, that the tranſportation would be made with much more falicity and leſs charge, it being not above three or four hours ſail from ſome parts of *Scotland* into the North of *Ireland*, That the Kingdom of *Scotland* had been lately in Arms, and ſo had all proviſions neceſſary for the furniſhing of their men for this expediton in readineſs: And laſtly, they having ſo good a foundation in the multitude of their own Countrymen ſo advantageouſly ſettled there already, would no doubt undertake the work with all alacrity, and vigorouſly proſecute the war with ſuch ſharpneſs, as might teſtifie their deep reſentment of the horrid cruelties excerciſed upon ſo many thouſands of their own Nation by that barbarous people.

The ſad condition of the publick affairs of the State.

The ſending of ten thouſand *Scots* into *Ireland* preſſed by the Lords Juſtices & Council.

Commissioners sent out to *Scotland* to Treat with the Parliament of *England* concerning the relief of *Ireland*.

These Letters arrive very opportunely about the time of the Kings return from *Edenburgh* to the Parliament of *England* then sitting at *Westminster*: And there being even then two *Scotish* Lords come out of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to Treat with the Parliament of *England* concerning the sending Forces from thence for the relief of *Ireland*. His Majesty sent to the Lords and Commons to give them notice of their arrival, and withal desired, that certain Commissioners appointed by himself, and both Houses of Parliament, might be presently named to Treat with them, and from time to time, give an account of their proceedings to His Majesty and both Houses. This motion was with very great readiness yielded unto, and it was ordered that the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Leicester* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Lord *Howard* of *Estric*; nominated by the House of Peers: And *Nathaniel Fiennes* Esquire, Sir *William Ermin* Baronite, Sir *Philip Stapleton* Knight, *John Hamden* Esquire, nominated by the House of Commons, should Treat with the *Scotish* Commissioners concerning the affairs of *Ireland*, and that there should be a Commission granted unto them to this effect, under the great Seal of *England*, together with particular Instructions to regulate the manner of their proceedings.

Propositions presented to the Parliament of *England* for the relief of *Ireland*.

In the propositions given in by the *Scotish* Commissioners, they did in the first place make offer of ten thousand men in the name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: And that they might be enabled to send them speedily away, they desired an advance of 30000. *l.* of the brotherly assistance afforded unto them by the Kingdom of *England*, and that what Arms and Munition they sent into *Ireland*, might in the same proportion be returned unto them with all expedition.

Next they desired that some Ships of War might be appointed to guard the Seas betwixt *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to waft over their Soldiers which they designed to transport in small Vessels.

And then that upon landing of their men in *Ireland*, there should be 100 horse ready to joyn with every 1000 foot that they should send thither. And that they should receive Instructions and Orders, and in every thing obey the *Scotish* General.

These propositions being taken into consideration in the House of Commons, after they had duly considered of them, and weighed the high necessities of this Kingdom, that the *Scots* had 2500 men ready raised, and that they could not so suddenly make provision any other way for the saving of *Ireland*, as by sending these Forces out of *Scotland*, they readily condescended unto them, and having voted them severally, they sent them up to the House of Peers, with their desires for a speedy concurrence in them.

These beginnings gave great hopes of a sudden relief of *Ireland*, and it was now generally believed, that considerable Forces would be transported with

within a very ſhort time out of *Scotland* for the defence of the Northern parts of this Kingdom; eſpecially conſidering with how much earneſtneſs his Majeſty in his Speech made to the Lords and Commons in Parliament on the 14 of *December*, in this preſent year, had preſſed them to take to heart the buſineſs of *Ireland*, and offered unto them whatſoever his power, pains or induſtry could contribute to the good and neceſſary work of reducing the *Iriſh* Nation to their true and wonted obedience.

The Forces deſigned for *Ireland*, retarded.

But alas theſe great expectations were ſoon daſhed, and the Forces deſigned for *Ireland*, as well out of *England* as *Scotland* ſtrangely retarded by ſeveral obſtructions which daily aroſe in the tranſactions of the *Iriſh* affairs.

For firſt, His Majeſty in the ſame Speech, wherein he conjured them by all that was dear to him or them, to go on chearfully and ſpeedily for the reducing of *Ireland*, did take notice of a Bill for preſſing Soldiers for *Ireland* depending in the Houſe of Peers, and declaring his diſlike of putting it in that way, told them he would paſs it ſo there were a *ſalvo jure* put into it both for the King and people, but withall, told them that he thought himſelf little beholding unto him whoſoever he was, that began this diſpute ſo far trenching upon the bounds of his ancient and undoubted prerogative.

Theſe paſſages in his Majeſties Speech were deeply reſented, not only by the Lords, who were more particularly concerned in them, but by the Houſe of Commons: And therefore His Majeſty had no ſooner ended his Speech and left their Houſe, but that the Lords fell into conſideration of the ſame, and reſolved that the King by taking notice of the debate in their Houſe, of the Bill concerning preſſing of Soldiers, had broken the fundamental priviledges of Parliament. And preſently a Meſſage was brought unto them, likewiſe by Mr. *Hellis* from the Houſe of Commons, to deſire a conference with their Lordſhips by Committees of both Houſes touching the Priviledges of Parliament: At the conference they fully expreſſed the deep ſenſe they had of the high injury offered unto them, by His Majeſty in invading their Priveledges, and proceeded ſo far as to come not only to Petition His Majeſty, and to deſire that he would be pleaſed to make known that perſon who had given him information ſo unduly of what had paſſed in their Houſe: but alſo, to make a Proteſtation concerning their Priviledges: This took up ſome time, and the great miſunderſtanding even which then began to appear betwixt His Majeſty and the Parliament, had ſo ſtrong an influence into the buſineſs of *Ireland*, as notwithſtanding the high neceſſities of this Kingdom, and the great affections expreſſed by the Kingdom of *England* for our ſudden relief here, the reſolutions were ſlow, and the preparations went ſo heavily on, as it was long before the Houſe of Commons could find means to enable the Lord Lieutenant to ſend ſo much as one Regiment away out of *England*, for the defence of the Caſtle and

City

City of *Dublin*, then much distressed by the near approach of the *Rebels*.

The debate of the propositions presented by the *Scotish* Commissioners in the House of Peers.

And now for the Forces to be sent out of *Scotland* into Nothern Parts of this Kingdom, they meet with several obstructions likewise. For first, the Commissioners of *Scotland* had not power given them from the State there to Treat for the sending over a lesser number than 10000 men, which the Lords here were very unwilling to condescend unto. But this obstacle was soon removed by zealous affections of the House of Commons, who as soon as the Propositions brought in by the *Scotish* Commissioners for the relief of *Ireland*, were presented unto them, voted their assent to Treat for the sending of the number of 10000 men out of *Scotland*, according to the instructions given to the Commissioners by that Kingdom, and sent up a Message to the House of Peers by Sir *Philip Stapleton* Knight, to lay before their Lordships, the miserable estate of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to let them know that the House of Commons conceived the best way for the preservation of it out of the hands of the *Rebels*, was speedily to dispatch the *Scots* into the Province of *Ulster*, and therefore desired that they would joyn with them in the Propositions received from the *Scotish* Commissioners.

Upon the receit of this Message, the House of Peers fell upon the said Proposition, and after a long debate, it was at length agreed that 10000 *Scots* should be sent into *Ireland*, if the House of Commons would condescend that at the same time there might 10000 *English* men be as speedily sent likwise thither, and thereupon desired a conference with the House of Commons, that they might fully understand their resolution therein, which being yielded unto by the House of Commons, The Lords at the conference pressed with much earnestness, that they might be assured of the sending over of 10000 *English* at the same time that the *Scots* were to be sent away: Whereunto the House of Commons replyed, that they were not to be capitulated withall, that their actions were free as well without conditions as capitulations, that they thought they had given sufficient certainty already of their resolution to send that number of *English* into *Ireland*, and therefore desired that their Lordships would Vote the sending away of 10000 *Scots* by it self without any relation to the *English* spoken of by them.

This took up a large debate in the House of Peers, and was one main cause of the slow proceeding on of the Treaty with the *Scotish* Commissioners. I shall not undertake to determine at so great a distance from whence these obstructions grew, but I am very sure we could here easily find, that there were some such secret workings underhand against the good affections expressed by the House of Commons, and by the Lords who were well affected to the service of *Ireland*, as that this Treaty was very much retarded thereby.

thereby, and was not brought on to any concluſion in many Months after. So as in the mean time, all the *Britiſh* planted throughout this Kingdom, were deſpoiled, driven out of their habitations, or moſt cruelly murdered within their own doors: and the *Iriſh* ſtrengthned themſelves in all parts of the Country and prevailing every where, drew many to joyn with them, that had hitherto kept themſelves in a kind of Neutrality, as ſuppoſing that the State here would be altogether deſert, and no Forces at all ſent out of *England* for the ſuppreſſing of the *Iriſh* as had taken up Arms in this quarrel.

The whole Province of *Munſter* about the midſt of this Month of *December*, began to declare themſelves in open Rebellion. The Lord Preſident there, had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs their very beginings, but by reaſon of his want of ſtrength was now able to contain them no longer: He did with all deligence and carefulneſs labour to prevent the joyning together of any numbers of the *Iriſh* in any of thoſe parts: And when he underſtood how they began in ſome places of the Province to deſpoil the *Engliſh*, and that they had near *Waterford* gotten away many of the *Engliſh mens* Cattle, and were carrying them out of the limits of his government, he thought it not fit longer to ſit ſtill, but gallantly purſued thoſe *Rebels* in his own perſon, being accompanied only with his own Troop of horſe, and ſome few Gentlemen of the Country, who joyned with them, and after a long and tedious march came upon them unawares, ſlew 200 of thoſe *Rebels*, reſtored the cattle to the *Engliſh* that were owners of them, and took ſeveral priſoners whom he hanged for a greater terrour to all ſuch as ſhould adventure afterwards to follow their example: As ſoon as he had done this ſervice, his Lordſhip retired back to *Cork*, having neither Forces nor means to make any further proſecution: which the *Iriſh* well enough underſtood, and therefore drew together in ſeveral places of that Province, and though they did not in that barbarous manner, as they in *Ulſter*, hew down, cut in pieces, hang, drown or preſently murder all the *Engliſh* among them: yet many horrid murders they committed, uſed ſeveral kinds of cruelty to many particular perſons, and for all the reſt that fell into their hands, they robbed and violently deprived them of all their goods and cattle, moſt miſerably ſtripped them out of their cloaths and leaving them quite naked, ſuffered moſt of them in that lamentable poſture to paſs to *Cork*, *Youghall*, *Kinſale*, and other Ports there to embark their miſerable Carkaſſes for *England* where few arrived ſafely, and I am ſure I may well ſay few, in reſpect of thoſe multitudes who periſhed through want, cold and famine, before they could get to thoſe Towns, or otherways dyed after their arrival in them, or were by ſtorms at Sea caſt-away. And for the *Engliſh* who ſtood upon their guard and immured themſelves up in ſeveral Caſtles of good ſtrength in thoſe Parts, they endured many

The revolt of the *Iriſh* in the Province of *Munſter*.

The miſery ſuffered by the *Engliſh* in *Munſter*.

Months

Months ſiege, ſuffered much want and miſery, and having bravely reſiſted all the aſſaults and attempts that the *Iriſh* made with great multitudes upon them, and in many places cauſed them to raiſe their ſieges with great loſs and ſlaughter of their men, yet they were afterwards, finding themſelves without all hope or poſſibility of relief, enforced to delivered thoſe places together with the multitudes of *Engliſh* they had received, into the hands of the *Rebels*, upon fair quarter ſolemnly promiſed by them: And in many places no ſooner had they by that means gotten enterance into them, but that they moſt perfidiouſly broke the quarter given, deſpoiled them of that little remainder of their ſubſtance they had then left, and ſent them away in great want and miſery to find relief among other *Engliſh* Garriſons. But the whole Country being waſted and deſtroyed, and the poor *Engliſh* that lived in them, diſpoiled of all their ſubſtance, were able to afford them very little relief or comfort, beſides pitty and compaſſion which could not ſupport or keep alive thoſe languiſhing gaſtly Creatures, ſo as multitudes dyed, ſome in ditches, ſome travelling on the high-ways, ſome under hedges, and ſo left their Carcaſſes as fearful ſpectacles to the beholders, and ſad monuments of the inhumane cruelties exerciſed on them by thoſe bloody *Rebels*, who yet under pretence of mercy ſpared their lives, but took up a reſolution as they were not aſhamed to declare, to put them to a more lingring death, and therefore left them in ſuch a conditon as inevitably brought on their miſerable ends with much more diſcomfort and ſorrow.

But this ſhall ſuffice to ſhew the beginning of the riſing of the *Iriſh* in *Munſter*; the particulars whereof ſhall be clearly and at large ſet down in the following Relations of their proceedings within that Province, where it ſhall be declared likewiſe, how all the great Towns in *Lemſter*, except *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, did about the ſame time begin to ſtrip and expel all the *Britiſh* and Proteſtans, that either inhabited in them or fled out of the Country near about to ſhelter themſelves there, from the barbarous cruelties of their *Iriſh* neighbours.

Dublin diſtreſſed.

As for the City of *Dublin* it began now to be much more ſtraitly encompaſſed by the Forces of the *Rebels*, much encreaſed through their late conjunction with the *Engliſh Pale*. And in caſe of their want of power to force it, yet they having made their approaches ſo near and having ſo abſolutely ſtopped up all the avenues as we had great reaſon to apprehend their keeping back of proviſions would drive the City into high neceſſities, and quickly occaſion great want there. And here I cannot without much grief of heart call to mind the lamentable complaints and bitter out-crys which until this time, were continually ſent up unto the Lords Juſtices and Councel while they remained in this poſture, out of ſeveral Parts of the Country,

where

where the *English* Inhabitants being by the *Irish* driven out of their habitations, had for their present safeguard put themselves into Houses or Castles of some strength; they there enduring much want and misery, made shift, though not without great difficulty, by several Messages and Letters to make known their condition to the State, as also that they were resolved, as many of them did, to suffer the utmost extremities out of hope of relief, and a confident expectation of succours from them.

But Alas all was vain, they were able to afford them no other comfort than what their pitiful commiseration of their sorrowful condition would administer; they were themselves reduced so low, as with the greatest power they could raise, they durst not adventure to send any ways five miles out of the City, their supplies out of *England* were not arrived, they had neither place nor means to raise men, but only within the virge of the City, and such as they ordinarily took up there, were either *Irish*, whereof many ran presently away with their Arms to the *Rebels*, or poor stripped *English*, and Inhabitants of this City, who were raw men, and though they afterwards being well exercised and trained to the use of their Arms, proved very good Soldiers; yet for the present they were very unfit for service: As appeared in that little expedition Colonel *Craford* made out with his men to *Finglas*, a little Town two miles distant from the City, at the same time, when Sir *Charles Coot* marched forth to beat *Luke Nettervile* with his undisciplined Regiment out of his quarters at *Santry*, who having timely notice of his coming saved him the labour, for he presently upon the rumour thereof, dislodged and fled in so much hast, as he left some of his best equipage and all his provisions behind him: But that Party of *Rebels* Colonel *Craford* found at *Finglas*, having placed themselves with good advantage behind great ditches, stood better to their work, and carried themselves so stoutly, as our new raised men began to shrink, and had not the Colonel and some other of his Officers behaved themselves very well that day, their men had made a most dangerous and shameful retreat. This was the greatest expedition the Forces in *Dublin* were able to undertake at that time, which no man will wonder at, if he doth consider as it hath been related, how the Town was in a manner surrounded on every side by several Parties of the *Rebels* gathered together, all commerce was interrupted, all provisions brought out of the Country for the supply of it intercepted, as also, that all the chief of the *English* Inhabitants had transported themselves, their goods, and their Families into *England*, many of the Papist had upon other reasons retired themselves, and what belonged unto them into the Country, and there taken up their habitations within the *Rebels* quarters; no manner of intercourse with any persons whatsoever that made their abode without the distance of two miles from any

Some Forces sent out to encounter the *Rebels*, who lodged within three miles of *Dublin*.

Dublin surrounded on every side by the *Rebels*.

part of the City, no intelligence to be had upon any terms from among the *Rebels*, all courses taken for it disappointed, several Messengers hanged up; and by-reason the other side all our designs disclosed, our weakness discovered, and the most private resolutions by one means or other communicated unto them. The Parties of the *Rebels* that lay near about the City, were these following; *Luke Netterville* being beaten from *Santry*, lay with near two thousand men at *Swoords*, a Town six miles distant, and possessed himself of the Castle of *Artaine*, and some other places within two miles of the City: On the West side of the City, at *Tallaght*, *Rathcoole*, *Castle-Lyons*, and other little Villages within the compass of six miles, there lay two thousand more of the Rebels who were come down out of the Counties of *Carterlagh*, *Kings County*, *Kildare*, and other parts, under the Command of *Roger Moore*, and *Sutton*, *Eustace* of *Castle-Martin* and others. The *Clandonells*, *Birnes* and *Tooles*, were also come down in great numbers out of the County of *Wiclow*, and had lodged themselves in some Castles towards the Sea-side, and in some Villages at the foot of the Mountains not above three or four miles distant from the Town on the South side. How desperately these Forces threatned our ruine and sudden destruction will appear by this ensuing Letter bearing date about the midst of *December*, written from the Lords Justices and Council, unto the Lord Lieutenant then attending for his dispatch.

A Letter from the Lords Justices and Council, to the Lord Lieutenant.

May it please your Lordships,

BY our Letters of the third of *December*, we made known to your Lordship, that M. *Hanmer* was then newly arrived with the Treasure sent us from thence, which came but to sixteen thousand five hundred fourscore and ten pounds, to a supply of Treasure far short of that which is now become necessary to perform any considerable service here against the *Rebels*, whose numbers are increased wonderfully, insomuch as the Forces they have about *Dreghda* on all sides it, and between *Dreghda* and this place, reaching even within four miles of this City, are upon very credible report conceived to be above twenty thousand men, and besides those

those numbers who are so united between this and *Dreghed*a and thereabouts, there are many thousands of them dispersed the whole Kingdom over; for the meaner sort of people first rise generally, and then those of better quality follow after; and the fire which was first kindled in *Ulster*, and lay a while smothered in other parts begins now to break out so generally, as the defection now appears to be universal throughout the whole four Provinces; so strangely rooted was the Combination, and that strengthned under the specious shew of a War for Religion; for although before and since the Caution we had from your Lordship, We have on our part endeavoured not to give any apprehension to the *Irish*, that *England* doth intend to make it a War of Religion, yet as we formerly made known to your Lordship, the *Rebels* labour mainly to have it so understood. Nay, they now go so far as they call themselves generally the Catholick Army, a Title which hath drawn many thousands to their party, and yet many joyned with them for no other reason than because they saw our Succours expected forth of *England* and *Scotland* deferred, they rightly judging, that without those Succours, we are not able to defend them our selves, and indeed until those Succours come, they must and will still encrease; but if our men and arms were once arrived, the very countenance of their coming would draw many of them to us, and give some stop to the fury, with which they yet carry all before them whither soever they come.

They continue their rage and malignity against the *English* and Protestants: who if they leave their goods or cattle for more safety with any Papists, those are called out by the *Rebels*, and the Papists goods and cattle left behind; and now upon some new Councils taken by them, they have added to their former, a further degree of cruelty, even of the highest nature, which is to Proclaim, That if any *Irish* shall harbour or relieve any *English*, that be suffered to escape them with his life, that it shall be penal even to death, to such *Irish*; and so

they will be sure though they put not those *English* actually to the sword, yet they do as certainly and with more cruelty cut them off that way, than if they had done it by the sword; and they profess they will never give over until they leave not any seed of an *English-man* in *Ireland*.

Nor is their malice towards the *English* expressed only so, but further even to the beasts of their fields, and improvements of their Lands, for they destroy all Cattle of *English* breed, and declare openly, that their reason is, because they are *English*; so great is their hatred, not only to the persons of the *English*, but also to every species of that Nation, and they destroy all improvements made by the *English*, and lay waste their habitations.

We formerly signified to your Lordship, that to take away all jealousie from the Papists of the *English Pale*, we would furnish them with some Arms, and the rather because we well know that in the last great Rebellion in *Ireland*, the *English Pale* stood firm to the Crown of *England*; and that the Rebel *Tyrone* in the height of his power and greatness, was never able to get into the *Pale*, with his Forces whilst he was in Rebellion; and upon this occasion, the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the *Pale*, making deep professions of their Loyalty to his Majesty, in imitation of their Ancestors, and with expressions seeming to abhorr the Contrivers of this Rebellion here, against whom they offered their power and strength so as they might have Arms; and we being well assured that if we could gain their concurrence with us, it would much facilitate our work; we did at their earnest suit issue for them Arms for one thousand seven hundred men, wherewith divers Companies were armed by them, and some of themselves were appointed Governours of the Forces of the Counties and Captains of their Companies: but so many of those Companies revolted to the *Rebels*, and carryed away their Arms with them, as we have recovered back but nine hundred and fifty Arms; so as those whose loyalty we had reason to ex-

pect would help us, are now through their diſloyalty turned againſt us, and are ſtrengthned with our own Arms; and without all queſtion, if thoſe of the *Engliſh Pale* had done their parts as become good ſubjects with their Arms they had from us, and thoſe they might gather amongſt themſelves, they might with our help not only have defended the *Pale* againſt the *Rebels*, but might alſo have prevented the ruin and deſtruction wrought by their Tenants and Neighbours on the poor *Engliſh* and Proteſtants amongſt them; for the Noblemen and Gentry ſate ſtill and looked on, whilſt the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants were ruined before their faces; the Papiſts in the mean time remaining ſecure without the loſs of goods, or any thing elſe.

When we ſaw the power and ſtrength of the *Rebels* ſtill growing upon us more and more, and approaching by degrees more near to us, and the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants robbed and ſpoiled even within two miles of this City, in diſdain and affront of this State, which are ſcorns of ſo high a nature as we could not endure, if we had ſtrength ſufficient to repreſs their inſolencies; and when we obſerved the retarding our Succours of men and arms from *England* or *Scotland*, neither of both Succours being yet come, nor as we heard ſo much as in view there or in *Scotland*, and when we found apparently that for want of thoſe ſupplies we became in a manner ſo contemptible, as we were in danger to be ſet upon for taking from us this City and Caſtle before our aids ſhould come, we bethought us of all the means we could of gaining time, being confident that we cannot be ſo deſerted by the State of *England*, but that ſome ſupplies may yet come unto us. And therefore on the third of *December*, we directed our Letters to divers of the Nobility of the Kingdom who were [illegible] neareſt to us, and moſt of them being of the *Engliſh Pale*, to be with us here on the eighth day of this Month, that we might confer with them concerning the preſent ſtate of the Kingdom, and we hoped by their help, to handle the matter ſo as we might gain a few days

time

time before our ſurpiſal here, by which time in all likelihood our Succours might arrive, although it be boldly given out by the *Rebels*, that we ſhall have no Succours from thence, which they divulge to embolden their party, and to ſtrike terrour and diſcouragement into the well affected, amongſt whom there are many ſo weak, as to apprehend from thence too much fear, whereby many are fled the Kingdom.

On the eighth day of this Month, the Earl of *Kildare*, the Lord Viſcount *Fitz-Williams*, and the Lord Baron of *Howth* came unto us, but the reſt of the Noblemen not coming deferred our conference; and on the eleventh day of this Month we received Letters from ſeven of them, namely, the Earl of *Fingale*, the Lord Viſcount *Gormanſton*, the Lord Viſcount *Netterville*, and the Lords of *Slaine*, *Trimbleſtone*, *Dunſany* and *Lowth*, dated the ſeventh day of this Month, and ſigned by them, pretending a fear of a Maſſacre on thoſe of their Religion, and that therefore they are deterred, to wait on us, but do rather think it fit to ſtand upon their guard; and how their reſolution of theirs may ſtand with the loyalty they profeſs we humbly ſubmit to his Majeſties excellent judgement, for whoſe royal view we ſend you here incloſed, a Copy of the ſaid Letters.

When we received thoſe Letters, we did admire whence their fears of coming to us ſhould ariſe, but afterwards we heard that they had been in conſultation with the *Rebels*, which alſo as to moſt of them is confirmed by the encloſed Examination of *Chriſtopher Hampton*, and indeed we know no cauſe of fear they have of us, unleſs their own guilts begot in them the fear they pretend; and they ſpare not though unjuſtly to charge us with a neglect of their advices, whereas not one of them to this Houſe offered to us any advice or real aſſiſtance toward Pacification of theſe troubles.

It became then Publick, (nor could we keep ſecret that which they had publiſhed to others) that thoſe Noblemen ſo far ſided with the *Rebels*, as they now ſtood on their guard; we

herefore adjudged it fit for vindicating the State from the aſ-
erſion which we found ſo publickly endeavoured to be laid up-
on us, to publiſh the encloſed Proclamation, as well to ſatisfie
o the World as thoſe Noblemen, who certainly are abundant-
y ſatisfied in their own ſecret thoughts, that we never intend-
d to Maſſacre them or any other; that being a thing which we
nd all good Proteſtants do much abhor, whatever the practice
f their Religion is, and hath been found to be by woful ex-
erience in other parts, whereof we confeſs we are now in
reat danger, if our long expected Succours come not the ſoon-
r to us; and it may be gathered from that unexampled tyranny
hich the *Rebels* have already exerciſed towards thoſe of our
ation and Religion, who fell into their hands, what we for
ur parts may expect from them: But the diſhonour and ſhame
hich may reflect upon the *Engliſh* Nation by expoſing this
tate and Kingdom to ſo apparent ruine, and with it the ex-
irpation of Gods true Religion, afflicts us more than the loſs
f our own lives and fortunes, which all might be ſaved by ſend-
ng ſeaſonably thoſe Succours.

We lately received Letters from the Lady *Oraly*, and a Let-
r containing moſt inſolent Menaces incloſed therein, ſent her
om the *Rebels*, to which ſhe ſent them a noble Anſwer, Co-
es whereof we ſend here incloſed.

One of the *Rebels* ſtiling himſelf Chaplain Major and Over-
er of the Coaſts and Harbours, lately ſent a Summons in a
oud and vaunting manner, to one *Edward Leech*, that was en-
uſted to keep the Iſland of *Lambay*, requiring the delivery up
hat Iſland to the *Rebels*, which being done, he gave *Leech* a
s, wherein he ſtiles the *Rebels* Forces the Catholick Army:
Copy of which Summons and Paſs we ſend your Lordſhip
re incloſed; and *Leech* told us that that mighty Chaplain de-
ared openly to him, That he was Plotter of this Rebellion,
hat he had ſpent in Travel and Proſecution of that deſign be-
ond Seas four thouſand pound; and that all the Kings in
hriſtendom, excepting the King of *England*, and the King of
enmark, have hands in this buſineſs.

A Caſtle

A Caſtle in the Town of *Longford*, held by the *Engliſh*, who ſtood out a while againſt the *Rebels*, being in the end through want of victuals neceſſitated to be rendred up to them upon promiſe of quarter, a Popiſh Prieſt ſtanding with his Skean in his hand, watching for the coming forth of a Miniſter then amongſt the *Engliſh*, did by thruſting that Skean into the Miniſters guts, and ripping up his belly, give that as a ſignal to the *Rebels*, for falling upon the reſt of the *Engliſh*, which they did accordingly, aſſoon as the Miniſter was murdered, killing ſome, and hanging the reſt moſt perfidiouſly.

On the ninth of this Month, we received advertiſement, that great numbers of men were gathered together in Warlike manner at *Swoords* in the County of *Dublin* within ſix miles of us, they having the Army of the *Rebels* behind them on the ſide *Dreghеda*; whereupon we then immediately ſent out our Warrant, commanding them to diſperſe: A Copy whereof we ſend your Lordſhip here incloſed; which was not obeyed, but a Letter ſent us from *Luke Nettervile*, Son to the Lord Viſcount *Nettervile*, and others of them: A Copy whereof we likewiſe ſend here incloſed; whereupon we publiſhed the incloſed Maniſeſt, for vindicating this State from their aſperſion alſo: And it is obſervable, that thoſe Gentlemen at *Swoords* could even on that very Tueſday night, wherein they alledge they were ſo affrighted at their Houſes, aſſemble twelve hundred men together in that moment of time, to have in readineſs againſt any attempt from the State, whereas for many days before, they could ſit ſtill and look on, whilſt an Army of the Enemy lay behind them, betwixt them and *Dreghеda*, and whilſt ſome of them openly declared *Rebels*, and many of their neighbours, who doubtleſs hold under-hand intelligence with the *Rebels*, robbed and ſpoiled the *Engliſh* on all parts round about them; and yet thoſe Gentlemen could not in all that time be either ſo affrighted by the *Rebels*, or ſo compaſſionate of their poor *Engliſh* neighbours, as to aſſemble their men for the defence of themſelves, or thoſe their poor *Engliſh* neigh-

neighbours; and certainly thoſe Gentlemen might have been as believing in this State who have always uſed lenity and mildneſs towards them, as in the Forces of the *Rebels* which lie ſo near behind them, and who they know have murdered many of His Majeſties good and innocent Subjects, and for ought they know (if there were not ſecret intelligence between them) might have uſed them alſo in like manner.

But the truth is, we conceive thoſe Gentlemen had a mind to joyn with the *Rebels*, and do now take up pretences to cover their diſloyalty, and caſt ſcandal on this Government.

The *Rebels* in the *Pale* as in other parts, have cauſed Maſſes to be ſaid openly in the Churches, expelled the Miniſters from officiating in their Churches, and forced divers perſons for ſaving their lives and goods to become Papiſts, openly profeſſing that no Proteſtant ſhall be ſuffered to live in *Ireland*, and whilſt they inſult thus over all the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants, deſtroying them for no other reaſon, but for that they are Proteſtants and *Engliſh*, we let fall nothing againſt them touching Religion, and yet they feign things againſt us, tending that way to give ſome colour to their cruel proceedings.

The *Rebels* of the County of *Kildare* have taken the *Naas* and *Kildare* in the County of *Kildare*. The *Rebels* of *Meath* have taken *Trim*, an *Abbey* in the County of *Meath*, and divers other places. The *Rebels* of the County of *Dublin*, have poſſeſſed *Swords* and *Rathcoble*, and ſpoyled all the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants even to the Gates of *Dublin*, and now about fifteen hundred of the *Rebels* of *Wiclow* are in and about *Powerſcourt*, and about ten miles from this City; there are alſo between this and the *Naas* within ſix or ſeven miles of us a thouſand of the *Rebels* of *Kildare*, and the Borders of *Wiclow* and *Dublin*, ſo as we are in this City invironed by them on all ſides by Land, and they began to ſtop acceſſe to us by Sea; for the Fiſhermen on the Sea-Coaſts being all *Iriſh* and Papiſts inhabitants in this *Pale*, braked out alſo into Rebellion with the multitude, and have robbed, ſpoiled and pillaged even with-

in the Bay of *Dublin* several Barks coming hither forth of *England*. And if to revenge this villany on the Fishermen at *Clantarfe* and thereabouts, so near us, we send for a Party of Soldiers to burn and spoyl those Rebels houses and corn, the Gentlemen of the *Pale* will immediately take new offence; but that we will adventure upon; for now there is no dalliance with them, who so far declare themselves against the State, not caring what scorns are put upon the Government, wherein is observable, that the Landlord of *Clantarfe* is one of those Gentlemen risen in Arms at *Swoords*.

Your Lordship now sees not only the necessity of hastning with all possible speed our Succours of men and Arms both out of *England* and *Scotland*, in greater numbers than those at first designed, seeing the breach appears to be far greater, and the defection more general than at first was conceived; and yet so as such of them as are ready be not forced to stay for the rest, but that those may be so ordered as to come after, for no flesh can imagine, unless they saw it as we do, the greatness of our danger, who are but a handful in comparison of the multitudes risen against us: And we desire that the ten thousand designed to come from *Scotland*, may be wholly sent away, as well the five thousand intended to be left there in a readiness as the rest, with direction to land as near *Dublin* as they may, and whersoever they land to march to *Dublin* if possibly they can; And to send away with all speed the ships appointed for guarding these Coasts, is also very necessary to be hastned, and that two or three Ships of good strength follow after: doubtless these *Rebels* expect a very great supply of Arms and Munition from forraign Parts, either *Spain* or *France*.

And although out of the sore sight we had of this extremity since these troubles began, we have endeavoured to get in some provisions of victual and corn, yet we have not been able to provide our selves sufficiently to stand out any long siege, nor can we now get in any more, our Markets being almost taken away, and the strength of the *Rebels* surrounding us, so as we can

fetch in no more proviſions; wherefore we beſeech your Lordſhip that the Magazins of Victuals deſigned to be ſettled on that ſide, may be ſetled with all ſpeed, if it be not done already, whereby we and the Succours we expect, may not be in diſtreſs of Victuals for our ſelves or them, or Oats for our horſes. Our want of Victuals is the more in reſpect of the daily acceſs of the *Engliſh* ſpoyled in the Country,

The neceſſity of the defence of the Province of *Munſter*, required the immediate raiſing of a Regiment of Foot conſiſting of one thouſand men, and two Troops of Horſe of threeſcore each Troop, which threeſcore we appointed the Lord Preſident to raiſe, and for the payment and arming of them, we humbly adviſe, ſeeing we cannot do it, that mony and arms be ſent from thence to *Toughall*, with a further ſupply of Arms and Munition for the ſtores in that Province now much wanting there.

And as the *Rebels* which have beſet us and this City on all ſides by Land, do threaten to cut off our Market at *Dublin*, which we begin to feel already: So they boldly declare, that they will within a day or two cut off the watercourſe, which brings water to this City and Caſtle; and that done, that their multitudes will immediately burn our Suburbs and beſiege our Walls, which we confeſs we yet want ſtrength to defend, and muſt want till our Supplies come forth of *England* or *Scotland* or both; for here we have but about three thouſand men, the reſt of the old Companies being diſperſed in ſeveral needful Garriſons in the Country (excepting ſeven Companies of them ſurpriſed, and cut off by the *Rebels* at their firſt riſing in *Ulſter* and other parts) and about two hundred horſe by pole of the old Army, whereof many are *Iriſh*: ſo as conſidering the ſpaciouſneſs of this City and Suburbs to be defended, the ſmallneſs of our number to defend them, and the great numbers of Papiſt Inhabitants in this City and Suburbs; and laſtly, the very great numbers of the *Rebels*, who are ſo ſtrong as to approach this City with many thouſands, and yet leave many

thousands also at the siege of *Drogheda*, we cannot expect to be able to defend this City for any long time against them, without the arrival of our expected Succours.

The Earl of *Castlehaven* on the tenth of this Month, presented at this Board the inclosed Oath tendered unto him by the *Rebels* to be sworn by him, which he saith he refused to swear and we hear they send it to all parts to be tendered to the people, pressing them to take the Sacrament thereupon.

We did lately in hope to gain some time until our supplies might come, listen to an offer made by some Popish Priests to go to the *Rebels* and Treat with them, as you may perceive by the inclosed: But since we find there is little hope of it, for some of the Priests are returned, nothing being wrought thereby.

However it is fit your Lordship should know what we do: we must now crave leave to declare to your Lordship, that things being risen here to this height, threatning not only the shaking of the Government, but the loss of the Kingdom, as the Supplies of men, Arms, and more Treasure, are of great necessity to be hastned away hither; so is it also needful that we enjoy your Lordships presence here, for the conduct in your own person of the great and important affairs of this State, as well in the Martial as in the Civil Government, which do necessarily require it in this time of great imminent danger, wherein so far as we may be able to contribute any assistance with you, we shall be ready to discharge our duties therein, with that loyalty and uprightness of heart which we owe to His Majesty, and the particular respect due from us to your Lordship; but we hope you will bring that strength with you, which may best the greatness of the King our Master to send with his Lieutenant against so numerous enemies as these *Rebels* are become, as well for the honour of his Majesty, as for the terrour of those *Rebels*.

By what we have heretofore and now humbly represented to your Lordship, you may in part see the greatness of the public danger wherein this Kingdom now stands, and particularly the City and Castle, the principal place thereof, that if those be

loſt (which we now again aſſure your Lordſhip, were never in ſo great peril to be loſt ſince the firſt Conqueſt of this Kingdom by the Crown of *England*) the whole Kingdom muſt quickly follow, that the danger which muſt thereupon ariſe to the Kingdom of *England*, is very great in many reſpects. There is no poſſibility to prevent thoſe evils with honour and ſafety to *England* but by Succours from thence or *Scotland*, or both, and that if thoſe Succours come not ſpeedily, it cannot be avoided, but the Kingdom be loſt. And if notwithſtanding all this, ſo often and truly made known by us to your Lordſhip, we ſhall periſh for want of Supplies, we ſhall carry this comfort with us to our graves or any other burial we ſhall have, that your Lordſhip can witneſs for us to the Royal Majeſty and to all the world that we have diſcharged our duties to God, to His Majeſty, to that Nation, and to this, in humbly repreſenting to His Majeſty by your Lordſhip, the chief Governour of the Kingdom, the extremities and dangers wherein his Kingdom and people ſtand, and the neceſſity of haſtning Supplies hither, by all poſſible means for preſervation of both, ſo as whatever become of our perſons, our memory cannot be juſtly ſtained with ſo wretched a breach of faith and loyalty to the King our Maſter as to forbear repreſenting thither the extremities wherein we are, whether we have the credit to be believed or no; and that we write truth, and moſt needful truth, will be found true, when perhaps we ſhall periſh, and which is more conſiderable, the Kingdom alſo for want of being believed and ſuccoured in time. And ſo we remain

Your Lordſhips to be commanded,

William Parſons. Jo. Burlace.

Ormond Offory. R. Dillon. Char. Lambart.
Ad. Loftus. John Temple. Charles Coot.
Francis Willoughby. R. Meredith.

From His Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*,
14 *December* 1641.

Poſt-

Postcript.

BY *our Letters to your Lordship of the* 22 *of* November, *We did desire to be informed from thence, whether the Parliament here being once Prorogued may not again be prorogued by Proclamation before they sit, or whether it be of necessity that they must sit again, and the Parliament to be Prorogued the House sitting. And now that this Rebellion hath over-spread the whole Kingdom, and that many members of both Houses are involved therein, so as the Parliament cannot sit. We humbly desire to know His Majesties pleasure therein, and if his Majesty shall think fit to Prorogue it, which in present we held expedient, that then we may receive his commandment for Prorogation, and that the doubt concerning that be cleared; for to assemble at that time cannot be with safety.*

Our Letters the third of December, *have been hitherto with-held on the side by contrary winds.*

In this most miserable condition, the Lords Justices and Council continued shut up within the City of *Dublin*, strugling with all their power for a short preservation from those dismal calamities which had generally overspread the whole Kingdom: Their care, travel, and endeavours, had hitherto in some measure extended to the most remote parts; how they might aswage the swelling distempers, or yield some relief to the lamentable complaints and bitter out-cryes daily brought up unto them. But now the evils abroad were grown past their cure, and their own dangers so multiplyed as they were enforced to spend their time almost in a perpetual consultation, never at rest, sometimes raised in the night by sudden advertisements, always in constant perplexity and trouble, desperately threatned on every side, so as what through treachery within or form without, they had just reason to apprehend the loss of the City and Castle wherein they had enclosed themselves and so consequently the ruine and destruction of all the British and Protestants throughout all other parts of the Kingdom. And thus they continued until

The arrival of Sir *Simon Harcourt* with Forces out of *England.*

the most happy and welcome arrival of that truly valiant Gentleman and gallant Commander Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who being designed Governour of the City of *Dublin*, was dispatched away by special Order of Parliament with his Regiment for the preservation of that place, and landed here on the [illegible] of *December*, 1641. to the great joy and comfort of all his Majesties Protestants, and well affected Subjects, and to the terrour of those *Rebels* now in Arms, who had made themselves believe that no Succours would be sent out of *England* towards the suppressing of their notorious Rebellion.

And now my intentions were to have proceeded further on in setting down what hath fallen out within the next four months, and then to have added a brief account of all such particular passages as have been acted during the space of six Months within all the several Counties of this Kingdom, and

having

d ſo having recollected and preſented as it were at one view the publick lamities and miſerable deſolations of all the four Provinces there, to have down and made the firſt period of this Story.

But I muſt here take up being unexpectedly called away; I reſolve there- patiently to attend the reſtoring of this Kingdom and the reſettlement of affairs, and then if I find not this work undertaken and perfected by me more skilful hand, I ſhall hope to get the reſt of my tailing together, d make ſuch further proviſion of all other materials as may enable me to through with the ſame.

In the mean time it will not be amiſs to take notice, that the *Rebels* within y few Months after their firſt breaking out, had ſo ordered their affairs, that by their ſudden ſurpriſes, their ſharp and bloody executions, their barous ſtripping, and deſpoiling of all ſorts that fell into their hands, they d cleared the In-land Counties of all the *Britiſh* Inhabitants: And except me few Caſtles and other places of ſtrength which they held ſeverally be- ged, and had moſt of them ſuddenly after ſurrendred for want of relief, y had in a manner made themſelves abſolute Maſters in all thoſe Parts of Kingdom, And for the Maritime places, there were only ſome of the ief Cities which were held out againſt them, beſides ſome few other Forts d places of no great importance: As in the province of *Lemſter* the City *Dublin*; and in the Province of *Munſter*, the Cities of *Cork*, *Youghall*, d *Kinſale*; in *Ulſter*, *London-Derry*, *Colraine* and *Caregfergus*: And all ſe they held either beſieged, much diſtreſſed, or they were otherways ſo erpeſtred with the multitudes of poor ſtripped people fled to them for ſafe- , as they were confident they could not long hold out, but that either en force, treachery, famine, or ſickneſs would within a ſhort time inevi- bly put them into their hands.

Thus it pleaſed God to humble his own people in this Land, and for their to give them up into the power of their cruel Enemies, who began now ſacrifice to their own nets, to celebrate the memory of their Victories: And on the proſperity of their undertakings and late ſucceſs, they were become confident of prevailing even to the total extirpation of all the *Britiſh* and teſtants out of this Kingdom, as they proceeded to ſet down a certain form Government, nominated the perſons whom they intended to entruſt with management of their affairs, what Laws they would have revoked, what tutes newly enacted: And in the mean time they erected a Council which y ſtiled the Supreme Council, which they inveſted with abſolute Power d Authority, to order and govern the whole Kingdom. This conſiſted of rtain Noblemen, Gentlemen, 3 or 4 Lawyers, and 1 Phyſitian, who be- elected unto this charge, had the place of their reſidence appointed unto m at *Kilkenny*, a City in the Province of *Lemſter*, where they ſat ordi-

narily

natily for the diſpatch of all the great and weighty affairs of their State: The there erected ſeveral Courts of Judicature, they made a new broad Seal, a pointed ſeveral great Officers of State, coyned money, ſettled an exciſe up on all kind of commodities, and formed many other acts of regal power.

Now how they proceeded on in the ordering theſe their great affairs, wh Councils they took, what means they uſed to enable themſelves to make oppo ſition againſt the Forces ſent over by the Parliament of *England* into all th four Provinces of *Ireland*, I ſhall here forbear to ſpeak of. Theſe particular muſt be reſerved for the enſuing part of this Story, where they will moſt pro perly fall in to be related: And where likewiſe, we ſhall find ſo ſtrange a turn ſuch a remarkable declination of their power, their hearts failing them for fea their Councils infatuated, their deſigns blaſted, their Forces routed, their ſiege raiſed, ſuch a general defailance and inproſperity in all their undertakings, we muſt needs give glory to our Maker, and acknowledge that God ha moſt wonderfully wrought for the deliverance of the poor ſmall remnant o his people, which were here ſhut up and deſigned to the ſlaughter.

For after a conſiderable number of Horſe as well as Foot ſent over by th Parliament of *England* arrived at *Dublin*, and had in ſome petty encounte thereabouts tried the mettal of the *Rebels*, and found their ſpirit of a poor an baſe allay, they began extreamly to diſvalue them, and would be no long abuſed with the fabulous reports of their great ſtrength or numbers which wi much advantage they had long made uſe of: Therefore now they began t ſeek them out in all places, and whereſoever they came to meet with them th always prevailed even with ſmall numbers very often againſt great multitud of them, ſparing not many times to purſue them into the midſt of their grea eſt faſtneſſes, and made the very bogs and woods unſafe receptacles for th broken Troops. And with ſo great ſucceſs was the War proſecuted by th *Engliſh* from the firſt landing of their Forces out of *England* until the Treaty that moſt unhappy Ceſſation concluded in *Sep.* 1643. as that in all the e counters they had with the *Rebels* during that time, they never received a ſcorn or defeats, but went on Victoriouſly, beating them down in all Pa of the Kingdom: And ſo they carried on their work before them without a aſſiſtance either from the meer *Iriſh* or the *Engliſh Iriſh*: For I cannot m ſelf remember any Gentleman of quality throughout the whole Kingdom th was there born and bred up a Papiſt that put himſelf into that ſervice, or d ſired to be liſted as a member of the *Engliſh* Army. It is true, ſome of th common Soldiers there were of the *Engliſh Iriſh* that came in, and thou they were not conſiderable for their number, yet they did good ſervice a ſtill with much fury and ſharpneſs followed on upon the execution.

FINIS.

THE STATE OF THE Protestants of Ireland

Under the late King *James*'s Government;

IN WHICH

Their Carriage towards him is justified, and the absolute Necessity of their endeavouring to be freed from his Government, and submitting to their present Majesties is Demonstrated.

INTRODUCTION.

Containing an Explication of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and stating the True Notion and Latitude of it.

1. IT is granted by some of the highest Assertors of Passive Obedience, that if a King design to root out a People, or destroy one main part of his Subjects in favour of another whom he loves better, that they may prevent it even by opposing him with force; and that he is to be judged in such a Case to have Abdicated the Government of those whom he designs to destroy contrary to Justice and the Laws.

Ait idem Barclaius amitti regnum si Rex vere hostili animo in totius populi exitium feratur; quod concedo: consistere enim simul non possunt voluntas imperandi & voluntas perdendi: quare qui se hostem populi totius profitetur, is eo ipso abdicat regnum: Sed vix videtur id accidere posse in rege mentis compote, qui uni populo imperet: Quod si pluribus populis imperet, accidere potest ut unius populi in gratiam alterum vult preditum.

This is *Grotius*'s Opinion in his Book *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, lib. 1. cap. 4. § 11. where citing *Barclay*, he says, *If a King be carried with a malitious design to the destruction of a whole Nation, he loses his Kingdom, which I grant; since a will to Govern and to Destroy cannot consist together, therefore he who professes himself an Enemy to a whole People, doth in that very act Abdicate his Kingdom: But it seems hardly possible that this should enter into the heart of a King who is not mad, if he Govern only one People: But if he Govern many, it may happen that in favour of one People he may desire the other were Destroyed.*

Doctor *Hammond* Asserts Passive Obedience as high as any, yet he approves this passage of *Grotius*, and of *Barclay*, in his Vindication of Christ's reprehending St. *Peter*, from the exceptions of Mr. *Marshal* (p. 327. of his first Volume) *Grotius*, saith he, *mentions some cases wherein a King may be Resisted, As in case a King shall Abdicate his Kingdom, and manifestly relinquish his Power; then he turns private Man, and may be dealt with as any other such. And some other the like.*

2. And it is observable that generally in all Books and Sermons concerning Obedience to Governors, where this case is put, *suppose a King endeavour to destroy his people*, there are only two Answers given to it, one is that his Officers and Ministers ought not to obey him; if they do the Law will punish them. The other is, that this case ought not to be put; that we ought not to suppose that any King will designedly endeavour to destroy his people; nay the Author of *Jovian* will not allow us to suppose that any *King will attempt in* England *to Govern altogether by Arbitrary Power and the Sword.* For says he Chap. 12. p. 272. *To suppose this, is plainly to suppose the utmost impossibility*, and p. 273. *If a King should shut up the Courts, obstruct or pervert Justice, he allows that all his good Subjects, and all the bad too that tendered their own safety would desert him*, and Chap. 6. p. 152. He says he should be tempted to pray for the destruction of such a Prince, as the only means of delivering the Church. *Falkner* in his *Christian Loyalty*, (B. 2. Chap. 5. N. 19, 20.) tell us, *But if ever any such strange case as is supposed should really happen, I confess it would have its great difficulties.* He brings in *Grotius, De jure Belli & Pacis*, lib. 1. cap. 4. N. 7. And Bishop *Bilsons*, *Christian Subjection*

jection, Part 3. p. 519. edit. 1585. as allowing it, and seems to allow their Judgment in the case: But then tells us *that the case abovementioned ought not at all to be supposed, or taken into consideration.* All which plainly grants that if a King do in earnest design the destruction of his Subjects, and get Ministers and Officers to concur with him in it, who are ready to execute his wicked intentions, and against whom the Law yields no Protection, that in such a case the Subjects may desert their Prince, decline his Government and Service, and seek Protection where they can find it.

3. And indeed whoever considers the Discourses that have been written concerning *Non-Resistance*, will find that the reasons given for it, either from the nature of the Thing or Scripture, reach only tolerable Evils, and prove that a Man ought to be patient under pressures laid on him by his Governor when the mischief is not Universal; or if it be Universal, where it is yet tolerable, and not so mischievous in the Consequence as a Civil-War; and I am apt to believe were meant no otherwise by the Authors. Our Homilies press with great force the inconveniencies of such a War, and the Author of *Jovian* designed his 11. Chap. to shew that *Resistance would be a greater mischief than Passive Obedience*; and tells us in the body of the Chapter that *the inconvenience of Resisting the Sovereign would be of ten times worse consequence than it.* Which in the general is true, as it relates to private injuries or the ordinary Male-Administration of Government; but if it be applied to the case of a Governor who designs the destruction of the Laws, Lives and Liberties of his People, and has gotten Ministers to execute his intention; it is a manifest mistake, and is confuted by Examples and Experience in all Ages. If we look back into History we shall find the best, the happiest most prosperous People, most jealous of their Liberty; and while they continued firm in their Resolution of maintaining it against the encroachment of their Governors even with the hazard of their Lives, they have continued great and happy; but no sooner did they degenerate from this Zeal, but they became contemptible and dwindled into nothing: And at this day let us look into the whole World, and we shall find every Nation happy and thriving at home, and easie to their Neighbours abroad, according as they have preserved themselves from Slavery; whereas all Countries under unlimited Monarchies, decay in their strength and improvements; and though they may flourish for a little time by the ruin of their lesser Neighbours, yet they at last unpeople their own Countries, and seem to be permitted by God to come to that exorbitant Power, for their own ruin, and for a plague to Mankind. And indeed, the greatest

mischief of a Civil War is the danger of subjecting the State to the absolute power of some potent General; as it happened in *Rome*, *Florence*, and in *England* in the late Civil-War: For to lose even half the Subjects in a War is more tolerable than the loss of Liberty; since if Liberty and good Laws be preserved, an Age or two will repair the loss of Subjects and Improvements though they be ever so great; but if Liberty be lost it is never to be retrieved but brings certain and infallible Destruction; as it did to *Rome*, and has brought, in a great measure to *Florence*, and will to *England*, if ever the Prerogative do swallow up the Liberties and Privileges of the Subjects. So far it is from truth that the allowing of Resistance in some cases of extremity has greater inconveniencies than absolute Subjection. The Scriptures do indeed command Obedience without expressing any exception; but cases of extream necessity may as reasonably be presumed to be excepted here, as in the command for observation of the Sabbath; which is as positive as any Command for Obedience to Governors: *Thou shalt do no manner of Work* saith the Commandment; and yet it is acknowledged by all to contain a tacit exception for Works of Necessity and Charity; and whoever will consider the Commands for Obedience to Governors, will find room in them for as reasonable an exception from that Obedience, in cases of necessity, as for servile works on the Sabbath Day; (of which our Saviour himself approves:) it being as true that Governors were made for their Kingdoms, as the Sabbath for Man.

4. If then *in some cases* the mischiefs of tamely submitting to the tyranny and usurpation of a Governor, may be worse and have more dangerous and mischievous Consequences to the Common-Wealth, than a War; I suppose it ought to be granted, that where this necessity is *certain and apparent*, people may lawfully resist and defend themselves even by a War, as being the lesser Evil: And then there needs no more to justifie the Protestants of *Ireland*, for their deserting King *James* and accepting their Majesties Protection, than to shew

I. That it is lawful for one Prince or State to interpose between another Prince and his Subjects who uses them cruelly, or endeavours to enslave or destroy them; and to rescue them from his hands even by a War, if other means prove ineffectual; and that it is lawful for the Subjects to accept of such Interposition and Protection, if they can find no better way to preserve themselves.

II. That King *James* designed to destroy and utterly ruin the Protestant Religion, the Liberty and Property of the Subjects in general, the *English* Interest in *Ireland* in particular, and alter the very Frame and Constitution of the Government.

III.

III. That he not only design'd but attempted it with great ſucceſs, and made a conſiderable progreſs in it.

IV. That there remained no other proſpect or human poſſibility of avoiding this Slavery and Deſtruction deſigned againſt the Kingdom and Proteſtants of *Ireland*, but by accepting of the Protection and ſubmitting to the Government of their preſent Majeſties.

If I make theſe particulars manifeſt beyond contradiction, and if the very Conſciences of *Roman* Catholicks cannot but own them to be true, I do not ſee how they can condemn us for what we have done; or what elſe they could have expected from us; except they would have had us held up our Throats till they cut them; which no Man had reaſon to expect from a whole body of People, and they leaſt of all, who deſigned to be actors in it.

CHAP. I.

Shewing, that it is lawful for one Prince to interpoſe between another Prince and his Subjects when he uſes them cruelly, or endeavours to enſlave or deſtroy them.

1. THIS Aſſertion has been made ſo clear in ſeveral Diſcourſes of late, that I ſhall not need inſiſt much on it. A few Arguments will be ſufficient for this place.

2. Firſt, therefore it may be lawful for one Prince to interpoſe between another Prince and his Subjects, becauſe he may have an Intereſt in that People and Government, to defend which Intereſt he may lawfully concern himſelf, and prevent their Ruin by a War. Such an Intereſt is Conſanguinity, Community of Religion, but more eſpecially a Proſpect of Succeſſion in the Government; for in that Caſe, if the People be deſtroyed or weakened, the Inheritance is the worſe, and he is injured in his hopes which often are very valuable. The preſent Poſſeſſor, who is only an Uſufructuary or Tenant for Life, by deſtroying the Inheritance gives a juſt provocation to him who is in Reverſion, to croſs his deſign by oppoſing him by all means that are in his power; and this Argument is the ſtronger, if there be juſt reaſon to ſuſpect that there are any unlawful means uſed to defeat him of his Succeſſion; which alone were ſufficient to juſtifie their preſent Majeſties Interpoſition between the late King and his Subjects.

3. But

3. But ſecondly, the ſame may be lawful, if the Deſtruction of a People by their Prince, be only a ſtep and degree to the deſtruction of a Neighbouring People. In that Caſe there is all the Reaſon in the World, that the Prince and People ſo threatned, ſhould prevent their own Ruin, by timely interpoſing in behalf of their Neighbours, and by forcing their King to deſiſt from his Injuſtice and Violence againſt his own Subjects, thô it coſt a War to compaſs it, if there appear no other means to do it. And this is not only Charity to them, but a point of Prudence which every Prince ows to himſelf. Now if we conſider the State of *Europe* at that time, the growing Power of *France*, and how much the late King was in the *French* Intereſts, it will clearly appear, that the Meaſures he took with his Subjects muſt have been fatal to all *Europe*, eſpecially to the Proteſtant Intereſt, which he almoſt openly declared that he deſigned to deſtroy: And therefore it concerned all *Europe*, more eſpecially *Holland*, who lay nearer to Deſtruction, to interpoſe in time, and nip theſe Deſigns in the beginning, which they and all *Europe* ſaw would have ended in their Deſtruction, as ſoon as the Ruin of the Proteſtants in *England* and *Ireland* was accompliſhed: And the preſent Confederacy ſhews this to be the general Senſe of all the States and Princes in *Europe*, as well of the *Roman* Catholicks, as of the Proteſtants, the Pope himſelf not excepted: ſo that this which has been done to King *James*, is not to be looked on as the ſingle act of their preſent Majeſties, or of the People of *England*, but of all *Europe*, as the only means to oppoſe the intolerable Encroachments of the *French* King and his Faction.

4. Thirdly, the ſame is lawful by the common Rights of Humanity and Charity which are due to the diſtreſſed; If I ſee a Man about to kill or deſtroy another, thô I have no authority over either, or concern with them, yet Humanity obliges me to ſuccour and reſcue the oppreſſed; and thô it be a Son that is thus wronged by his Father, yet while the Father proceeds with Cruelty and apparent Injuſtice, it alters not the Caſe, or makes it any thing more unlawfal for me to afford relief, or for him to deſire and accept it, thô the Father ſhould take it ſo ill as to engage me in a quarrel to the loſs of his life. Much more is it lawful for Princes to interpoſe with a Neighbour-Prince, when they ſee him cruelly and injuſtly oppreſs his Subjects; and there is much more reaſon for thoſe Subjects to deſire and accept of the kind Offers of ſuch a Deliverer, than for a Son to accept it againſt his Father.

5. Fourthly, God ſeems purpoſely to have divided the World into ſeveral Principalities and Dominions, and ballanced them among themſelves,

ſelves, that there might be a Refuge for the oppreſſed and afflicted; and that if one King ſhould turn Tyrant, or endeavour to deſtroy his People, the others might interpoſe and ſtop his Hands; and that the fear of being deſerted by his Subjects in ſuch a Quarrel, might oblige every one to preſerve their Love and Affection by Juſtice and good Government. I have reaſon to believe, that the Primitive Church, and eſpecially S. *Cyprian*, was of this opinion, for they give this Reaſon why the Church was not truſted to one, but to many Biſhops; Said S. *Cyprian*, *Therefore the Body of Biſhops is numerous, that if one be guilty of Hereſie, and diſſipate the Flock, the reſt may interpoſe, and reſcue them out of his Hands.* And ſure the Argument is as ſtrong for the number of Temporal as of Spiritual Governors, and the Neceſſity and Juſtice of their interpoſing with their Neighbour-Princes, when they attempt the Deſtruction of their People, is as great, as of a Biſhops being chaſtiſed and reſtraned by his Fellow Biſhops, when he attempts to introduce Hereſie.

Idcirco enim, frater cariſſime, copioſum corpus eſt Sacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum; ut ſiquis ex collegio noſtro Hæreſim facere & gregem Chriſti lacerare & vaſtare tentaverit, ſubveniant cæteri, & quaſi paſtores utiles & miſericordes, qui oves dominicas in gregem colligant Cypri. Ep. 67. Pamelii.

6. Fifthly, This is agreeable to the Opinion of Chriſtian Civilians and Caſuiſts, for which I deſire the Reader may conſult *Grotius de Jure, &c. lib.* 2. *cap.* 25. *n.* 8. where he tells us, *That if it were granted, that Subjects might not take Arms lawfully, even in the extremeſt neceſſity (which yet,* ſaith he, *I ſee is doubted by thoſe who profeſſedly defend the Power of Kings) it would not follow from thence but others might take Arms in their behalf.* This he proves from Reaſon and Authority; and anſwers the Arguments brought againſt it. See more to the ſame purpoſe, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 20. *S.* 40. where he tells us, *That it is ſo much more honourable to avenge the Injuries done to another than to our ſelves, by how much there is leſs Danger, that the ſenſe of anothers pain ſhould make us exceed in exacting ſuch Revenge, than of our own, or byaſs our Judgment.*

7. Sixthly, The ſame appears to be lawful from the Practice of Chriſtian Princes who are Celebrated in Hiſtories for doing it; this was the Caſe of *Conſtantine* the Great, and the Cauſe of his Quarrel to *Maxentius*, whom for his Tyranny over the *Romans*, *Conſtantine* invaded, and was received as their Deliverer, when he had ſlain him. The Cauſe of his invading *Licinius* his Brother in Law, was of the like nature, againſt whom he commenced a War for his perſecuting the Chriſtians; and after he had overcome him, he was received by the Chriſtians in *Licinius's* room,

room, and celebrated by the Church and Historians of that time, as a most Holy and Generous Champion in the Cause of Christ. When the King of *Persia* persecuted the Christians, the same Prince threatned him with a War, in Case he did not desist; and no doubt but he would have been as good as his Word, if the *Persian* King had not complyed. We may observe the same to have been done in the Cause of the Orthodox against the *Arrians*, by *Constantine* the Younger, Son of *Constantine* the Great; who threatned his eldest Brother *Constantius* with a War, if he did not desist from persecuting the Catholick Bishops, and restore *Athanasius* to his Bishoprick of *Alexandria*: That great and holy Man accepted of this Mediation, and was restored by it; which he would not have done, if he had judged it unlawful. The same was practised by King *Pepin* and *Charles* the Great against the *Lombards*; and by all the Princes of *Europe* in favour of the Christians oppressed by the *Turks* in the holy War. Queen *Elizabeth* did the same for *Holland*: King *James* for the Prince *Palatine*: and King *Charles* the First for *Rochel*; and Bishop *Laud*, who certainly understood the Principles of our Church, encouraged both: and it is one of the greatest Blemishes of the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, that he suffered the *French* King to proceed so far in destroying his Protestant Subjects, without interposing in their Behalf; which if he had effectually done, he had either prevented it, or got an opportunity of rendring his Reign glorious, and his Kingdom safe, by a War, which would in all probability have humbled that Monarch to the advantage of all *Europe*.

Socrates, lib. 2. c. 22.

8. I know nothing that can be objected against this, except it be the peculiar Obligation that lies on us from the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance: which (thô it should be allowed lawful for a Foreign Prince to interpose) would yet make it necessary for us to fight for our own Prince. But to this I answer; 1. That these Oaths were made by us to the King, as Supreme Governor of these Kingdoms, and while he continued such, they did oblige us, but by endeavouring to destroy us, he (as *Grotius* observes) in that very Act *abdicated the Government*; since an intention of Governing cannot consist with an intention of Destroying; and therefore in all equity we are absolved from Oaths made to him as Governor.

That this may not seem a new Doctrine, I would have the Reader observe, that I only transcribe the Learned *Falkner* in his *Christian Loyalty*, l. 1. c. 5. s. 2. n. 19. *Such Attempts*, saith he, *of ruining, do* ipso facto, *include a disclaiming the governing those Persons as Subjects, and consequently of being their Prince or King: and then the Expression of our publick*

publick Declaration and Acknowledgment would ſtill be ſecured, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt the King.

9. But Secondly, No Oath of Allegiance doth oblige any Subject to aſſiſt his Prince in an ill Cauſe. If therefore a King ſhould, againſt the Rules of Juſtice, attempt to deſtroy a Neighbour-Nation, his Subjects, who were convinced of this, ought not to fight for him in ſuch a War; and if they ought not to aſſiſt him to oppoſe Foreigners, much leſs is it lawful for them to aſſiſt him to deſtroy themſelves, or to fight againſt a Prince who comes to reſcue them from Deſtruction intended againſt them; and if no Proteſtant Subjects could lawfully fight for King *James* in his Quarrel againſt their preſent Majeſties, it is manifeſt that he himſelf had thereby voided that Branch of the Oath of Allegiance, of fighting for him, by making the matter of it unlawful; he having brought the Nation into ſuch a Condition, that at the ſame time they defended his Perſon, they muſt enable him to accompliſh his deſtructive Deſigns againſt them; which no Caſuiſt will ſay they were obliged to do: They therefore that urge us with the Obligation of the Oaths of Allegiance, ought either to make it appear, that it was lawful for us to fight for him in an ill Cauſe, or elſe that it was not an ill Cauſe to help him to deſtroy his People. Or, Thirdly, That he had no ſuch Deſign againſt us: none of which I have yet ſeen attempted in any Paper that has appeared in his Defence.

10. But thirdly, As to us particularly in *Ireland*, his late Majeſty King *James* and his Parliament here, by a formal Act, did repeal and make void all former Acts that required the tendering or taking thoſe Oaths; and left not one legal ſtanding Oath in force, whereby we or any other Subjects, beſides Soldiers, were obliged to profeſs Subjection to him; therefore thoſe Oaths being repealed and voided by the King's own expreſs Act, how could he expect that we ſhould look upon our ſelves to be bound or obliged by them? And indeed we muſt conclude from his Majeſty's conſenting to repeal them, either that he deſigned to releaſe us from the peculiar Obligation ariſing from them, as too ſtrict, or elſe that he did not deſign to depend on our Oaths for our Loyalty, and therefore laid them aſide, as of no force to oblige us; either of which muſt proceed from an intention to deſtroy the ancient Government with which he was intruſted; and can ſignifie nothing leſs than that he did not intend to rule us, as his Predeceſſors did, or to depend on thoſe Obligations of Subjection which they judged proper for the Subjects of theſe Kingdoms to give their King; and that as he did not

Acts of the late pretended *Iriſh* Parliament. C. 3.

not intend to keep his Coronation Oath to us, ſo he did not value our Oath of Allegiance to him, having left none that we know of in this Kingdom which any Law obliges us to take.

CHAP. II.

King James *deſigned to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, the Liberty and Property of his Subjects in general, the* Engliſh *Intereſt in particular, and ſo alter the very Frame and Conſtitution of the Government.*

SECT. I.

Shewing the Poſſibility of a King's deſigning the Deſtruction of his Subjects.

1. I Have in the former Chapter ſhewed, that it is lawful for a Prince to interpoſe between another Prince and his Subjects, if he attempt to deſtroy them; I promiſed in the ſecond place to ſhew, that the late King deſigned and endeavoured to deſtroy, and utterly ruin the Proteſtant Religion and *Engliſh* Intereſt in *Ireland*, and to alter the very Frame and Conſtitution of the Government. This I look on as the moſt material point of our Apology, and to need the moſt clear and full proof: For Jealouſies and Fears in ſuch a Caſe ought not to paſs for Arguments, or be brought into Competition with a certain and plain Duty, that is, with obedience to lawful Governors. The Arguments therefore brought by Subjects to prove their Governour's Deſign to deſtroy them in thoſe Intereſts, to preſerve which, is the only Reaſon of Men's deſiring or ſubmitting to Government; ought to be ſo plain and evident, that the Conſcience of Mankind cannot but ſee and be convinced of their Truth; eſpecially the generality of the Subjects themſelves ought to be fully ſatisfied and acquieſce in them.

2. I know 'tis commonly objected, *Who ſhall be Judge?* And for this Reaſon alone ſome conclude it can never be lawful to make any oppoſition againſt a Governor, or to ſide with a Deliverer that comes only to reſcue miſerable Subjects; but I anſwer, there are ſome Caſes ſo plain, that they need no Judge at all: every Man muſt be left to judge for himſelf; and for his Integrity he muſt be anſwerable to God and his own Conſcience. Matters of Fact are often of this Nature, and

I take this to be one of them; for either the People muſt be left to judge of the Deſigns of their Governor by what they ſee and feel from him, or elſe they muſt be obliged to a blind and abſolute Submiſſion, without employing their Underſtanding in the Caſe. And I dare appeal to all the World whether it be ſafer to leave it to the Judgments and Conſciences of a whole Kingdom to determine concerning the Deſigns of their Governor, or to leave it to the Will and Conſcience of the King, whether he will deſtroy them. One of theſe is unavoidable; and I am aſſured it is leſs probable, that the Generality of a Kingdom will concur in a Miſtake of this Nature, and leſs miſchievous if they ſhould miſtake, than that a King by Weakneſs, wicked Councellors, or falſe Principles, ſhould deſign to make his People Slaves, ſubvert the ancient Government, or deſtroy one part of his People, whom he hates, in favour of another.

3. That a Prince may deſign to deſtroy his Subjects (tho' the Aſſertors of Abſolute Paſſive Obedience would make it an incredible Thing) is ſo far from being impoſſible, that it is very common, of which there are ſo many Examples, both ancient and modern, that it is a wonder, that Men, who know any thing of Hiſtory, ſhould overlook them. *Nero*, *Caligula*, *Domitian*, *Maximinus*, *Heliogabalus*, *Commodus*, not only endeavoured, but profeſſed it; and ſome of them were mightily concerned, that it was not in their power to accompliſh it. No longer ago than the time of *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, we have an Example of a Chriſtian King no better than thoſe Heathens. Whoever reads the Story of his dealing with the *Low Countries*, muſt confeſs, that he deſign'd the utter Deſtruction of the Laws and Liberties of thoſe People; and that in particular he was reſolved, that not one Proteſtant ſhould be left alive amongſt them. The ſame has been deſigned and effected in a great meaſure by the preſent *French* King againſt his Proteſtant Subjects, and he muſt have a great ſhare either of Impudence or Stupidity, that can deny this Prince to have deſigned and purpoſely contrived that Deſtruction; and by the ſame Rule that a Man can be ſo wicked and barbarous as to deſign the ſtruction of a third or fourth part of his People, he may deſign the deſtruction of the greater part, if they will be ſuch Fools as to ſuffer him to effect it.

SECT. II.

Shewing from the Obligations of his Religion, that King James *designed to Destroy us.*

IT is easie to demonstrate that every *Roman* Catholick King, if he throughly understand his Religion, and do in earnest believe the Principles of it, is obliged, if he be able, to destroy his Protestant Subjects; and that nothing can excuse him from doing it but want of power. This is plain from the third Chapter of the fourth *Lateran* Council, and from the Council of *Constance* in the Bull that confirms it, read in the 45. Session: If therefore a Popish King can persuade his Protestant Subjects to submit to him whilst he doth it, he is obliged by his Principles to destroy them, even when they are the greater part and Body of his Subjects. Now King *James* was (as is known to all the World) a most zealous *Roman* Catholick, and ingaged with that party of them, that most zealously assert and practise this Doctrine of rooting out Hereticks. He gave himself up intirely to the Conduct and guidance of Jesuits, these were the Governors and Directors of his Conscience, and he seemed to have no other Sentiments than such as they inspired into him. If then these have prevailed with the *French* King (whom some report to be a merciful Man in his own Nature, and certainly a mighty Zealot for his Honour) to break his most solemn established Laws, violate his repeated Declarations and Oaths, and in spite of all these, to persecute and destroy his Protestant Subjects: If the same have prevailed with the Duke of *Savoy* to do the like, though as he is now convinced, manifestly against his Interest, nay almost to his own Destruction, having lost thereby his best and most resolute and useful Subjects, who would have served him most Cordially against *France*, the Enemy he ought most to dread, and which one day will swallow up his Dukedom, if his Allies do not prevent it. If, lastly, they have prevailed with the Emperor to involve himself in a War, that has now lasted about twenty Years, and almost lost him his Empire, rather than suffer a few Protestants to live quietly in *Hungary*; Is not our late Kings being of the same Principles, and under the Government of the same Directors of Conscience; Is not his fondness of *France*, and

Pro defensione fidei præstant juramentum quod de terris suæ jurisdictioni Subjectis, universos hæreticos ab ecclesia denotatos, bona fide pro viribus exterminare studebunt. Conc. Later. IV. cap. 3. Concil. Constantiens. Sess. 45. Bull. Mart. *De erroribus* Johan. Wickleff.

and his Alliance with it, his affecting to imitate that King in every thing, and above all his profecuting the ſame, if not worſe methods towards the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, that the King of *France* did with the Hugonits in his Dominions, a clear and full proof of both Kings being in the ſame deſign, to root out not only the Proteſtants of theſe Kingdoms, but likewiſe of all *Europe*? And that we muſt all have expected the ſame uſage our Brethren met with in *France*.

Nor could our Kings Promiſes and Engagements be any greater aſſurances to us than thoſe of the *French* King were to his Subjects. It is obſervable that King *James* was more than ordinarily liberal in his Promiſes and Declarations of favour towards Proteſtants. He boaſted in a Declaration ſent to *England*, and diſperſed by his Friends there, dated *May* 8. 1689. at *Dublin*, That his *Proteſtant Subjects, their Religion, Privileges and Properties were his eſpecial care ſince he came into* Ireland. He often profeſſed that he made no diſtinction between them and *Roman* Catholicks, and both he here, and his Party there, did much extol his kind dealings with his Proteſtants in *Ireland*. What thoſe dealings truly were I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew: The repreſentation of them made in *England* by him and his Party was no leſs falſe than his Promiſes were unſincere; it being plain he had a reſerve in them all. It is a maxim, as I take it, in Law, that if the King be deceived in his Grant, though it paſs the Great Seal, yet it is void: Much more muſt all his verbal Promiſes be void if he be deceived in them. Now if we conſider who were the Directors of the Kings Conſcience, we ought not to wonder that he made no great ſcruple to evade them: Doctor *Cartwright*, one of his Inſtruments, gives us a right notion of King *James*'s Promiſes in his Sermon at *Rippon*, where in effect he tells us that the Kings Promiſes are Donatives, and ought not to be too ſtrictly examined or urged, and that we muſt leave his Majeſty to explain his own meaning in them; this Gloſs pleaſed King *James* ſo well that he rewarded the Author with the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, though very unfit for that Character; and ſhewed in all his Actions that he meant to proceed accordingly: And the humour run through the whole party; whenever they were at a pinch, and under a neceſſity of ſerving themſelves by the aſſiſtance or credulity of Proteſtants, they promiſed them fair, and ſtuck at no terms with them; but when their turn was ſerved, they would not allow us to mention their promiſe, much leſs to challenge the performance.

2. It plainly appeared that it was not in King *James*'s power if he had been diſpoſed himſelf, to perform his promiſes to us. The Prieſts told us that they would have our Churches, and our Tyths, and that

the

the King had nothing to do with them, and they were as good as their words; nor could his Majesty upon trial hinder them. One Mr. *Moore* preached before the King in Christs Church in the beginning of the year 1690. his Sermon gave great offence: he told his Majesty that he did not do justice to the Church and Churchmen; and amongst other things said that *Kings ought to consult Clergymen in their temporal affairs, the Clergy having a temporal as well as a spiritual right in the Kingdom; but Kings had nothing to do with the managing of spiritual affairs, but were to obey the Orders of the Church.* It is true King *James* highly resented this, and the Preacher was banished, or voluntarily withdrew from Court; but in this he spake the general sense of the Clergy, indeed of the *Roman* Church, to which the King had given himself up, and must be forced to submit to it at last. The Kings Promises therefore or his Laws, could signifie nothing towards the securing us, except he could get the *Roman* Church to join in them, and become a party to them; for whilst the Governours of that Church challenge the whole management of spiritual things, and King *James* owned their power so far that he consented to abolish the Oath of Supremacy that denies it, for him to promise safety and liberty to Hereticks, and make Laws about the worship of God, and Liberty of Conscience, is clearly according to their Doctrine, to give away what is not his own, and dispose the rights of another without consulting the party interested; and according to all Casuists, such promises are void; they that speak most favourably of the Council of *Constance*, which is supposed to determine that no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks, make this Apology for the Council. The Emperor *Sigismond* granted, without consulting the Council, a safe conduct to *Jerome* of *Prague*; the Council condemned him for Heresie, and ordered him to be burnt: The Emperor interpos'd to justifie his safe conduct, but the Council answered that he was not obliged to make it good to the Heretick, because it was not in the Emperor to grant a safe conduct to secure a Man against the Justice of the Council, without consulting it; this is the most favourable representation I have met with of this matter; and even thus it is a sufficient caution for all Protestants not to trust Kings or Princes of the *Roman* Communion, in matters that relate to the Church or Religion, without the express consent of that Church or Religion, without the express consent of that Church; if they do, it is at their own peril, and they cannot blame those Princes when they fail in their Promises, for they had sufficient warning not to trust them, since they engage for a thing that according to their own confession is not in their power, but is avowedly the right of another.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The same proved from the Professions of that whole Party, who were most privy to King James's *Counsels.*

THE second Argument whence it appears that the King designed utterly to destroy and ruin his Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, is from the Oaths, Professions, and Affirmations of those who were his Confidents and Instruments used by him to bring it to pass. From the very beginning of the *French* Persecution; the Papists of *Ireland* began to shew their fondness of that Monarch, and as their love to him commenced with that Persecution: so it increased in proportion to his barbarity; and they could never speak of it without Passion and Transport; but after his late Majesty came to the Crown, they openly declared that they liked no Government but that of *France*! That they would make the King as absolute here as that King was there; they affirmed both publickly and privately with many Oaths, that they would in a short time have our Estates and Churches; that if they suffered us to live, they would make us *hewers of wood and drawers of water*: That *Ireland* must be a Catholick Country whatever it cost, and as for the *English*, they would make them as *poor devils* as when they came first into *Ireland*. And they assured us that this was no rash surmise of their own, but that it was premeditated and resolved, and that we should quickly find it by the effects; of which they were so confident (though we could not believe them) that some of the most serious amongst them advised their Protestant Friends in private, with all earnestness to change their Religion; for said they you will be forced to do it at length, and if you delay but a little time, it will be too late, and perhaps you may not be accepted; for no Protestant must expect to injoy any thing in this Kingdom; and we resolve to reduce all things to the state they were in under *Henry* VII. before *Poinings* Act.

In answer to this we told them that the Laws were on our side, and the King had promised to Govern according to Law, and to protect our Church and Liberties; but they laught at our Credulity, pisht at the Laws as mere Trifles, and unanimously declared that the Kings Promises to maintain the Government in Church and State, were intended only for *England*, and were not meant to reach us; and withal intimated, that the same would be done in *England*, though not so soon; for the truth of all which I may refer my self to almost as many Protestants as

were

were then in *Ireland*, there being few but were Witnesses of such Discourses: And the Kings Conduct towards us was such as left no room for us to doubt but that these People knew his mind, and that all his Promises and Declarations in our favour, were perfectly copied from the *French* Kings Declarations to preserve the Edict of *Nants*, and of as little Sincerity; and that notwithstanding these he had as fully determined our ruin as that King had resolved the avoiding the Edict of *Nants*, when he made his solemn Declarations to the contrary.

SECT. IV.

The same destructive designs against his Subjects, proved from the Qualifications of the Officers employed by King James.

1. THIS destructive design appears in the third Place, from the Persons he Employed in all Offices of Trust or Power. It is well known to the World, and to many thousands yet alive, that in the year 1641. there was a most bloody Massacre committed in this Kingdom on the Protestants, by their Neighbours the Papists; in which some hundred thousands perished; and that not one Protestant whom they spared, escaped without being robbed and plundered of all he had, if not stripped and turned out naked to the extremities of Cold and a desolate Country: And to such a degree of madness they proceeded, that they destroyed the Houses, Buildings, Churches and Improvements of the Kingdom, out of their malice and inveteracy to the Protestants, the Founders of them: But these Barbarians at last were by the Protestants subdued, and brought to submit to mercy: After which Conquest the Conquerors in the Year 1660. joyned (indeed were more forward than the People of *England*) in bringing home King *Charles* II. and generously gave up themselves, together with the Kingdom of *Ireland* without Articles or Conditions into his Hands. The King in recompence of so signal a Service, and to reprise the Conquerors for their Blood, Treasure, and Losses, gave them back a part of what they had given him; but withal restored the Conquered under certain qualifications, to another part of the forfeited Lands; who though restored by the Kings mere bounty, yet retained in them, the same Principles of Popery that at first stirred them up to Rebellion, and to Massacre their fellow Subjects; and having besides this, their old hatred to the *English* new edged and heated by seeing the Conquerors possest of the Estates which they themselves by their Rebellion and Cruelty had lost; they from time to time let us see their

hopes

hopes and wishes of Revenge; to which the favour they found at the *English* Court under the shelter of the late Queen Mother, and the prospect of the Duke of *Yorks*'s coming to the Crown, gave foundation and encouragement. Neither could they hide their resentments so as to prevent a just fear and jealousie of them in the Protestants, who had so lately, and in so signal a manner suffered by them, in all their dearest Interests: Yet these were the Persons whom King *James* chose for his Ministers and Officers, with whom he resolved to trust the Employments, the strong Holds, the Arms, and Justice of the Nation: A thing so extravagant, that we challenge any one to shew a parallel case in any History. No body would ever have taken the Arms and Courts of Justice out of the Conquerors hands, and put them into the Hands of the Conquered, exasperated by the loss of their Honours, Liberties and Estates, except he had a mind they should revenge themselves, and recover all that they had lost before; and they had been manifestly wanting to their own Interest, if they had slipt this opportunity. If they hated us so much in 1641. that without provocation, and whilst in possession of their Estates they rose as one Man, and attempted to destroy us; if they were so set on it, that they ventured to do it it without Arms, Discipline, or Authority on their side, and where the hazard was so great, that it was ten to one if they succeeded, what could we expect they should do now, when provok'd to the heighth by the loss of their Estates, when Armed, Disciplined, and entrusted with all the Places of Strength, Power, and Profit in the Kingdom? This alone is a Demonstration that the King who thus put us in the power of our inveterate and exasperated Enemies, either was extremely mistaken in his Measures, or designed our destruction: I am sure we must have been destroyed if God had not prevented it almost by a Miracle.

2. It is a Maxim in our Law that the King can do no Wrong; because he executeth nothing in his own person, but has Officers appointed by Law to execute his Commands, who are obliged not to obey him if he command any thing that is illegal: If any Officer obey him in such unlawful Commands it is at his own peril, and he is accountable for it; the Kings Command being no excuse or protection to any Man for his doing an illegal thing. Whilst therefore the King Employs only persons amenable to the Laws, that have a value for their Honor, for the Liberty of their Country, and the Publick Good, and have Estates to answer for what wrong they do to the Subjects in executing their Offices, there is no great danger of his doing much harm to his People, though his intentions were ever so mischievous against them;

it being the great security of the Subjects, and restraint on the Officers of the King, that they cannot do any wrong, but the injured person has his remedy against them by Law.

3. This I remember is all the Humane security Doctor *Hicks* in his *Jovian* allows us to preserve our Liberties, &c. against a tyrannous King. And he supposes it so effectual a bar to all attempts of this Nature, that he pronounces it impossible for our King to turn Tyrant. But the event has sufficiently confuted his surmise, and shewn not only the possibility, but the actual performance of what he supposes impossible. For King *James* made it his business to find out and actually pitched on a Set of Officers and Instruments, that (as he expresses it in one of his Declarations) would obey him *without reserve*: against whom the Current of the Law was stopt, and who were in no condition to make amends for the mischiefs they did; all which will appear if I make out,

Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in *Scotland*.

1. That they were Men of little or no Fortunes. 2. Unable and unsufficient to discharge the Offices committed to their Trust. 3. That many of them were Men of such loose Principles and Morals, that they could not be supposed to stick at any wickedness which was for their Interest. 4. That their Inclination and Genius led them to destroy the Laws, Liberty, and Religion of the Kingdom. 5. That most of them were unqualified by Law for the Offices into which they were placed, and therefore could not be supposed to study the preservation of those Laws, in defiance of which they acted. Now if it appears that these were the qualifications of most of King *James*'s Officers and Instruments in *Ireland*, I suppose it will be a further Demonstration of his Intentions, and of what we were to expect from him.

SECT. V.

I. *That the Officers employed by King* James *were Men generally of little or no Fortune.*

1. I Suppose the true Reason why one Man is allowed to possess a greater Estate in a Common-Wealth than another, and to maintain himself by the Labor of other People, is, that he may be at leisure to attend the Publick Business of his Country; and that having such a considerable Stock in the common Bottom, he may be the more careful to preserve it from sinking. Out of such Men therefore of Fortune and

Interest, every wise and well designing King will supply himself with Officers. For their Interest will help to support him, and will posture his Commands to Obedience; and their Fortunes will secure the Subjects from being injured by them, their Estates being Pawns to the Publick for their good Behaviour, and Reprisals to those they have injured. But for this very Reason King *James* generally employed Men of little or no Fortunes, and very often the Scum and Rascality of the World. This made him so fond of the *Irish*, who had lost their Estates, who depended wholly on him, and had no other possibility of subsisting, but by espousing his Interest, and serving him *without reserve*. I cannot blame them for being ready to embrace the Offer, but it was certainly very impolitickly done, or an indication of an ill Design in him to employ and espouse Men of such ruined and broken Fortunes. See *Appendix*. I have put into the Appendix a List of the Civil Officers, of the Collonels and Lieutenant-Collonels of his Regiments, and of the principal Persons that he brought along with him from *France*, so far as I could gather them up; and it will appear upon view, that very few of them were Men of clear Estates, and most had no pretence to any at all. The Sheriffs and Deputy-Lieutenants of Counties were generally poor and mean People: Many of them had been Servants in the meanest condition to Protestants; who if they injured any Body in their Employments, had not Estate enough to answer the Charges of a Suit, much less the Damages expected by way of Reparation.

2. After the Earl of *Tyrconnel* had named his Sheriffs of this stamp for the year 1687, it will hardly be found that any Protestant recovered any Debt by Execution. The main Reason of this was the Poverty of Sheriffs, which made Men unwilling to trust the Execution of a Bond for twenty pounds into their Hands, they not being responsible even for such a small Summ; as too many found to their cost. The Mayors and other Magistrates in their new modelled Corporations, were generally of the same sort. In *Dublin* they could not pick up Men enough that had the face to appear as Burgesses; and some of those that they named had not Mony to buy themselves Gowns. I think their number was never complete. It was yet worse in the Country Corporations; in many places they were not able to pay the Attorney General's Fees, which stopped their new Charters, till the calling a Parliament necessitated him to pass them *gratis*. As to the inferior Officers of the Army, such as Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns, some hundreds of them had been Cow-herds, Horse-boys or Footmen, and perhaps these were none of their worst Men; for by reason of their Education amongst

Protestants, they had seen and understood more than those who had lived wild on the Mountains.

3. It is observable, that the Men of clear Estates who followed his late Majesty from *England* through *France*, as they were but very few, so they had but little Interest with him: Of which Duke *Ormis* was one Instance, and Lord *Dover* another. Duke *Ormis* made the Protestants believe, and perhaps he was sincere in it, that he was much against the Proceedings of the pretended Parliament; and used his Interest with the King to gain Hopes to them, but was not able to do it. Lord *Dover* was actually dismissed from all his Employments, and ready to leave the Kingdom, some time before the Alteration happened by the Victory at the *Boyn*. Now King *James*'s Aversion to employ or trust Men of Estates and Fortunes, and the reason of his Fondness of such Creatures as had no Being but what he gave them, was obvious enough to us that felt it, and they themselves did not deny it; nay, boasted of it as a great instance of his Wisdom. He knew these could never thrive, but by making him absolute; that they would never demur at any Command, or enquire for any other Law than his Will; that they were out of all fear of being questioned afterwards, or of having their Estates forfeited, or Families beggar'd; all which are great Restraints on Men of Estates and Honour.

4. And surely, there cannot be a fuller Demonstration of a Prince's Design to lay aside the Laws, and to rule by force without controul, than his puting out Men of Substance, and employing Men of broken and desperate Fortunes in Places of Trust and Honour; who having nothing else to depend upon but the Prince's Pleasure, must be absolute Slaves to it, and yield a blind Obedience to all that is given them in Commission. This is the Misery of a People when Servants rule over them. And this was the Reason King *James* employed rather such than any others. And it was impossible the Grand Segnior should have fitted himself better with Instruments for promoting an arbitrary Government than he did.

SECT. VI.

II. *The Insufficiencies of the Persons employed by King* James, *was of mischievous Consequence to the Kingdom.*

1. THE Poverty and Meanness of the Men was not their worst Fault. It is possible that a poor Man may be both honest and able for the

the greatest Trust. But the Officers employed by King *James* were such, that tho they had been very honest, and willing to do Justice, they yet must have done much Mischief by their Unskilfulness, and Insufficiency for the Offices with which he intrusted them. It was both King *James*'s Misfortune, and his Subjects, that he employed very few of sober Sense and Experience about him; whether it was that he could not get Men of Sense to go through with him, in all things that he would have had done, or whether it proceeded from the Servility observable in dull People, whereby they flatter and gain on Princes. Or lastly, from a humour incident to great Men, which makes them unwilling to have Servants able to pry into their Designs. But however it was, it was remarkable in King *James*, that dull heavy Men kept his Favour longer, and more steadily, than Men of Sense and Parts; and he generally chose out the most unfit and most uncapable for Preferments. It is plain, that even in *England* he designed the Army should be supplied with *Irish*; and this Project went farther than the Army; he was filling the Burroughs and Coporations with them also; and no Body knew where the humour would have stopped. Now if there had been nothing else, their being kept out of all Employments and Trusts by the Laws for many Years past, must have incapacitated them (and all Roman Catholicks) for managing the Affairs of the Kingdom to advantage; they neither had fit Education, nor had they applied their Minds to the Management of such Affairs: They were absolute Strangers to every thing that concerned the Publick; and then no wonder that they went awkwardly and untowardly about Business. How was it conceivable, that they should escape signal and mischievous Errors in the Discharge of Offices to which they had never been bred up, and of which they never thought till they were put to manage them? And yet this they were constrained to do without the Aid or Assistance of any to help them, and that under the most difficult Circumstances; for the former Officers looked on their Offices as their Freeholds, and conceived a great Resentment against such as had turned them out of them against Law and Justice; and therefore left them as intricate, and their Successors as little Information as they could; who according to the Nature of ignorant Men, were too proud to ask assistance from the others, if those had been willing to afford them instruction.

2. It is not imaginable how many inconveniencies happened on this Account; nothing was done by any Rule or Method: The Subjects were every day oppressed, and the Officers made themselves ridiculous by their Blunders and Mistakes; every Body was petitioning by rea-

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son of these Grievances, and no Body knew how to redress them. None of the new Officers understood his own Business, or how to distinguish his Province from another Man's. The knavish part of Offices, in putting Tricks on People, and getting Money, were all the Study of the new employed Gentlemen. The real and substantial parts of the Offices for which they were instituted, and designed, were little known, and less minded; nor could it be expected to be otherwise. Could any Imagine, for Example, that Chancellor *Fitton*, that had lain in Prison many Years, and not appeared in any Court, a Stranger to the Kingdom, to the Laws, and to the Practice and Rules of Court, and withal a Man of a heavy and slow Understanding, should on a sudden be able to dispatch the Business of the highest Court in the Kingdom, and penetrate into the most intricate Causes, which are commonly determined in that Court? He was so far from this, that he was forced to make many needless References to the Masters, in Causes that had no difficulty in them. This was the general way of his dispatching Causes. And then what Report could be expected from Mr. *Stafford*, one of these Masters, a Popish Priest, noted and exposed by his own Party for want of Sense; and who perhaps had never been within the Courts, till he sate down as one of the Masters of the *Chancery*; or from the other Masters, who were yet more ignorant and unexperienced (if possible) than he.

3. If we take a view of the Country, we shall find their Case rather worse. One that a few days before was no other than a Cowherd to his Protestant Landlord, perhaps was set before him on the Bench as a Justice of the Peace; and preferred to command as Captain in the Field, or Deputy Lieutenant in the County. I am assured, that some were thus preferred, without passing through any intermediate steps, to prepare or fit themselves for the better Discharge of those Places. The consequence of which is easie to be imagined: Every one that is acquainted with Business and Dispatch, knows what a Torment it is to have to do with raw and unexperienced Officers, who must be taught by him, that comes to have his Business done, how they should go about it; and, which is often hardest to do, he must convince them that they are mistaken, or do not understand their own Offices, which, such Men are most unwillingly brought to own; and yet no Business can be rightly done, till they are convinced of it. This was the condition of all the Offices in *Ireland*, from the King's Privy Council and Secretaries of State to the High Constables; which, without any other Defect, must and did bring many Inconveniencies to the Kingdom.

4. But

4. But after all, if none but Men of ordinary parts, and tolerable natural sagacity, had been employed, tho' unexperienced and uneducated, time might have taught them, and made them at least tolerable, if not dexterous at their Business: But the generality of those who were preferred, had such weak Understandings, and unimprovable Capacities, that they who were superseded by them could not reflect on it without the greatest indignation, to see Men, not much removed from Idiots, put into their Places and Offices, which they had bought with their Money, and had taken considerable pains, and spent a good part of their Lives to qualifie themselves to execute; whereas those that succeeded them, had nothing of Improvement or Education; and withal were so proud, and lazy, and dull, that they neither would, nor could, make themselves better, by Application or Industry, who had nothing to recommend them to the King, but that they were Papists, and such as he believed would never scruple any Command however illegal or absurd, so it tended to weaken or destroy Protestants, which was the sole Qualification that recommended them.

SECT. VII.

III. *King* James *had gotten a Sett of Officers fitted to destroy a Kingdom, by reason of their loose Principles, and want of Moral Honesty.*

1. THE Instruments King *James* used to carry on his Design, were not only very poor and insufficient for their Places, but they were likewise Men fit to be employed in ill Designs; and it is hardly credible how rare it was to find amongst them a Man that had ordinary Moral Honesty. It is true, they seemed to make Conscience of hearing Mass, and not Eating Flesh on Fridays, but hardly of anything else. To have been always reckoned a Knave, was no Exception, or Bar to any Man's Preferment amongst them: They declared they must make use of such. Those that were infamous whilst the Government was in the Hands of Protestants, for Forgeries, Perjuries, Robberies and Burglaries, were all indifferently employed by them. That some such should be admitted into the Army, is not so much to be wondered at; but that honest Gentlemen should be turned out to make room for them, was intolerable; and yet here not only the Army, but even the Courts of Justice were filled with such. One of the new Examinators of the

Chancery

Chancery was formerly detected of a Forgery. Several of their Burgeſſes, nay, Sheriffs, were notorious Thieves, and ſome burnt in the Hand. The Speech of one of their new Juſtices of the Peace gave ſome Diverſion; it was one Mr. *Stafford*, for whom the Maſter of Chancery, his Son, had procured a Commiſſion of the Peace: It was ſoon after the Earl of *Tyrconnel* came over Governor; and it fell to the new Juſtice's turn to give the Charge at the Quarter-Seſſions; in which he ſet forth, as well as he could, the Happineſs of the Kingdom under the new Government; *Amongſt other Conveniencies that we reap by it*, ſaid he, *it has rid us of Tories; for all thoſe are taken into the King's Army.* And the Truth was, many of theſe, that had been indicted, out-lawed, nay, condemned, got Commiſſions. The famous Tories the *Brannans*, who had been guilty not only of Burglary and Robbery, but of Murther alſo, who were under Sentence of Death, and had eſcaped it, by breaking Goal, were made, amongſt the reſt, Officers: And the Earl of *Tyrconnel* ſeemed to bear a peculiar favour to theſe Tories, and a ſpite to ſuch as had been diligent to ſuppreſs them. There was a famous Tory in *Munſter*, one *Power*, who did abundance of Miſchief, and diſturbed the whole Country: Mr. *Fitz-Simons*, a Gentleman of the Army, had rid the Country of him; by which Piece of Service he deſerved very well; but inſtead of being rewarded, he was one of the firſt Proteſtant Officers that was caſhiered. There was another notable Tory, one *Flemming*, that was very troubleſome and miſchievous in *Leinſter*, ſome Troopers by their diligence, ſurprized him, and cut him off; it was obſerved, that the Earl call'd out thoſe Troopers firſt, and caſhiered them, ſome conſiderable time before he turned out the reſt of the Troop; which every Body interpreted to be a Mark of his Diſpleaſure for that Service. I have heard it obſerved, that there were at leaſt twenty noted Tories, Officers in one Regiment, and very few Regiments were without ſome.

2. There was another ſort of People had mighty favour with them; I mean Converts to their Religion. A Man may, I confeſs, upon juſt motives, or ſuch as ſeem juſt to him, change his Opinion and Religion, and cannot juſtly be condemned of Diſhoneſty for ſo doing; but he is certainly a very diſhoneſt Man that diſſembles or alters his Opinion, without any other viſible motive beſides Gain or Preferment. Now this was the Caſe of many of their Officers. Several of the Children of the Papiſts of the Kingdom had formerly been taken up, and bred by Proteſtants, ſome in one ſtation, and ſome in another; they commonly were taught to read and write, and many of them by the kindneſs of their Maſters were preferred; ſome became Counſellors at Law, ſome Attornies,

Attornies, some Clerks; others continued menial Servants and Footmen. Upon the Change of Affairs, most of these began to despise their Benefactors or Masters, and to count themselves better than those who had educated and taught them; and in order to get Preferments, altered their Religion, in which their Masters, with much care, had instructed them; and declared, that in their Hearts they had been all along *Roman* Catholicks. Above one hundred Footmen, on these Declarations, were advanced to be Captains. Whereas their living so long in the profession of the Protestant Religion, if they did not believe it, was to all honest Men an Argument of so great Hypocrisie, that the Person guilty of it (one would think) should not have been trusted by any that valued either Truth or Honesty; but if this Declaration was only feigned, as I am apt to believe it was in many, then their Conversion was an effect of Covetousness, or Ambition, and an Act of Hypocrisie to be abhored by all good Men. However, to perswade the World that they were real, they were very severe and mischievous to Protestants in general, especially to those that had been kind to them, whilst in an inferior condition. And it was observable of these Converts, that they immediately on their Reconcilement, made themselves signal by some eminently wicked Act. Thus the Earl of *Clancarty* soon after his being reconciled murthered a Butcher at *Mayallo*, by tossing him in a Blanket. Captain *Nangle* after his, murthered one *Kelly* in the Street. Lieutenant *Mac Gennis* murthered Captain *Hamilton*. Sir *Maurice Eustace* murthered (I think) two upon his Conversion. One *Warren* murthered one *Wilton*. Captain *Waller* murthered a Player, one *Blackbourn*. Captain *Maurice* murthered a poor Piper, and was made High Sheriff of the *Queens County*. Sir *Gregory Birn* turned, in order to carry a Suit at Law against Captain *Fitz Gerald*, which he is supposed to have carried by very indirect means, as most that heard the Tryal believed, it being strongly surmised by them, that he had subborned Witnesses, and corrupted the Sheriff to pack a Jury. Captain *Callahan* was content to introduce his Conversion, by affronting the Judge at *Waterford*, breaking open a House, and beating the Cryer of the Court to the hazard of his Life. In short, their Converts, both Men and Women, became infamous, by very notorious Wickednesses: The Men by Murthering, Forgery, Perjury, Robbery, Swearing and Cursing: And the Women by Lewdness, and prostituting themselves; yet those of both Sexes were cherished and encouraged amongst them; and for being Converts were in special request, and next in the way to preferment.

3. Laſtly, It was remarkable amongſt them all, Converts and others, that they were very uncharitable, and void of all compaſſion. They turned vaſt numbers of Proteſtants out of their Houſes, and left them no other way of ſubſiſting but begging; and yet we rarely found, that any of them gave a Farthing to the moſt neceſſitous Proteſtant Beggar: They did not look on themſelves, at leaſt, did not act, as if they had owed Faith, Truth, Juſtice or Civility to any Proteſtant. They affronted, abuſed, betrayed and impriſoned every Body that would not be as wicked and as irreligious as themſelves. They often drank Damnation and Confuſion to all Hereticks, eſpecially to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*; and not content with this, if any Proteſtant chanced to be in company, they would endeavour to force it on him, and abuſed or impriſoned him for his refuſal.

4. When they came to put in for Poſſeſſions of their ancient Eſtates, it was frequently obſerved, that ſeveral put in for the ſame Eſtate, and pretended to be the Sons or Deſcendents of the Proprietors; inſomuch that four or five Affidavits, point blank contrary to one another, have been produced in Chancery at the ſame time; the Chancellor was a little at a loſs what to do, till a Proteſtant Lawyer told him there was a Survey taken of the Kingdom, in which twelve Men upon their Oaths had returned who was Proprietor of each parcel of Land in 1641. This he found to be a more certain Rule, than a thouſand Affidavits; ſo little value had the King's Courts, and his Popiſh Chancellor for the Oaths of thoſe perſons whom King *James* choſe to employ and cheriſh inſtead of Proteſtants. The Truth is, they were People that made no diſtinction between Right and Wrong, but as they ſerved their Intereſt, and therefore he choſe them purpoſely to deſtroy the Liberties and Laws of the Kingdom in general, and the Proteſtants in particular: And no Body can deny but they were well choſen for the Work for which he deſigned them, and unfit for any elſe.

SECT. VIII.

IV. *King* James's *Officers were of ſuch a Genius and Inclination, as led them to deſtroy the Laws, Liberties and Religion of the Kingdom.*

1. WHoever will be at the pains to look back on the State of *Ireland*, before it was Conquered by the *Engliſh*, will find, that the

the Heads of Septs were abſolute over their Tenants; their Wills paſſed for Laws, and all their Proceedings were merely arbitrary and deſpotick. This was the ancient Conſtitution of *Ireland*, and the *Engliſh* who came over at firſt, had, by their Converſation with the *Iriſh*, learn'd much of their Manners: They made their Tenants Vaſſals and Slaves, as much as the *Iriſh* had been to their Chiefs; except in the *Engliſh* Pale (which was a Scope of Ground that reached about twenty Miles from *Dublin*) and even in ſome Places there, the Tenures of the Country Farmers were exactly that which the Law of *England*, calls Villanage; the Tenant having nothing he could properly call his own. Whatever the Landlord had occaſion for, he ſent to his Tenants Houſe, and cauſed it to be brought to him without conſideration or allowance; or if he pleaſed, he went to the Tenant's Houſe with his Retinue, and there ſtaid as long as he thought fit, eating and drinking, and uſing every thing the Tenant had as his own. This Practice was called *Coſhering*, and ſeveral Laws have been made againſt it.

2. The old Landlords that had not forfeited their Eſtates in 1641, ſtill kept up this way of dealing with their Tenants, tho' ſecretly; and were ſo burthenſome to them by their Exactions and *Coſherings*, that the Tenants were miſerable and poor, and their Eſtates unimproved; whereas the *Engliſh*, and thoſe that had *Engliſh* Education, and took to their manner of Living, were content with their Rents from their Tenants; who by that means were able to live well, grow rich, and improve their Farms. The native *Iriſh*, who happened to fall under a Proteſtant Landlord, would hardly ever after be perſwaded to come under one of his own Religion; a little Experience ſufficiently ſhewing unto him the difference between a Landlord who required no more than his Due, and the old petty Tyrants, that claimed not only a Right to all his Tenant's Subſtance, but likewiſe a power over his Life.

3. But many of the old Landlords loſt their Eſtates by Out-lawries and Attainders, for their Rebellion in the Year 1641. and for their murthering the Proteſtants at that time. Many of them had ſold their Eſtates, and ſome had mortgaged them for more than their value two or three times to ſeveral Perſons; a Practice very common in *Ireland*; but it is obſervable, that it is the humour of theſe People to count an Eſtate their own ſtill, thô they have ſold it on the moſt valuable Conſiderations, or have been turned out of it by the moſt regular Proceedings of Juſtice; ſo that they reckon every Eſtate theirs, that either

they or their Anceſtors had at any time in their Poſſeſſion, no matter how many Years ago. And by their pretended Title and Gentility, they have ſuch an influence on the poor Tennants of their own Nation and Religion, who live on thoſe Lands, that theſe Tenants look on them ſtill, thô out of Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, as a kind of Landlords; maintain them after a faſhion in Idleneſs, and entertain them in their *Coſhering* Manner. Theſe Vagabonds reckoned themſelves great Gentlemen, and that it would be a great Diſparagement to them to betake themſelves to any Calling, Trade or Way of Induſtry; and therefore either ſupported themſelves by Stealing and Torying, or Oppreſſing the poor Farmers, and exacting ſome kind of Maintenance, either from their Clans and Septs, or from thoſe that lived on the Eſtates to which they pretended. And theſe pretended Gentlemen, together with the numerous *Coſhering* Popiſh Clergy that lived much after the ſame manner, were the two greateſt Grievances of the Kingdom, and more eſpecially hindered its Settlement and Happineſs. The Laws of *England* were intolerable to them both, nor could they ſubſiſt under them.

4. As to the Popiſh Landlords, who yet retained their Eſtates, it put them out of all patience, to find that the *Bodough* their Tenant (ſo as they call the meaner ſort of People) ſhould have equal Juſtice againſt them, as well as againſt his Fellow *Churl*, that a Landlord ſhould be called to an account for killing or robbing his Tenant, or raviſhing his Daughter, ſeemed to them an unreaſonable Hardſhip. It was inſufferable to Men that had been uſed to no Law, but their own Will, to be levelled with the meaneſt in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; and every time they were croſſed by a Tenant that would not patiently bear their Impoſitions, they curſed in their Hearts the Laws of *England*, and called to mind the glorious Days of their Anceſtors, who, with a Word of their Mouths, could hang or ruin which of their Dependents they pleaſed, and had in themſelves the power of Peace and War.

5. This Humour in the Gentry of *Ireland* has from time to time been their Ruin, and engaged them in frequent Rebellions, being impatient of the Reſtraint the Laws of *England* put on their Power, thô they enjoyed their Eſtates: And they ſtill watched an opportunity to reſtore themſelves to their petty Tyrannies, and were ready to buy the Reſtitution of them at any rate. The other ſort of Gentlemen I mentioned, as they called themſelves, who were outed of their Eſtates, as well as of their Power by the ſame Laws, hated them yet worſe; and their Clergy puſhed them on with all the Arguments that ignorant

Zeal

Zeal or Intereſt could ſuggeſt: Inſomuch that all ſober Men as well as Proteſtants, reckoned theſe the ſworn Enemies of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom; and were aſſured, that they would ſtick at no conditions to deſtroy them, their Intereſt, Inclination and Principles, all concurring to engage them to do it.

6. Now theſe very Men were the Officers and Inſtruments King *James* employed and truſted above all others. He eſpouſed their Intereſt from the time that he had thoughts of the Crown; they were his Favourites and Confidents; and to provide for them he turned his *Engliſh* and Proteſtant Subjects, firſt out of the Army, then out of their Civil Truſts and Employments, and laſtly out of their Fortunes and Eſtates. He knew very well, that the Tempers and Genius of thoſe Men were at enmity to the Laws, and fitted for that Conſtitution of Slavery, under which he deſigned to bring the Kingdoms. He found that none were more fawning to their Superiors than they, nor did any flatter with more Meanneſs and Servility: And according to the nature of ſuch People none are more inſolent and tyrannous to their Inferiors. And this was the reaſon that they were ſo dear to King *James*, and that he preferred and truſted them rather than his Proteſtant and *Engliſh* Subjects. The Bargain between him and them was plainly this, reſtore us to our former Power, Eſtates and Religion, and we will ſerve you as you pleaſe, *in your own way*. An Expreſſion that King *James* and all his Creatures often uſed, and were very fond of.

7. Theſe People found, that the King's Legal Power could never reſtore them to the condition at which they aimed; that the Power and Station they deſired, was abſolutely contrary to the Laws in being; and that no Legal Parliament would ever alter the Laws and Conſtitution of the Kingdom to gratifie them. No wonder therefore if they eſpouſed and promoted an abſolute and deſpotick Power in the King, and if he and they concurred ſo heartily to introduce it. To do them Juſtice, they made no Secret of it, but profeſſed it publickly; and on all occaſions, and accordingly practiſed it in their ſeveral Stations. They reckoned, and called every one a *Whig* and *Rebel*, that talked of any other Law than the *King's Pleaſure*. They were liberal of their Curſes and Imprecations on all occaſions; but they exceeded and became outragious againſt any one that durſt alledge, that their Proceedings were againſt Law: *Damn your Laws*, was frequently their word, *it is the King's Pleaſure it ſhould be ſo, we know no reaſon why our King ſhould not be as abſolute as the King of* France; *and we will make him*

him so before we have done. Nay, so extravagant were many of them, that they would swear with repeated Oaths, that all Protestants were Rebels, because they would not be of the King's Religion. An Expression, I suppose, they learned from the *French* Dragoons.

8. Some would undertake to argue the Case with such as seemed more moderate amongst them, and put them in mind of the possibility of the Change of the Government, and that then the Argument would be good against themselves: But they had not patience to hear any such thing mentioned. And they generally swore with the most bloody Oaths and bitter Imprecations, that they would never subject themselves to any King that was not of their own Religion; and that they would lose the last drop of their Blood, rather than part with the Sword and Power put into their Hands, on any consideration whatsoever. These were not the Discourses of one or two hot headed Fellows amongst them, but they universally talked at this rate. And it was the common and encouraging Speech of the Earl of *Tyrconnel* from the very beginning of his Government, and particularly when he took leave of several Privy Councellors and Officers at his going to wait on King *James* at *Chester*, *August*, 1687: *I have put the Sword into your Hands.* And then in his usual Stile, prayed *God to damn them all, if ever they parted with it.*

9. 'Tis further to be remembred, that their Predecessors were so eager and earnest to recover this Power over their Vassals, and to establish their Religion, that they attempted to gain their Designs by that bloody Rebellion and Massacre in the year 1641. An Attempt no less desperate and unlikely to succeed than wicked; and when their own Power appeared insufficient to gain their ends, their supreme Council at *Kilkenny* sent Commissioners with Instructions to offer up the Kingdom and themselves to the Pope, the King of *Spain*, or any other Foreign Popish Prince that would accept the Offer. This was very well known to King *James*; he was at the Council-Board when the original Instructions, signed by order of the Supreme Council that then managed the Affairs of the *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, were produced before King *Charles* II. and his Council in *England*, in the year 1662; empowering their Agents to this effect: And he might very well conclude that they who were willing to submit themselves to a Foreign Power, to be rid of the Laws of *England*, would heartily join with him to destroy them.

10. Whosoever will consider Circumstances, and lay things together, will be apt to believe what is averred by some, that King *James* before

fore he declared his Religion, had a desire and resolution to destroy the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms, and make himself absolute, if ever he came to the Crown, after the manner of *France*; and that the great motive of declaring himself a *Roman* Catholick at first, was to make sure of that Party: There are several things that rightly weighed will make this probable.

1. If we consider that no Party amongst us was likely to be so wicked, as to have bought his Favour by joining with him in such a design, except the Papists.

2. Amongst Papists he chose out those, and preferred them which he thought would be most Cordial to him, and serve him most effectually in that Design. There can be no other reason given, why he should be fonder of the *Irish* than the *English* Papists, but that he thought the one more likely to go through with him than the other. The *English* Papists are as Zealous in their Religion as the *Irish*, and generally more honest Men, yet the King rather chose to Cherish and Employ the latter. The only imaginable Reason of his doing so, was because the *English* were not so ready to give up the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom to the Prerogative, as the *Irish*; and since King *James*'s kindness was distributed according to the readiness he found in Men to betray their Country, rather than according to their Zeal for their Religion, have we not reason to conclude the first to be the true Motive of his Kindness rather than the latter.

3. Those Protestants, or pretended Protestants, that cordially and heartily espoused his Design, and served him effectually to oppress and ruin their fellow Subjects, kept his Favour pretty well, and were Employed by him, notwithstanding their being reputed Protestants; a certain sign that the Reason he discharged Protestants from their Trusts and Offices was chiefly because he thought they would not serve him, as he expressed it *without reserve*, or contribute heartily to enslave themselves and their Posterity.

4. He often declared, and more especially in his Act for Liberty of Conscience made in his Parliament in *Ireland*, that it was his constant Resolution that there should be no other Test or Distinction amongst his Subjects but that of Loyalty; by which all knew that he meant an absolute Submission in every thing to his Will; for he accounted every body disloyal that disputed or demurred at any of his Commands.

5. As soon as the *Irish* began to dispute his Orders, and stand on the Laws, he took it heinously from them; and they lost much of his favour; he spake hardly of them and wished at any rate to be rid of

of them: When the House of Commons croſt ſome Propoſal of his he was very much out of humour, and declared that all Commons were the ſame, as he found by them; when they quarrelled with the Earl of *Melford*, his Secretary of State, he complained that they uſed him baſely and unkindly, and that he never would have come amongſt them if he had thought that they would not let him chooſe his own Servants: When they would not ſuffer him to Diſpenſe with their Act of Attainder, or Pardon any Attainted in it, with a *non obſtante*, he is ſaid to have fallen into ſo violent a Paſſion, that his Noſe fell a bleeding. He was very angry with ſome of his Council when they demurred at his Levying twenty thouſand Pounds *per* Month without Act of Parliament, and ſaid he could do nothing if he could not do that. From whence we ſee that he reckoned all his Power nothing except he could impoſe Taxes as the King of *France* doth; and that this lay long at the bottom of all his Deſigns. Nay it was commonly reported by the *Roman* Catholicks, that King *James* boaſted and pleaſed himſelf mightily that he had made himſelf Abſolute, which none of his Predeceſſors could do; and had a more numerous Army than any of them, and conſequently was a more glorious King. If then his chiefeſt deſign was to oppreſs our Laws and Liberties, no body can doubt but he had Inſtruments whoſe Genius and Temper inclined them to aſſiſt him, as long as they were like to go ſharers with him in the Purchaſe.

SECT. IX.

V. *The Officers employed by King* James, *were moſt of them unqualified by Law, and conſequently fit Inſtruments to deſtroy the Laws.*

1. MEN may live vey comfortably in a Nation, and yet be excluded from the Power or Government of it; therefore it is no injuſtice to exclude a certain Rank of Men that want ſuch Qualifications as may give the Common-Wealth confidence in them, from intermedling in the Government. Of this Nature we have had Laws in all Countries in the World, and whatever be pretended they are very often both juſt and neceſſary: Nor is it reaſonable that the King ſhould have a power to diſpenſe with ſuch; ſince they are often made on purpoſe to ſecure the Common-Wealth againſt his encroachments. Of this Nature are our Laws that diſable Papiſts from all Employments Civil and Military, by an Act of Parliament made in the Reign of *Henry*

Henry VIII. no Man is to Execute any Employment till he has taken the Oath of Supremacy. This is repeated and confirmed by another in the second of *Elizabeth.* And here it is obſervable how they evaded this Statute. It poſitively requires that every Officer ſhall take and receive a Corporal Oath there ſet down; and if any refuſed to take it then he is to forfeit whatever Office he hath at the time of the refuſal, and be diſabled to retain or Exerciſe any Office. Now to elude this Law, the Oath was never tendered to their new Officers, and conſequently, ſaid they, they never refuſed it, neither are they liable to the Penalties of this Act. This was plainly againſt the deſign of the Statute, a playing with the Words of it, and ſhewed us that all Laws were inſufficient to ſecure us againſt ſuch Jeſuitical Prevaricators. By an Act made in the time of *Henry* VII. it is Treaſon *to ſtir up the* Iriſh *Country to War againſt the* Engliſh: And by ſeveral other Laws made both in *England* and *Ireland*, the Papiſts, eſpecially the *Iriſh* are diſabled to hold Places of Power or Truſt: And particularly Papiſts are excluded from Freedom in Corporations, by a Clauſe in the Act of Settlement, on which the new Rules for Regulating Corporations, made by the Earl of *Eſſex*, at his firſt coming to the Government, are founded. Now ſo great was King *James*'s Paſſion for theſe People, that he was not content to have them about him to ſhew them Countenance and Favour; but in defiance of ſo many Laws, he would needs thruſt them into the Government, and ſet them over Proteſtants, who in making thoſe Laws had reſolved not to be Governed by them; and the Laws themſelves being deſigned to exclude them, we muſt not imagine that King *James* made this bold adventure for nothing, or that he would diſoblige the Body of his People, without deſigning ſome ſignal advantage to himſelf by it: He muſt have ſome peculiar ſervice for theſe unqualified Perſons to do, in which the reſt of the Nation would not aſſiſt him; and that could be nothing elſe but the deſtruction of their Laws and Religion, for in every thing elſe they were rather too ready to comply with him; but thoſe that came into their Places of Truſt and of Profit, in defiance of the Laws, merely by his Favour, muſt be ingaged as deeply as he, to ſupport the Power that preferred them, and deſtroy the Laws that laid ſuch Bars in their way to Honour and Profit. The Conteſt is here between our Laws, Religion and Liberties, on the one ſide, and the Kings Power on the other; and the King was ſure that thoſe to whom the Laws were Enemies,

28. *Henry*, 8. cap. 13.

2. *Elizab.* cap. 1.

10. *Henry* 7. cap. 13.

would likewise be Enemies to the Laws, and never stick at any thing to support the Power that made them what they were; if they should, they must needs sink, having nothing else to support them besides it. Whoever therefore accepted any Place or Preferment against the Laws, did thereby oblige himself to a boundless submission to all the King's Commands, and to Execute them however illegal: And consequently was become a fit Instrument to Sacrifice the Laws and Religion of the Kingdom to the will of his Sovereign. If therefore King *James* designed the destruction of these, as I suppose is apparent that he did from what has been said in this Chapter: We have no Reason to imagin that he would not have been able to compass his design for want of Assistants to Execute it, having so many fitted to his Hand in this Kingdom.

2. And this answers that Objection which we hear from some who will not understand our Circumstances, but tell us that we ought to have had Patience, and let King *James* take his Course; for though he had destructive Designs, yet he was but one Man, and could not Execute them against us in his own Person, nor procure others to Execute them for him; since all Men would be afraid to obey his illegal Commands, as long as they could not but know that they were accountable to the Laws for every thing done against them: but it appears from the Account I have given of those Persons whom King *James* employed, that they neither knew, nor feared, nor cared for the Laws. And that their business and enmity was as great against them, as against us, being resolved to destroy both together; which they had effectually done had not God sent us a Deliverer to prevent it.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

King James *not only designed, but attempted, and made a considerable progress in our Destruction.*

SECT. I.

The Introduction to the Proof of this Head, grounded on a short view of the State of Ireland, *at the time of King* James's *coming to the Crown; and of the vain assurances Protestants gave themselves of Security from the consideration of their Merits towards him; the Repute of his good Nature, and his own true Interest.*

1. THE destruction of a People is so horid a thing, that it is not easie to perswade a good Natured Man that such an unnatural Design can enter into ones Heart. And we our selves though almost ruined, dare hardly relate it to others lest they should not believe us. It is certain that if the Protestants of these Kingdoms could have believed that King *James* would have attempted what he did, they would never have entred into such Feuds against their fellow Subjects and Friends to prevent his Exclusion: But their Zeal for the Monarchy and Succession, made them willing to overlook the Danger; and they perswaded themselves that the absurdity and difficulty of the thing, would keep him if he came to the Crown from Attempting it, notwithstanding they knew that his Principles inclined him, and his Counsellors would prompt him to it. I question much if any thing but sad Experience would ever have opened the Eyes, or convinced the generality of these Nations that his designs were such as we found them in the Event: And perhaps it is worth all our Sufferings, though very heavy, to have learned (as we have done) by this Example, never to trust Men of King *James*'s Principles and Religion with a Power that may destroy us; since it appears in him, that no Interest, Difficulties, or Obligations are sufficient to hinder such from employing that Power to effect it, No Man could be under deeper Obligations to use his Power with Moderation than King *James* was; yet in the short time he pos-

sessed it, he employed it with so much diligence and earnestness to destroy us, that he in a great measure accomplished it; and we must thank God only, and his present Majesty's victorious Arms, that saved us from a total and final Destruction, to which we were so manifestly devoted. To make this appear, it will be necessary to take a short view of the State of *Ireland*, at, and since King *James*'s coming to the Crown, and by the Alteration he introduced, it will plainly appear what he designed. At his coming to the Crown, *Ireland* was in a most flourishing Condition; Lands every where improved, and Rents advanced to near double what they had been in a few Years before; the Kingdom abounded with Money, Trade flourished, even to the Envy of our Neighbours; Cities, especially *Dublin*, encreased exceedingly; Gentlemens Seats were built, or building, every where, and Parks, Enclosures, and other Ornaments were carefully promoted; insomuch that many Places of the Kingdom equalled the Improvements of *England*. The Papists themselves, where Rancour, Pride or Laziness did not hinder them, lived happily, and a great many of them got considerable Estates, either by Traffick, by the Law, or by other Arts and Industry.

2. There was a free Liberty of Conscience by connivance, tho' not by the Law; and the King's Revenue encreased proportionably to the Kingdom's Advance in Wealth, and was every day growing: It amounted to more than three hundred thousand Pounds *per annum*, a Sum sufficient to defray all the Expence of the Crown, and to return yearly a considerable Sum into *England*, to which this Nation had formerly been a constant Expence. If King *James* had minded either his own Interest, or the Kingdoms, he would not have interrupted this happy Condition. But the Protestants found, that neither this, nor the Services of any towards him, nor his own good Nature, were Barrs sufficient to secure them from Destruction.

Lord *Clarendon*'s Speech at giving up the Sword to the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, and the Abstract of the Revenue for 1685. *Appendix*, N. 5. & 6.

2. It is certainly the Interest of all Kings to govern their Subjects with Justice and Equity; if therefore they understood or would mind their true Interest, no King would ruin any of his Subjects: but it often happens, that either Men are so weak that they do not understand their Interest, or else so little at their own Command, that some fooliſh Passion or Humour sways them more than all the Interest in the World: and from these proceeds all the ill Government which has ruined so many Kingdoms. Now King *James* was so bent on gaining an absolute

absolute Power over the Lives and Liberties of his Subjects, and on introducing his Religion, that he valued no Interest when it came in competition with those.

3. Every Body that knew King *James*'s Interest, and the true Interest of his Kingdoms, knew that it concerned him to keep fair with Protestants, especially with that party who were most devoted to him, and had set the Crown on his Head; and this had been, in the Opinion of thinking Men, the most effectual way to inlarge his Power, and introduce his Religion; but because it did not suit with the Methods his Biggotted Counsellors had propoled, he took a Course directly contrary to his Interest, and seem'd to take a peculiar pleasure in affronting and oppressing those very Men, whom in Interest he was most concerned to cherish and support.

His Proceeding thus in *England* was visibly the cause of his Ruin; he had left himself no Friend to stand by him, when he stood in greatest need of them. Upon his coming to *Ireland* the Protestants had entertained some favourable Hopes, that he would have seen, and been convinced of his Error, and would now at last govern himself by other measures; it was manifestly his Interest to have done so, and nothing in probability could have allayed the Heats of *England* and *Scotland*, so much as his Justice and Kindness to the Protestants of *Ireland*, nor could any thing have had so much the Appearance of an Answer to those many and evident Arguments by which they demonstrated his destructive Designs against those Kingdoms, as to have had it to say, that in *Ireland*, where it was in his Power, he was far from doing what they surmised he intended to do in *England*, or if he had ever any such intentions, it was plain he had now altered them. These things were laid before him by some that wish'd well to his Affairs, and had more Prudence than his furious and bigotted Counsellors; and sometimes they seemed to make Impressions on him, but the Priests and needy Courtiers, who had swallowed in their Imaginations the Spoils and Estates of the Protestants of *England* as well as of *Ireland*, could not endure to hear of this. They seemed mightily afraid lest he should be restored to his Throne by consent of his Protestant Subjects: *For if so* (said they) *we know it will be on so strict Conditions, that we shall gain but little by it, it will not be in his Power to gratifie us.* And not only they, but the *Irish* in general likewise endeavoured to make his Restitution by way of Articles or Peace impracticable and impossible. A Design so extremely foolish, that it is strange any should be found so fillily wicked as to promote it, or that King *James* should be so imposed

posed on as to hearken to it; and yet it is certain he did, at least at some times, entertain it; and was heard to express himself to one that pressed him to Moderation to Protestants on this Account; that he never expected *to get into* England *but with Fire and Sword*. However his Counsellors were not so weak, but they saw what disadvantage his dealing with the Protestants had on his Interest in *England*, and therefore they took care to conceal it as much as possible; they stopped all Intercourse as far as they could with *England*; they had a party to cry up the mildness of King *James*'s Government towards the Protestants, to applaud the Ease, the Plenty, the Security in which they lived, and to run down and discredit all Relations to the contrary that came from *Ireland*. These endeavoured to perswade the World, that there was no such thing as a Bill of Attainder, or of Repeal; no Act taking away the Preferments or Maintenance of the Clergy, nor any Imprisonment or Plundering of Protestants; no taking away of Goods by private Orders of the King, or levying of Monies by Proclamations. In short, they did that which on all occasions is the Practice, and indeed Support of Popery. They endeavoured to face down plain matter of Fact with Forehead and Confidence, and to perswade the World, that all these were mere Forgeries of King *James*'s Enemies. As many as believed these Allegations of theirs, and were perswaded by them, that the Protestants of *Ireland* were well used by King *James*, were inclined to favour him; a certain sign, that if they had been really well used by him, it would have gotten him many Friends, and perhaps reconciled some of his worst Enemies. But the Design entertained by him and his Party required the Ruin of Protestants, and of their Religion; whereas his Interest required, that it should not be believed, that he designed either; and therefore Care was taken to prosecute the Design with all eagerness, and deny the Matter of Fact with all impudence; and his Majesty took care to promote both: For he Ruined the Protestants of *Ireland* by his Acts of Parliament, and by the other Methods we shall hereafter speak of; and by his Proclamations sent privately into *England* to his Partisans there, assured the World, that the *Protestant Religion and Interest were his special care, and that he had secured them against their Enemies*. It was his Interest to have done, as well as pretended this; but the carrying on his Design was so much in his Thoughts, that he chose to sacrifice his Interest to it.

4. And no wonder, if it be true, what is reported of him, that he resolved *to die a Martyr*, rather than not settle his Religion, and that he

he *had rather die the next Day, that Design being compassed, than Live Fifty Years without effecting it.* All which sufficiently explains that which seemed a Riddle to many how King *James* should be so very hard on his Protestant Subjects, when his Interest required, that he should treat them with all imaginable kindness; especially in the present Circumstances of his Affairs, whilst in *Ireland*. The Reasons of his acting contrary to his Interest in so palpable an instance, were either from the Perswasions of his ill Counsellors, who assured him, that they would so order the Matter, that what he did in *Ireland* should not be heard of, or not be believed in *England*; or else from a settled Resolution not to mind any Interest which came in competition with his grand Designs of advancing Popery, and the Slavery of the Nations. To effect which, it is manifest he was content to be a Vassal to *France*; for whosoever calls in a potent Neighbour to his assistance, must reckon that will be the consequence if he get the better by his Means; of which the *Irish* themselves were sensible, when they saw the *French* Succors landed; and the Protestants could not but conclude, that King *James* was so intent upon destroying them, that (so he compassed that Design) he cared not if he enslaved himself and the Kingdoms.

5. Nor had the Services of any towards him, more influence on him than his own Interest. Never had any Prince fairer Opportunities to distinguish his Friends from his Enemies, than King *James*; the struggle he had to get to the Crown was so long, and the issue so doubtful, that there was no Temptation for any one to dissemble his Thoughts towards him; and never had Subjects a fairer opportunity to serve and merit from a Prince. Now his Carriage to those that then proved his Friends, who against their own Interest, and against the Endeavours of the most powerful, and most diffused Faction that ever appeared in a Kingdom, set the Crown on his Head, is a plain demonstration of what force, Merit or Service were with him, towards altering his private Designs. No sooner did it appear, that those who were against the Exclusion, designed to preserve the Kingdom, as well as the Succession, but he abandoned them, and not only laid them aside, but further exposed them to the revenge of those very Men that they had provoked by espousing his Quarrel. It is no News to any how King *James* cast off his fastest Friends, when he saw that they would not proceed after his Measures to destroy the Liberty and Religion of their Country; and took into his Bosom and Council those that had been his most bitter Enemies, when he perceived, that they would assist him in that Design. Which is a plain demonstration, that he had no regard to

Services

Services or Merit, further than they tended to enslave the Nations, and destroy the settled Religion. But no Protestant that had any value for his God, his Conscience or Country, could pretend to this Merit; and therefore in the King's Opinion he could do nothing that his Majesty would count a Service.

King *James* had no desire to be served by Protestants, as was manifest by his turning many out, for no other reason, but because they would not change their Religion. By preferring Papists to all Places of Trust and Profit, thô not so deserving or well qualified for them as those that possessed them. By his declaring, that he would have all that did *eat his Bread, of his own Religion.* If therefore he employed any it was for a colour, either to cover his Partiality, or because he could not find a Papist fit for their Places, or because he believed, that in time he might gain them to be of his Religion, or lastly, because he had some odious Work to do, which he thought he could the better excuse, if he could get a Protestant to do it; where these Reasons ceased, he never employed any. But it is observable, where he did employ them, thô their places were considerable, yet they never had the Interest with him, or power proper to their place; but were mere Cyphers in it. Thus he made Sir *Edward Herbert* Chancellor of *England*, and caused a Seal to be cut for him, but he never allowed him that Interest with him, or had that regard for him in Councils that his place required. The puny Papist Judges had more influence on the King, and could make bolder with him than he; he was not admitted to the Secret of Affairs at all, and at the publick Councils he was set below *Fitton*, Chancellor of *Ireland*, and several others; whom I am informed, whilst employed as Chancellor of *England*, and in his Masters presence, he ought to have preceded. But generally Protestants were only admitted to inferior places, and for the most part with a Companion; and they had only the Name, their Companions must do all, and they durst not contradict them; and thô they were intitled to rise according as Vacancies fell, yet some inconsiderable Papist was sure to get the start of them, and to be put over their Heads; so that it was never in their power to serve the King considerably, or merit at his Hands.

If they did chance to do any thing signal, yet their Enemies had so much the advantage of King *James*'s Ear, that they were sure to be misrepresented; and what those said, having the dead Weight of Religion to help it, did generally with him, outweigh the Protestants Service. Of this Sir *Charles Murry* is an Instance; he followed King

James

James through *France* to *Ireland*, and all along appeared zealous for his Service. Yet becauſe he profeſſed himſelf a Proteſtant, upon his landing at *Kinſale*, ſome that had an ill will to him prevailed with the King to clap him up a Priſoner in the Fort of *Kinſale*, where he lay without being able to learn any Reaſon for his Confinement, from the twelfth of *March* 1688-9, till toward the end of the following Summer; and then they had occaſion for him to help to order their Camp, and fortifie *Ardee*, which procured him his Liberty; thô he never could have the ſatisfaction to learn either his Crime, or his Accuſer.

My Lord *Forbeſs*, Son to the Earl of *Granard*, is another remarkable Inſtance: When the pretended Parliament ſate in *Dublin*, both Houſes were informed, that my Lord *Forbeſs* adhered to King *James*'s Intereſt in *England*, and that he was a Priſoner in the *Tower* upon that account, his Friends thought it proper to improve this occaſion with the King, and the Parliament, to ſave my Lord's Eſtate at *Mollingar*, which he holds under the Act of Settlement. And this ſeemed the more feaſible becauſe the Lands did, if not all, yet for the moſt part, formerly belong not to private perſons, but to a Corporation. But all the Intereſt could be made, did not prevail; all that could be obtained, was a Clauſe implying, that the Commiſſioners that ſhould be appointed to execute the Act, ſhould ſet him out a Reprizal under the ſame Limitations, under which he held the Town and Lands of *Mollingar*; which (as one of the Houſe of Commons expreſſed it) was a *Mouthful of Moonſhine*. So little regard was had to the Services or Merits of Proteſtants.

6. And they had no reaſon to expect it ſhould be otherwiſe; for there was no regard had to the moſt conſiderable Papiſts, where their Intereſt interfered with the general Deſign. It was reſolved to deſtroy the Acts of Settlement, the Foundation of the *Engliſh* and Proteſtant Intereſt in *Ireland*. This brought along with it Deſtruction to many Papiſts that held Eſtates under it, which they had purchaſed ſince the year 1662. as well as to Proteſtants. Thoſe Papiſts were very numerous, and more wealthy than the reſt (eſpecially in *Connaught*) and they were likewiſe very zealous for King *James*, and many of them in his actual Service, and venturing their Lives for him, at the time of paſſing the Act of Repeal; yet this did not hinder him from giving away their Eſtates by that Act to the old Proprietors.

In ſhort, if ſerving King *James* truly and faithfully, even to their own Prejudice, whilſt it was for his Advantage and his Circumſtances needed their Service, could have merited his Favour, moſt Proteſtants had

had supererogated; but all this passed for nothing with him, he would be *served his own way*: That is, he would have Protestants been Active to destroy their Properties, Liberty and Religion, he would have had them lend their Hands to tie the Chains of Slavery for them and their Posterity, to which they had already contributed too far to oblige his Humor, both before and after his coming to the Crown, against the Common Interest of the Kingdom. Nothing less than the same blind Obedience, would serve him in the State, which his Clergy require in the Church, which we would not by any means pay him; and therefore it was in vain for us to think of Preserving our selves by any Merit or Service we could render him; he did not think any thing a Protestant could do with a good Conscience, to be a Service. And if we did all was required, yet there never wanted Persons about his Majesty who had Malice enough towards us, and Interest enough with him, to misrepresent our most meritorious Actions.

8. Nor was the good Nature and merciful Disposition of King *James* any greater Security to the Protestants of *Ireland*, than their own Merits towards him. There are, 'tis true, Kings in the World, that have an absolute Power over the Lives and Liberties of their Subjects; and yet govern them with such Justice and Mercy, that they suffer very little inconveniency by it: But the Examples of this kind are so very rare, that it is ill trusting any one with such a Power. King *James*'s Partizans made it their Business to represent their Master as the most merciful and justest Prince in the World; and then they railed at us that grudged to lay our own and our Posterities Lives and Liberties at his Feet. Perhaps if he alone had been to have had the Disposal of them, and would have followed his natural Inclinations, we should not so much have feared to have trusted him; but whilst he had such Ministers about him, and embraced a Religion of such Principles as he professed, we had no Reason to depend much on his natural Clemency or Inclination, for these were sufficient to corrupt the best natured Man in the World.

9. No doubt but *Charles* the Fifth of *Germany* was of as compassionate and generous a Nature as any Man; yet that did not keep him from making havock of his Subjects on account of Religion; besides all his Wars and Bloodshed to suppress the Reformation, he destroyed by way of legal Process fifty thousand in the Inquisition, a Barbarity, I believe, hardly equalled by *Nero*. *Francis* the First of *France* was a Prince equal to any in Generosity and Nobleness of Nature; and yet he made no less Havock and Destruction in his Dominions on the same Account.

Account. The preſent *French* King is a Demonſtration, that neither Love of Glory, nor of Intereſt, neither Greatneſs of Mind, nor Goodneſs of Nature, are Antidotes againſt the Force of *Romiſh* Principles, or can reſtrain the Prince that has throughly imbibed them, from Blood and Perſecution; otherwiſe he would never have made himſelf infamous by ſuch horrid Cruelties as he has committed on his Proteſtant Subjects, or brought an indelible Blot on a Reign which he would fain have repreſented to be more glorious than any of his Predeceſſors.

It is not neceſſary that what has been ſaid ſhould bring in queſtion the good Nature or merciful Temper of King *James*, tho' we confeſs we were unwilling to truſt it too far. We had before our Thoughts the Proceedings in the Weſt of *England*, where we ſaw his Clemency did not interpoſe, but ſuffered more to be Proſecuted, Tryed, Condemned, and Executed for that one Rebellion (and yet it was not ſo conſiderable as many others) than perhaps had ſuffered in that manner for many of the Rebellions ſince the Conqueſt. We have found that he conſented to Attaint above two thouſand five hundred of the moſt conſiderable Perſons of this Kingdom; and that his good Nature might not be a Temptation to pardon them, he put it out of his Power to do it by the ſame Act. After his coming into *Ireland*, very few Pardons paſſed the Great Seal, perhaps not three; nor had many ſo much as the promiſe of a Pardon given them, thô very many needed and deſired it.

Many of the Country People, who were not of the Army, were brought up Priſoners; they pleaded that they were not concerned in the Wars, that they lived in their Houſes, and on their Farms, and ſubmitted only to the ſtronger, without engaging in the Cauſe; but all to no purpoſe: They were uſed worſe than the Soldiers who were Priſoners, and ſuffered to ſtarve in Jails, if the Charity of their Fellow Proteſtants had not relieved them. Many who were wronged and oppreſſed, petitioned his Majeſty for Redreſs, but their Petitions were rejected, at beſt miſlaid, and the Petitioners were ſo far from obtaining any Anſwer, that they often could never hear what became of their Petitions.

10. The chief Counſellors of the King were the Popiſh Clergy, and the Deſcendants of ſuch as had ſhed the Blood of ſo many Proteſtants in the Year 1641. who then ruined and deſtroyed the Kingdom, and made it a heap of Rubbiſh, and a Slaughter-Houſe; and whilſt he hearkened to the Suggeſtions and Councils of ſuch, it was not poſſible for him to exert his good Nature and Clemency towards us.

It was the continual Buſineſs of theſe Counſellors to incenſe the King againſt us, to repreſent us as People unworthy of any Favour, Humanity, or Juſtice; that we were all *Rogues, Villains and Traitors*, and not fit to be allowed the common Offices of Humanity: This Chancellor *Fitton* declared on the Bench: This the King's Favourites and Attendants ſuggeſted publickly to him at his times of Eating, at his *Couchee* and *Levee*, and upon all occaſions.

However it was, it is evident by the effect, that King *James* in great meaſure completed the Ruin of the *Proteſtants* and *Engliſh* Intereſt in this Kingdom; which will plainly appear, 1. In his dealing with the Army. 2. With the Courts of Judicature. 3. With the Privy Council and Offices. 4. With Corporations. 5. With Trade, and the Trading People of the Nation. 6. With our Liberties. 7. With our Fortunes. 8. With the Lives of his Proteſtant Subjects. And 9. With their Religion.

SECT. II.

I. *King* James's *Dealing with the Army of* Ireland, *in order to Deſtroy the Proteſtants and* Engliſh *Intereſt.*

1. THE Army of *Ireland* which King *James* found at his coming to the Crown, conſiſted of about Seven thouſand, as Loyal Men, and as Cordial to the King's Service as any could be; both Officers and Soldiers had been inured to it for many Years. They looked on him as their Maſter and Father, intirely depending on him, and expecting nothing from any Body elſe. When *Monmouth*'s and *Argile*'s Rebellion called for their Aſſiſtance to ſuppreſs them, no People in the World could ſhew more Chearfulneſs, or Forwardneſs, than they did; and it is obſervable, that no one Man in *Ireland* was ever found to be conſcious or conſenting to thoſe Rebellions; the Proteſtants of all ſorts ſhewed great Horror and Deteſtation of them, and were diſcernably melancholy till the Rebels were ſuppreſſed. Moſt of the Officers of this Army had been ſo zealous to ſerve the King, that they had by his permiſſion and encouragement bought their Employments; many of them had laid out their whole Fortunes, and contracted Debts to purchaſe a Command; yet no ſooner was King *James* ſettled in his Throne, but he began to turn out ſome of the Officers, that had been moſt zealours for his Service, and had deſerved beſt of him, merely

becauſe they had been counted firm to the Proteſtant Religion and *Engliſh* Intereſt. The firſt who were made Examples to the reſt, were the Lord *Shannon*, Captain *Robert Fitz-Gerald*, Captain *Richard Coote*, and Sir *Oliver S. George*. The three firſt were Earls Sons, who either in their own perſons, or by their Fathers and Relations, had been ſignally active in reſtoring King *Charles* the Second, and the Royal Family, to their juſt Rights, 1660; ſo had Sir *Oliver S. George*: And they were all of them without any other Exception, but their Zeal for their Religion, and the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *Ireland*. But the common Saying was, that King *James would regard no Man for any Service done to him, his Father or Brother, but only for future Service that he expected from them*: And ſince he could not expect that theſe Gentlemen ſhould aſſiſt him to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion or the Liberties of his Subjects, which was the Service he then expected, he took their Troops from them, and gave them to perſons of mean or broken Fortunes, who muſt do any thing to keep them; ſome of them unqualified by Law. It is fit their Names ſhould be known, that the Reader may the better obſerve what kind of Change the King began with, when he ſubſtituted Captain *Kerney*, if I remember right, one of the Ruffians, Captain *Anderſon*, a perſon of no Fortune, Captain *Sheldon*, a profeſſed Papiſt, and Captain *Graham*, in the places of the Lord *Shannon*, Captain *Fitz-Gerald*, Captain *Coote*, and Sir *Oliver S. George*.

2. But to convince the World, that no Conſideration was to be had, of Loyalty or Merit, except a Man were a Papiſt: The Duke of *Ormond* was ſent for abruptly, and deveſted of the Government, with ſuch Circumſtances that did no ways correſpond with the Service he had rendred the Crown in general, and King *James* in particular. Immediately the modelling of the Army was put into the Hands of Collonel *Richard Talbott*, a perſon more hated than any other Man by the Proteſtants, and who had been named by *Oates* in his Narrative, for this very Employment. When therefore the Proteſtants ſaw him put into it, many who believed nothing of a Plot before, gave credit now to his Narrative, and the common Saying was, that if *Oates was an ill Evidence, he was certainly a good Prophet*. Colonel *Talbott*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnell*, knew the neceſſity of having the Army fitted to his purpoſe, it being the Engine he depended on for deſtroying the Religion, Liberty and Laws of the Kingdom; and therefore ſet about it with all expedition,

By what Intereſt and for what Deſign he came to be employed, and at laſt to be made Deputy, will appear from the Copy of a Letter found amongſt Biſhop *Tyrrel*'s Papers, his Secretary. 'Tis in the *Appendix*, N. 3.

tion, and prosecuted it in such a manner as might be expected from a Man of his insolent Temper. He exercised at the same time so much Falshood and Barbarity, that if the Army had not been the best Principled with Loyalty and Obedience of any in the World, they would have mutinied, or at least dispatched him. In the Morning he would take an Officer into his Closet, and with all the Oaths, Curses and Damnations, that were never wanting to him, he would profess Friendship and Kindness to him, and promise him the continuance of his Commission; and yet in the Afternoon cashier him, with all the contempt he could heap on him; nay perhaps, while he was thus caressing him, he had actually given away his Commission. The Officers of *Ireland*, then cashiered, and their Acquaintance, can vouch the truth of this in many instances. As for the Soldiers and Troopers, his way with them was to march them from their usual Quarters, to some distant place where he thought they were least known, where they would be put to greatest Hardships, and there he stripped them; the Foot, of their Cloaths, for which they had payed; and the Troopers of their Horses, Boots and Furniture, bought with their own Money; and set them to walk barefooted one hundred, or one hundred and fifty Miles to their Homes or Friends, if they had any. Sometimes he would promise them something for their Horses; but then he told them, that they must come to *Dublin* for it: If any came to demand the small pittance promised them for their Horses, or Arrears of Pay, he contrived it so, that they should be obliged to wait till they had spent twice as much as they expected; and most of them after all got nothing. By this means two or three hundred Protestant Gentlemen, who had laid out all, or a good part of their Fortunes, and contracted Debts on Commissions, were not left worth any thing, but were turned out without reason or any consideration, and five or six thousand Soldiers sent a begging; a hardship perhaps never put on any Army before, without any provocation; against whom there was no other Exception, but that they were *English* Men and Protestants, and King *James* by substituting *Irish* Men and Papists in their places contrary to the Laws, and to the very Design of keeping a standing Army in *Ireland*, clearly demonstrated, that he had no regard to the Laws, or to the preservation of the Kingdom, and that he designed to advance the Popish *Irish* Interest in *Ireland*; which every Body knows cannot be done without the utter ruin of the *English* Protestants.

3. Yet all this we patiently endured, and exercised our Charity in relieving the poor cashiered Soldiers, and in putting the ruined Gentlemen

men into a way of Subsisting; which was generally by sending them over Seas to Foreign Service, and perhaps their Clamours and Sufferings did contribute to move the Compassion of the Prince of *Orange*, our present Sovereign, and forward his Designs.

4. In the mean time, the new raised Forces and Officers being put into Arms and Command, to which they were Strangers, into good Cloaths, and mounted on Horses for which others had paid, behaved themselves with all the insolence common to such sort of Men when unworthily advanced. They every where insulted over the *English*, and had their Mouths continually full of Oaths, Curses and Imprecations against them; they railed on them, and gave them all the opprobious Names they could; and if any Chastized them for their Saucineſs, though ever so much provoked, they had the Judges and Juries on their side. They might kill whom they pleased without fear of Law, as appeared from Captain *Nangles* murthering his disbanded Officer in the Streets of *Dublin*; but if any killed or hurt them, they were sure to suffer; as Captain *Aston* found to his Cost, who was hanged for killing a Papist upon his abusing the Captains Wife in the Street. They immediately ruined all the Protestant Inns of *Ireland*, partly by oppressing them with Quarters, partly by paying nothing for what they had in their Quarters, and partly by driving away other Guests by their rudeness.

5. In this insolence they continued and daily increased, till the Prince of *Orange* came into *England*. But then new Commissions were issued out with all diligence, of one sort or another, sometimes five hundred in a day. All the Scum and Rascallity of the Kingdom were made Officers; every where the Papists arm'd and inlisted themselves, and the Priests suffered no Man to come to Mass that did not Arm himself with at least a Skean and half Pike. The new Commissioned Officers were obliged without Pay to subsist their Men, as they termed it, for three months, a thing impossible for them to do, since most of them were not able to maintain themselves. The better sort of their Captains and inferiour Officers had been Footmen or Servants to Protestants. One Gentlemans Cowherd was made a Lieutenant, but he would fain have capitulated with his Master, to keep his place vacant for him if his Commission did not hold. Most of them were the Sons or Descendents of Rebels in 1641, who had murthered so many Protestants. Many were Outlawed and Condemned Persons that had lived by Torying and Robbing. No less than fourteen notorious Tories were Officers in *Cormuck* & *Neals* Regiment; and when forty or fifty thousand

such

such were put into Arms, without any Mony to pay them, we must leave the World to judge what apprehensions this must breed in Protestants, and whether they had not Reason to fear the destruction that immediately fell on them; they saw their Enemies in Arms, and their own Lives in their power. They saw their Goods at the mercy of those Thieves and Robbers and Tories, now armed and Authorized, from whom they could scarce keep them when it was in their power to pursue and hang them. And they had all the Reason in the World to believe, that a Government that had armed such Men of desperate Fortunes and Resolutions, was so far from protecting them, which is the only end of all Government, that on the contrary it designed to destroy both their Lives and Fortunes. The latter of which, as will appear by the sequel, they have in a manner intirely lost.

6. I could never hear any thing pretended for these proceedings, except it were either 1. That the Army were the Kings Servants, and every Man may employ what Servants he pleases; or 2. That Protestants would not concur with the Kings intentions, and therefore there was a necessity of dismissing them. And 3. as to the general arming the Papists, and Plundering the Protestants, that it was necessary in order to raise and encourage an Army, otherwise the King had had nothing to trust to.

7. As to the first of these, It is not true that every Man may entertain what Servants he pleases; because one ought not to entertain any that are not qualified as the Law requires. 2. If it were granted that the Case were the same between the King and his Army as between a Master and his Servants, and that a Master might entertain what Servants he pleased (neither of which is true) yet it is to be considered that where another pays the Servants, the Master must be obliged to keep such Servants as will answer the design of such as afford the Wages. Now it was the Kingdoms Mony that paid the Soldiers; it was given the King by a Protestant Parliament, to preserve the Protestant *English* Interest, and suppress the conquered *Irish* Papists, as appears by the Acts themselves; it was paid by them out of their proper Fortunes and Estates; and for the King to Employ the Mony so given, and paid him, to Arm those whom it was designed to suppress; and destroy those who gave it, is the greatest breach of Trust and prevarication of which any can be guilty.

8. As to the second Reason, that Protestants would not concur with the Kings intentions; I believe it is true, but the Reason was, because the Kings intentions were to destroy the Laws, Liberty, and Religion Esta-

Eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom: They had, and would have anſwered every juſt intention of the King; nay ſuch as were Employed by him, had concurred further with him than was perhaps juſtifiable. And his laying them aſide as unſerviceable to his Deſigns, is a plain Demonſtration that thoſe Deſigns were irreconcilable to the good of the Kingdom, and the Proteſtant *Engliſh* Intereſt.

9. As to the third Reaſon that it was neceſſary, in order to raiſe an Army for the King, to Arm all the Raſcallity of *Ireland*; and to let them deſtroy the Proteſtants, to ſubſiſt and hearten them. I anſwer, that this owns a Neceſſity, if not a Deſign of deſtroying us: And conſidering that the Papiſts only by their wicked Counſels had brought that neceſſity on the Kingdom, it can never be imputed to the Proteſtants by any wiſe Man as a Crime, that they were unwilling to comply with the King to their own Deſtruction, or that they rather choſe to be delivered by his preſent Majeſty than ruined by King *James* and his fooliſh Counſellors. Upon the whole, the ordering the *Iriſh* Army as it was by King *James*, is a plain Demonſtration of his Deſign to deſtroy us, and a great ſtep towards it; and he had effectually done it, had not the Providence of God raiſed up his preſent Majeſty to Relieve us.

SECT. III.

Secondly, *King* James's *ordering the Courts of Juditature in ſuch a method as tended to deſtroy the Proteſtant* Engliſh *Intereſt of* Ireland.

1. THE ſupport and happineſs of a Kingdom conſiſts chiefly in the equal and impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice; and that depends on the choice of fit and duly qualified Perſons for filling the Courts, and executing the Laws; but King *James* made choice of ſuch Perſons for theſe Offices as were ſo far from anſwering the intent of their Places, that they made it their Buſineſs to deſtroy the Proteſtant Intereſt, and the Laws that preſerve the Liberty of the Subject in general; by thoſe Laws no Man was capable of being a Judge, who had not taken the Oath of Supremacy. The Judges he found on the Bench, had taken it; but yet ſome of them were known to be rather too favourable to Papiſts; and conſidering the influence King *James* had in his Brother's time in diſpoſing of Offices, it is not to be imagined that he would ſuffer any Man to ſit as Judge, who had not been favourably repreſented unto him in that Point; though we muſt own he was miſtaken in ſome

of them; hence it came that Protestants did frequently complain of the Favour and Countenance their Adversaries found in the Courts of Justice, even in King *Charles* II. time. But when King *James* came to the Crown, moderate, nay favourable Judges would not do the Work he designed. He found it necessary to Employ the most Zealous of his Party; those who both by Interest and Inclination, were most deeply ingaged to destroy the Protestant *English* Interest; and accordingly such were picked out and set on all the Benches.

2. The *Chancery* is the Great and Highest Court wherein the Great Frauds and other matters belonging to Trusts and Equity are determined; and neither the Lord Primate *Boyle*, who had managed that Court about twenty years, nor Sir *Charles Porter* who succeeded him, could answer the King's intention: But Sir *Alexander Fitton*, of whom I have already given some account, a Person detected of Forgery not only at *Westminster*, and *Chester*, but likewise Fined by the House of Lords in Parliament, must be brought out of Goal, and set on the highest Court of the Kingdom, to keep the King's Conscience, though he wanted Law and natural Capacity, as well as Honesty and Courage, to discharge such a Trust; and had no other quality to recommend him, besides his being a Convert Papist; that is, a Renegado to his Religion and his Country; but the mystery of this was easily found out. The Papists of *Ireland* had gone a great way to retrieve the Estates they had forfeited by the Rebellion 1641, by counterfeit Settlements, Forgeries, and Perjuries, and to do their business in a great measure there needed no more than to find a Judge that would be favourable to, and countenance such proceedings; and where could they find a more favourable Judge than one who was notoriously involved in the same guilt, and who probably in some Cases did not esteem such Arts unlawful; but besides this, there is requisite to a Chancellor, a peculiar quickness of Parts and Dexterity, to penetrate into the contrivances of Cheats and Forgeries, for which Sir *Alexander Fitton*'s natural slowness and heaviness incapacitated him, but this very defect, together with his Zeal for Popery, fitted him to execute the King's design as effectually as any that could have been found. He could not understand the merit of a Cause of any difficulty, and therefore never failed to give Sentence according to his inclination, having no other Rule to lead him; and how he was inclined towards Protestants, appeared from his Declarations on all occasions against them; he did not stick, on a Hearing to declare that they were all *Rogues*, and that *amongst forty thousand* there

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was

was not *one* who was not a *Traitor*, a *Rebel*, and a *Villain*: For this Reason he would not allow the Guardianship of a Child to the Protestant Mother; but gave it against the positive words of the Law, to the Popish Relations: For this Reason he refused to hear so much as a demurrer in the Popish Dean of Christ's Church, Mr. *Stafford's* Case. For this Cause he over-ruled both the common Rules of Practice of the Courts, and the Laws of the Land, declaring in open Court that the *Chancery* was above all Laws, that no Law could bound his Conscience; and he acted accordingly in many Cases where Protestants were concerned. After hearing a Cause between one of them and a Papist, he would often declare that he would consult a Divine before he gave a Decree; that is, he would have the Opinion of a Popish Priest, his Chaplain, Educated in *Spain*, and furnished with Distinctions to satisfie his Conscience how far he should do Justice to Protestants; many Papists came and made affidavits of being in Possession when they never were, and got Injunctions and Orders without any more ado to quiet their Possessions. But a Protestant, though never so palpably disturbed, could not procure any Order; but was sent to the common-Law to recover his Possession, by a Popish Jury, returned by a Popish Sheriff, before a Popish Judge: That is, he must expect Law from Judges and Officers that Sat and Acted in defiance of Law. If at any time the Chancellor was forced to grant an Injunction or Decree, it was with all the difficulties and delays that could be, and often the thing was lost and destroyed before the Order came for recovering it.

3. The Administration of Justice and Equity is the great End of Government, and it is as good, nay better to be without Governors than to have Governors under whom Men cannot reasonably hope for these. We see from the choice of a Chancellor, what care King *James* took for the Administration of Equity to Protestants. To help the matter he added as assistants to the Chancellor, Mr. *Stafford* a Popish Priest, for one Master of the Chancery; and *Felix ô Neal*, Son of *Turlogh ô Neal*, the great Rebel in 1641, and Massacrer of the Protestants, for another. To these generally the Causes between Protestants and Papists were referred, and upon their Report the *Chancellor* past his Orders and Decrees.

Felix ô Neal *was removed in* 1689. *and made a Colonel.*

4. The Courts of Common-Law were put into the same method; and great care taken to fill them with Judges who might be ingaged in a profest enmity to the Protestant Interest. In *Ireland* there are only Three Judges on a Bench; and it was thought fit, for a Colour till

things were Riper to keep one Proteſtant on every Bench; but whilſt there were two Votes to one, the Proteſtant Judge could neither do Right to Proteſtants, or retard a Sentence to be given in the favour of a Papiſt. This mock-method, of ſeeming to truſt Proteſtants, they took likewiſe in naming Burgeſſes and Aldermen for Corporations; they generally put ſome few into their New Charters to ſerve for a pretence of Impartiality, and yet to ſignifie nothing: This method of continuing ſome few Proteſtants in Courts and Corporations ſerving only to ſilence and exaſperate us, to be thus impoſed on, but contributed nothing to relieve us, as we found to our Coſts: And the Proteſtant Judges and Burgeſſes, finding that they were made Cyphers and Properties, of themſelves declined at laſt to Act in their Stations.

5. Next to *Chancery*, is the *King's-Bench*, where Subjects are Tryed for their Lives and Fortunes: Upon this was ſet Mr. *Thomas Nugent* (made afterwards Baron of *Riverſtown*) the Son of one who had been Earl of *Weſtmeath*, but had loſt his Honour and Eſtate for being an Actor in the late Rebellion begun in 1641. This Mr. *Nugent*, who had never been taken notice of at the Bar, but for a more than ordinary Brogue on his Tongue (as they call it) and Ignorance in the Law, was pitched on by King *James*, to judge whether the Outlawries againſt his Father and his Fellow Rebels ſhould be reverſed, and whether the Settlement of *Ireland* founded on thoſe Outlawries, ſhould ſtand good. It was a Demonſtration to us what the King intended, when he aſſigned us ſuch a Chief Juſtice; and indeed the Gentleman did not fail to anſwer the expectation conceived of him. He reverſed the Outlawries as faſt as they came before him, notwithſtanding a Statute made in point againſt it: and in all the Cauſes that ever came before him, wherein the Plaintiffs and Defendants were Papiſt and Proteſtant, I could not learn from the moſt diligent obſerver, that ever he gave Sentence for the latter. Nay it is ſhrewdly ſuſpected that he went ſharer in ſome conſiderable Cauſes, and not only appeared for them on the Bench, but alſo ſecretly incouraged and fomented them. Before him a Deed ſhould be judged Forged or not Forged according as it ſerved a Popiſh Intereſt. And a Proteſtant needed no more to gain a Cauſe againſt another Proteſtant, than to turn Papiſt; which manifeſtly appear'd in Sir *Gregory Birns* Caſe, who merely by turning Papiſt, as is noted before, in the midſt of his Suit againſt Captain *Robert Fitz-Gerald*, got a Deed condemned of Forgery, and recovered five or ſix hundred Pounds *per Annum*; notwithſtanding Mr. *Daniel Birn* his Father, ſome years before, for pretending it was Forged, had been ſued in an Action of the Caſe;

and

and forced to pay two hundred pound damages: And though there appeared in Court a Bond under *Birns* Hand, obliging him to pay two hundred pound to the Witneſſes, in caſe they ſhould prove Captain *Fitz Geralds* Deed to be Forged, yet the proof was accepted. But theſe were common things in this Court, and the miſchief had been much greater had not a Writ of Error layn from his Court to the *Kings Bench* in *England*. In one thing more he ſignalized himſelf; it was by committing and proſecuting people for feigned Offences and Treaſons, and by countenancing and encouraging, and after diſcovery protecting falſe Witneſſes againſt Proteſtants. Many were brought in danger of their Lives by his contrivances; and when the accuſed were acquitted on Tryal, by a palpable Demonſtration that the Witneſſes were Perjured, he declared that they neither could nor ſhould be Proſecuted, for they only ſware for the King, and he believed the accuſed perſons guilty, though it could not be proved. In ſhort he ſhewed all the venom and rigour againſt them he could; he was ſet up to deſtroy them, and he went as far in it as his power could reach; his weakneſs, not his inclination, hindred him from carrying it farther. It is not imaginable by any that have not ſeen and heard him, how furiouſly and partially he was bent againſt Proteſtants: it may be gueſſed how he ſtood inclined to them by the great Hand he had in promoting the Bill of Attainder, and the Bill to veſt all Abſentees Goods in the King; whereby much the greater part of the Proteſtants of *Ireland* loſt all their Eſtates, Perſonal and Real, of which we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter. He was aſſiſted on the Bench by Sir *Bryan ô Neal*, as puny Judge, a weak Man that had nothing to recommend him but Venom and Zeal, being otherwiſe diſabled both in his Reaſon and Body. Only he had the faculty to do what he was bid, eſpecially when it ſuited with his own inveteracy againſt *Engliſhmen* and Proteſtants. This Character may ſeem rigid, but as many as knew him will not think it exceeds.

6. The next Court for Buſineſs (though not for Precedence) is the *Exchequer*: In which all Actions wherein the King's Revenue, or any other Man's Eſtate is concerned, may be tryed. From this Court no Writ of Error lies in *England*; ſo they were free here from that Check, which was ſo troubleſome to them in other Courts. Upon this conſideration it was that the whole Buſineſs of the Kingdom, ſo far as it concerned them, was brought into this Court, though not ſo proper for it. Here were brought all Actions of Treſpaſſes and Ejectments concerning Eſtates; all *Quo Warranto's* againſt Corporations, and *Scire Facias's* about Offices: And they thought themſelves concerned to have an able Man, and one throughly Cordial to their Intereſt

for

for the Chief Judge in it: For if he had wanted Sense or Law, though willing, as they found by Experience in some of the other Courts, he might have been unable to serve them in all Cases. They therefore fixed on Mr. *Stephen Rice*, afterwards Sir *Stephen*, who had formerly been noted for a Rook and Gamster at the Inns of Court. He was (to give him his due) a Man of the best Sense amongst them, well enough versed in the Law, but most signal for his inveteracy against the Protestant Interest and Settlement of *Ireland*; having been often heard to say, before he was a Judge, that he would *drive a Coach and Six Horses through the Act of Settlement*, upon which both depended. And before that Act was Repealed in their pretended Parliament, he declared on the Bench that it was against Natural Equity, and could not oblige. This Man did King *James* choose for Chief Baron, and for the final determination of all the Suits that lay between Protestants and Papists, either in Common-Law or Equity. And it is no hard matter to conjecture what success the Protestants met with in their Suits before a Judge that declared, as he did, that they should have no favour, but *Summum jus*, that is the utmost rigour of the Law. Immediately his Court was filled with Popish Plaintiffs: Every one that had a forged Deed or a false Witness, met Favour or Countenance from him; and he knowing that they could not bring his Sentences into *England* to be re-examined there, acted as a Man that feared no after Account or Reckoning. It was some considerable time before he would allow a Writ of Error into the *Exchequer* Chamber, though that was in effect to themselves; And when it was allowed, it was to little purpose before such Judges. It was before him all the Charters of the Kingdom were damned, and that in a Term or two, in such a manner that proved him a Man of Dispatch though not of Justice. If he had been left alone, it was really believed that in few Years he would, by some contrivance or other, have given away most of the Protestants Estates in *Ireland*, without troubling a Parliament to Attaint them; which was a more compendious, but not a more certain way to destroy them, than the Methods he took. It was he that without Hearing, after he had Dissolved the Corporations by giving Sentence against their Charters, declared void all the Leases of Lands or of Perquisits made by them, though long before their Dissolution, and on very good considerations; and thereupon outed several Protestants of their Leases: But it were endless to mention all the Oppressions and unjust Proceedings of this Court; it were in effect to transcribe the Records of it. Let me only observe that the Chief Baron was assisted by Sir *Henry Lynch* as Second

Baron

Baron, who came indeed ſhort of him in Parts, but yielded nothing to him in Malice to the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt.

7. The Court of *Common-Pleas* had little to do: The Buſineſs ſo far as concerned the Proteſtants and Papiſts, was intirely carried out of it to the *King's Bench*, or *Exchequer*, and therefore they permitted the Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating* ſtill to ſit in it, but Pinioned with two of their own ſort, that if any thing ſhould chance to come before him, he might be out-voted by them. The truth is they were jealous of this Court, not only becauſe a Proteſtant was Chief Juſtice in it, but likewiſe becauſe Judge *Daly* ſat as Puny Judge, who though a *Roman* Catholick, yet underſtood the Common-Law ſo well, and behaved himſelf ſo Impartially, that they did not care to bring their Cauſes before him: So much did they dread the proſpect of Juſtice, though before Judges that were of their own Party and Perſwaſion.

8. The Circuits are an extention of the Courts, whereby Juſtice is carried into the Country: Theſe were managed much at the ſame rate with the Courts, and where the Sheriff and Judge were both Papiſts, it is not difficult to gueſs what Juſtice Proteſtants muſt expect; what packing of Juries there was amongſt them, and how deeply the Judges themſelves were concerned in ſuch Practices, is Evident to all that had any Concerns in the Country at that time.

9. It will be requiſite to ſay ſomething of the Attorney General which King *James* made, inſtead of Sir *William Domvile*, whom he turned out after near thirty years ſupplying the place; but he was a Proteſtant, and would not conſent to reverſe the Popiſh Outlawries, nor to the other Methods they took to deſtroy the Settlement of *Ireland*; and therefore he was laid aſide. In his place King *James* ſubſtituted Mr. *Richard Nagle*, whom he afterwards Knighted, and made Secretary of State; he was at firſt deſigned for a Clergy-Man, and educated amongſt the *Jeſuits*; but afterwards betook himſelf to the Study of the Law, in which he arrived to a good Perfection, and was employed by many Proteſtants, ſo that he knew the weak part of moſt of their Titles. Every Body knows how great a part the Attorney General has in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, it being his Office to proſecute, and in his power to ſtop any Suit wherein the King is concerned. How he uſed this Power will appear in one inſtance, tho many may be given. One *Fitz Gerald* of *Tycroha*n, the Heir of a forfeiting Papiſt, had a Suit for a great Eſtate againſt Sir *William Petty*; it was tryed in the Exchequer before Chief Baron *Rice*, and *Fitz Gerald* carried the Cauſe by the Perjury of two Friars, and a Woman, who

ſwore

ſwore a perſon to be dead in *Spain*, and themſelves to be preſent at his Burial, upon whoſe Life Sir *William*'s Title depended. This perſon ſoon after appeared to be alive, and is ſo ſtill for ought we know; and his being alive was ſo notorious and manifeſt, that the Attorney General could not deny it; Sir *William*'s Counſel and Lawyers deſigned to indict the Friars and Woman for their Perjury, but the Grand Jury refuſed to find the Bill; and I was credibly informed, that the Attorney General ſaid, that if they did not deſiſt, he would enter a *Noli proſequi*. It is certain he refuſed to proſecute it, and it was imputed to his Contrivance, that they eſcaped. By ſuch means the Courſe of Juſtice was ſtopped to Proteſtants; and the like Tenderneſs the Courts generally ſhewed to Perjurers, when the Perjury ſerved their Intereſt. and ſure the Proteſtants were in an ill caſe, whoſe Lives and Fortunes lay at the Mercy of ſuch Judges and Juries; and they muſt conclude, that nothing leſs than Deſtruction was deſigned for them, by a King who put them under ſuch Adminiſtrators of Juſtice. The ſame Sir *Richard Nagle* was the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in their pretended Parliament and had the chief hand in drawing up their Acts; King *James* confided chiefly in him: And the Acts of Repeal and Attainder were looked on as his Work; in which his Malice and Jeſuitical Principles prevailed ſo far, that he was not content to out two Thirds of the Proteſtant Gentlemen of their Eſtates by the Act of Repeal, (by which all Eſtates acquired ſince 1641, were taken away) and to attaint moſt of thoſe that had old Eſtates by the Bill of Attainder; But to make ſure work, he put it out of the King's Power to pardon them; therein betraying the King's Prerogative as the King himſelf told him, when he diſcovered it to him. Of which and of him we ſhall have occaſion to give a further Account hereafter.

10. Into ſuch Hands as we have been ſpeaking of, the Adminiſtration of Juſtice and of the Laws was put, which were ſo far from preventing our Ruin, that they were made the Means and Inſtruments thereof, and it had been much better for us to have had no Laws at all, and been left to our natural Defence, than to be cheated into a neceſſity of Submiſſion by Laws that were executed only to puniſh, and not to defend us.

11. It was common for ſome of thoſe that ſerved King *James*, to come upon the Exchange, and without any Reaſon or Provocation to fall upon Proteſtant Gentlemen, if they looked a little more faſhionable than other People, and beat them. One was thus beaten with a Cane ſeverely, before the Gentleman was aware; he was adviſed for an Experiment

periment to indict the Ruſſian that uſed him thus, to ſee what Protection the Law would give us after they had taken away our Swords; but the Grand Jury did not think it worth while to trouble the Courts with redreſſing the Grievances of Proteſtants, and ſo would not find the Bill. A Merchant in *Thomas-Street*, *Dublin*, found a Fellow that had broken into his Ware-Houſe, and was conveying his Goods out at the Window to his Fellow Soldiers that ſtood in the Street to receive them; he ſeiſed him and brought an Indictment againſt him for Felony, but the Jury acquitted him; and then he brought his Action againſt the Merchant for falſe Impriſonment and Slander, and it coſt a good Sum of Money to compound the Matter. This Trick was very common; and at laſt, no Proteſtant, thô he had ever ſo good Evidence againſt a Papiſt, durſt proſecute him; for he was ſure to be acquitted, and then the Proſecutor was liable to the Revenge of an Action of the Caſe, and the Damages that a Popiſh Jury pleaſed to give againſt him.

12. There is an Act of Parliament, 10 *Henrici 7. cap.* 12. That forbids keeping Guns or Ordnance without Licenſe from the Lord Lieutenant or Deputy. The Deſign of it was to prevent the *Iriſh* from fortifying themſelves in their little Caſtles, whereby at that time they created the Government great Trouble, and raiſed daily Rebellions. But the Lord Chief Juſtice *Nugent* interpreted this to the diſarming of all Proteſtants; and becauſe there chanced to be a Sword and Caſe of Piſtols found *September* 6. 1689, in ſome outward by-place in *Chriſt's Church*, *Dublin*, one *Wolf* the Subverger was committed to *Newgate*, indicted and found guilty, and had good luck to eſcape with his Life; the Chief Juſtice declaring it was Treaſon, thô *Wolf* was only indicted for a Miſdemeanour.

13. But had the Laws been in never ſo good Hands, it could not have ſecured us from Deſtruction, when the King, who deſigned that Deſtruction againſt us, pretended to be above all Laws, and made no Scruple to diſpenſe with them; every Law in theſe Kingdoms is really a Compact between the King and People, wherein by mutual conſent they Agree on a Rule by which he is to Govern, and according to which they oblige themſelves to pay him Obedience. But there is no general Rule but in ſome Caſes it may prove inconvenient; it is there-

Sanderſ. de oblig. conſcien. prælect. 9. 12. 19. (*Ubi tam gravis premit neceſſitas, ut vir pius & prudens non poſſit dubitare legiſlatorem ipſum ſi præſens eſſet, legit ſibi gratiam & relaxationem conceſſurum*) *liceat ſubditis, communis utilitatis, (quæ ſuprema lex eſt, & omnium legum finis) rationem habere magis, quam legum particularium.*

fore agreed by all, that in Caſes of ſudden and unforeſeen Neceſſity, there is no Law but may be diſpenſed with; But then firſt it is obſervable, that this Neceſſity muſt be ſo viſible and apparent, that all reaſonable Men may ſee and be ſatisfied that it is not pretended; and where the Neceſſity has been thus real, no Man can ſhew that either the People or Parliament ever quarelled with a King for uſing a diſpenſing Power.

14. Secondly, It muſt be obſerved, that this Power of Diſpenſing, in Caſes of Neceſſity is mutual, and belongs to the People as well as the King; it being as lawful for a Subject, in Caſes of Neceſſity, to diſpenſe with his Obedience to a Law, nay, with his Allegiance to his King; as for a King to diſpenſe with the Execution of a Law, or the exacting Obedience: And this mutual Power of diſpenſing with the Laws, which are publick Compacts in Caſes of Neceſſity, is tacitly underſtood in them as well as in all other Covenants.

Doctor *Sanderſon* proves this Power of Diſpenſing to belong to the People as well as to the Prince, in his tenth *Prælection*, *N.* 21. and he gives an Example in *N.* 22. The Caſe is thus: The Conſpirators, after the Gunpowder Treaſon was diſcovered fled into *Warwickſhire*, and made an Inſurrection: The Sheriff raiſes the *Poſſe Comitatus* againſt them, they fled from thence into *Worceſterſhire*, where, by the Law the Sheriffs of *Warwick* could not follow them, but the Sheriff diſpenſed with the Law Judging (ſaith he) as he ought to have done, That, if he would perform right the Office of a good Subject, the Obſervation of the Law in that Caſe of neceſſity was very unſeaſonable; and he ought to obey the Supreme Law, which is the Safety of his Country. The Sheriff did accordingly, and was highly commended by King *James* the Firſt for it. There might be many Examples of this Kind given, in which the people are allowed to diſpenſe even with their Allegiance in caſe of Neceſſity. It is againſt the Allegiance of a Subject to own the Power of an Uſurper, to bear Arms, to judge of Life and Death, or adminiſter Juſtice between Man and Man, by his Commiſſion; and yet Dr. *Sanderſon* determines it to be the Duty of a good Man to do all theſe, if required by an Uſurper, *Prælect.* 5. *N.* 19. and accordingly we find Judge *Hales* acted under the worſt of Uſurpers, *Oliver Cromwell*, and executed the Office of a Judge, as may be ſeen in his Life.

Salus populi ſuprema Lex: The Equity of which Maxim, as it leaveth in the Law-giver a power of diſpenſing with the Law, as he ſhall ſee it expedient to the Publick Good; ſo it leaveth in the Subject a Liberty upon juſt Occaſions to do otherwiſe than the Law requires. Dr. *Sanderſon's* Judgment concerning Submiſſion to Uſurpers, *pag.* 17. *Edit. Land.* 1678.

15. Thirdly,

15. Thirdly, 'Tis the moſt wicked as well as hazardous thing, that a King or People can do, to pretend a neceſſity for diſpenſing with thoſe publick Compacts, when the pretence is not real: For the publick Faith is hereby violated, the Party unconſulted is abuſed, a juſt reaſon of Diſtruſt raiſed between the King and People; and they of the two that aſſume to themſelves this Power of Diſpenſing upon a pretended, not real neceſſity, in Caſes of great Moment to the Kingdom, are in a fair way to lay a real neceſſity on the other Party to Diſpenſe with their part of the Compact; that is to ſay, the King will pretend a Neceſſity where there is none, for his not governing by Laws in Caſes that concern the common Safety of the Kingdom, he gives a ſhrewd Temptation, and a juſtifiable Colour to his People to Diſpenſe with their Submiſſion and Allegiance to him. And it is full as good a Reaſon for a Peoples taking Arms to defend themſelves againſt illegal Violence, to alledge, that they were neceſſitated to do ſo, to prevent the Ruin and Deſtruction of them and their Poſterity, as it is for a King to alledge, that he uſes illegal Officers and Force to preſerve himſelf, and his Kingdoms. And if the Allegation be real, I do not ſee why it ſhould not juſtifie the one as well as the other, thô the one be againſt the Oath of Allegiance, and the other againſt the Coronation Oath; Caſes of extreme Neceſſity being tacitly excepted in both. Kings therefore that take on themſelves to Diſpenſe with Laws, without the conſent, either tacit or expreſs of their People, give an ill Precedent againſt themſelves, and muſt blame themſelves, if their People, taught by them, return it upon them.

16. 'Tis plain, the Officers employed by King *James* in *Ireland*, both Civil and Military, were unqualified and uncapable by Law, of thoſe Employments. If Lord *Tirconnell* (for inſtance) claimed Subjection of us by the Laws, I do not ſee why he ſhould expect the People to be better Obſervers of the Laws than he was. Suppoſe that it was againſt the Law for them to reſiſt him, it was likewiſe againſt the Laws that he ſhould command them; if he diſpenſed in one Caſe, they only diſpenſed in the other: And in this Caſe it was as lawful for the one to diſpenſe as the other.

I ſuppoſe the only Reaſon in a ſettled Government, why one Man can claim our Submiſſion and not another, is, becauſe the known Laws give the one and not another the power of commanding; but the Laws as well as the Intereſt of this Kingdom ſaid poſitively, that the Earl of *Tirconnell*, and Men of his Character and Religion, ſhould not have any Office Civil or Military, and therefore thoſe Proteſtants that ſtood on their Defence againſt him, did not look on themſelves to have

reſiſted any perſons legally commiſſioned by the King; nor was there any need of a Judge, or Judgment in the Caſe: The Queſtion being no other, than, Whether the Law required, that our Governors and Army ſhould not be Papiſts? And, whether the Earl of *Tirconnell* and thoſe he employed were Papiſts? Both which were notorious and confeſſed by all without the Determination of a Court or Judges.

17. As to the point of Neceſſity; 'tis as plain there was no Neceſſity on King *James* to employ theſe perſons, whom the Law had diſabled to ſerve him; Proteſtants were numerous enough, and willing enough to ſerve him in every thing that was for the Intereſt of the Kingdom; but he not only refuſed to entertain them, but turned out ſuch as he found employed, without the leaſt Crime or Accuſation; and put in their places perſons not only unqualified by Law for the Employments into which he put them, but alſo unfit and uncapable to diſcharge them; which ſufficiently ſhewed, that it was Choice, not Neceſſity, made him employ them. But he foreſaw, that ſuch Perſons as the Laws deſigned for Employments, would not aſſiſt to deſtroy the Laws, Liberties and Religion of the Kingdom; and therefore he exchanged them for thoſe new Servants, whoſe Intereſt it was to join with him in his ill Deſigns, and whoſe Service was their Crime; who deſerved the moſt ſevere puniſhments, not only for accepting theſe Employments againſt the Laws, but likewiſe uſing them to the Subverſion of all Law and Juſtice. If therefore there was any neceſſity on King *James* to employ ſuch Servants, it was a criminal Neceſſity, and intirely of his own making; and if he imagined, that ſuch a Neceſſity would excuſe him from his Coronation Oath, of governing according to the Laws, and juſtifie his diſpenſing with all the Laws made for the Security of his Subjects, why ſhould he not allow the ſame Liberty to his Subjects, and think that an inevitable Neceſſity of avoiding Ruin, ſhould be a ſufficient Reaſon for them to diſpenſe with their Obedience to him, notwithſtanding their Oaths of Allegiance; eſpecially where the Neceſſity is not pretended or created by themſelves, as his was, but apparent and forced on them by him? According therefore to his own Rules, he cannot blame them for refuſing to obey him where no Law required their Obedience; or for reſiſting him in thoſe unlawful Methods they ſaw him engaged in, to their manifeſt Deſtruction.

But King *James* was reſolved to venture all, and, as many of his Favourites expreſſed it, would not be *a Slave to the Laws*, and therefore endeavoured to be their Maſter. In *England* he granted without any apparent Neceſſity, nay (againſt not only the Intereſt and Safety of the Kingdom but even) to his own prejudice, ſeveral Diſpenſations:

But

But these passed in some colour or form of Law, and many of them at least passed the Offices and Seals; but in *Ireland* they did not trouble themselves with these Formalities. A verbal Command from the King was a sufficient Dispensation to all Laws made in favour of a Protestant; the Officers acted, and the Courts judged, as if there had been no such Laws in being. Here the Dispensations went much higher than in *England*, even to dispensing with the Laws against robbing and taking away property; for if King *James* had a mind to any thing, he sent an Officer with a File of Musquetiers, and fetched it away, without considering the Owners; and to shew us, that his Commands were not merely pretended by these Officers (which I confess often happened) when they did such illegal things, the King himself to shew, I say, that it was his determinate Resolution to act thus, did sometimes send Orders under his Hand to take away many things of great value without offering any Retribution or Satisfaction to the Owners.

Many Instances of this kind may be given: I shall only mention one, because it made some noise. A Grant, in nature of a Lease, with a reserv'd Rent to the Crown, was made by King *Charles* the Second to some of his Courtiers, as a Gratuity for considerable Services; whereby the sole Liberty to Coin Copper-Money in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, for one and twenty Years was given to them. This Grant was purchased at a dear rate from the Grantees by Sir *John Knox*, late Lord Mayor of *Dublin*, and was renewed not without great Trouble and Charges to him by King *James*, after his Accession to the Crown. When he came into *Ireland*, he found this Grant in the Hands of Collonel *Roger Moore*, to whom it came by way of Legacy from the Purchaser. King *James* designing to set up a Brass Mint, sent for this Grant, and had it strictly canvast, to see if any Flaw could be found in it: None could be found; nor would the Collonel be persuaded to give it up. The King therefore commanded it to be laid aside, and his own Mint to be proceeded on, without regard to it. But having occasion for the coining Tools and Engines belonging to this, without consulting the Owner, or enquiring whether he was willing to part with them, he sent and seised on them violently, forcing open the Doors, and taking away to a considerable Value. Collonel *Moore* petitioned for Redress, or at least some Consideration for his Loss, but his Petition was rejected, without being heard. Such proceedings were common, and shews us plainly what a weak Barrier Laws are against a person who designs absolute Power, and who believes, according to our late Act of Recognition, *That the Decision in all Cases of a misused Authority by a Lawful Hereditary King, must be left to the sole Judgment of God.*

SECT.

SECT. IV.

III. *King* James's *Progress to destroy his Protestant Subjects, by his disposing of Civil Offices, and ordering the Privy Council.*

1. I Have already taken notice how King *James* disposed the Military Offices, in such a Method, as must unavoidably ruin the Protestant Interest in *Ireland*, it was not altogether so easie to out Men of their Civil Employment, as of their Military. 1. Because many had Patents for Life, or Good Behaviour. And 2. Because some of the Offices themselves were so difficult to be managed, that it was not easie to find *Roman* Catholicks capable of discharging them; yet it appeared necessary, in order to ruin the Protestants, that they should be turned out of them; and therefore King *James* and his Ministers resolved to do it as fast as they could. As soon as they could find a Papist that would or durst undertake them, they put him in; and they plainly declared, that no Protestant after a little while should have any Office of Trust or Profit left in his Hands. Some Offices they disposed of without more ado, by new Patents, and put the Patentee in Possession without taking notice that there was another Patent in being, leaving the former Proprietor to bring his Action at Law if he pleased. Thus they served Sir *Charles Meredith* for his Chancellorship of the *Exchequer*; and thus they served Sir *John Topham*, and Sir *John Coghill*, for their Masterships of the *Chancery*. And the Inferior Bodies of Cities learned this Trick from them; and by it outed their Protestant Recorders, even before their new Charters. Some Officers that claimed a Title to their Offices by Law, were not allowed a Legal Tryal: But the Chancellor called them before him, and on a private Hearing, turned them out. Thus he served Mr. *Charles Baldwin* one of the Examinators of the *Chancery*.

2. But to proceed by Retail seemed tedious, and therefore to make short Work, and rid their Hands of Protestant Civil Officers at once, as they had done of the Military. They made an Act in their pretended Parliament, to void all Patents for Offices during Life or Good Behaviour, though granted by King *James* himself, and though the Protestants had laid out their Fortunes to purchase them by King *James*'s own Consent, and Permission, as many had done. Now let the World judge what a step the disposal of these Offices was, to the Destruction of Protestants, when some of them were of such Consequence, that an unfaithful

unfaithful Officer in them, might undo many, by deſtroying their Evidences for their Eſtates; in what condition muſt Proteſtants be, when the Records by which they held their Eſtates, were put into the Hands of thoſe who were their Adverſaries in the claim, and had nothing to bar them, but theſe Records, of which they were now made Keepers, who had often before ſhocked the Proteſtant Titles, by ſetting up counterfeit Deeds, nay and corrupting the Records themſelves, even whilſt Proteſtants had the keeping of them; of which, the Records in the *Common Pleas* Office, are yet an unanſwerable Evidence, counterfeit Judgments being entred there, to the ſum of ſome one thouſand pound, by the Treachery of corrupting Papiſts. I have for the ſatisfaction of the Reader ſet down in the *Appendix* the Names of the moſt conſiderable Officers belonging to the Courts, that the Change may be more viſible. *Appendix* N. 10.

3. The next ſort of Officers were ſuch as were concerned in the Revenue; theſe were, many of them, during Pleaſure. The Revenue had for five or ſix years laſt paſt been managed by Commiſſioners to very great advantage. They had gotten under them a ſet of very ſharp and ſevere Officers; many of which having been formerly concerned in Trade themſelves, knew all the Arts of cheating the King in his Duties; and were able to diſcover them, and he who was moſt acute and made greateſt Advantage for the King, was ſure to keep his Place and to be advanced. It was hard to find a ſet of Commiſſioners and Officers that could ſerve the King in his Revenue at the Rate theſe Perſons did; and therefore they were forced to be ſlow in changing them; yet they did it by degrees, and with ſuch Circumſtances, as plainly diſcovered that they were reſolved, as ſoon as was poſſible, to employ *Roman* Catholicks only. To do them Juſtice they generally owned it; and when any of them had a Friend to prefer to an Office in the Revenue, his Argument to remove the Proteſtant Poſſeſſor uſually was, *This Man muſt be removed, and why not now?* As the Popiſh Biſhop of *Elphin* wrote to Sir *Patrick Trant* from *Gallway*, in order to remove a Proteſtant Gauger employed there. In moſt places they turned out the Proteſtant Collectors and Officers, and put in their Popiſh Friends, though much to the King's Loſs, as it often proved, and as they themſelves knew it would be, and did not ſcruple to own it. Their new Collectors, either being ſo ignorant as not to make the beſt of their Places, or ſo very Corrupt that they run away with the Money when Collected; as it happened at *Clonmell*; or ſo abuſed their Truſt, that they were obliged to change no leſs than five or ſix at a time, King

James

James himſelf declaring publickly that they deſerved to be hanged. That there remained any Proteſtants employed in the Revenue was plainly from their not having time enough to train up others in their room, and not from their intentions to continue Proteſtants in it; to whom they envied even the hated Office of being Publicans.

4. The third ſort of Officers in the Kingdom are ſuch, as have Truſt or Honour annexed to them, but little Profit; of this ſort I reckon Sheriffs and Juſtices of the Peace. It was no eaſie matter to find *Roman* Catholicks to put into theſe Offices, and it was a moſt provoking ſight to Proteſtants, to ſee with what kind of Men they ſupplied them: They were forced to rake into the very Scum and Sink of the People, to find a few to ſet on the Bench, as I ſhewed before; Men without Freehold, without Senſe, and without Honeſty, were made Sheriffs; and yet they were forced to continue moſt of them two years, not being able to find in ſome Counties any *Roman* Catholick that could pretend to be capable of ſuch an Employment. Thus in the County of *Tyrone*, *Turlogh ô Donelly* ſerved two years as Sheriff, who had not one Foot of Freehold; and for his Honeſty you may gueſs at it by this Story, which is notoriouſly true: His Son had Stolen ſome Bullocks from his Neighbour Mr. *Hamilton* of *Callidon*, and brought them to his Father the Sheriffs Houſe: Some of them were killed and eaten in the Houſe. The Owner purſued and found the Remainder, which were reſtored; and to Compound the Matter, a Bond of ſixteen pound was entred into by the Sheriff for ſuch as were eaten; and if I remember right, a Warrant of Attorney for Judgment. When he came to *Dublin* to paſs his Accompts as Sheriff, he was ſued for the Money, but to avoid the Suit, he liſted himſelf a Foot Soldier in the Lord *Maguires* Company, and pretended he was Enliſted in the Company two or three days before the Arreſt; which my Lord likewiſe vouched, tho' really he was not Enliſted till after the Arreſt or Execution. Upon which the Attorney that took out the Action or Execution, I do not remember which, and the Perſon to whom he owed the Money were brought into great Trouble, and forced to abſcond for violating the Privilege of the Army; and obliged for Peace ſake to depart from their Claim. We had many ſuch Sheriffs and Juſtices of the Peace; and to demonſtrate that they deſigned to out Proteſtants of all power, there was not one Proteſtant Sheriff in all *Ireland*, for the year 1687, as may be ſeen in the Catalogue which I have given of their Names in the Appendix, except *Charles Hamilton* of *Cavan*, who was put in by miſtake (as was ſuppoſed) inſtead of *John Hamilton* of *Killeneur*, who is a *Roman* Catholick. Nay it was deſigned that

N. 7.

that not one Protestant should sit on the Bench as Justice of Peace; and the Design in a great measure effected; not indeed by revoking their Commissions, but by making it impossible for them to Act. It was now almost a necessary qualification to preserve a Man in his Place, to change or dissemble his Religion; and some did worse, that is betrayed it by their Compliance, whilst yet they profest it. Many who would not be guilty of such servility, were turned out even from the mean Employments of a High or petty Constable, of a Goalor or Turn-Key; of all which it were easie to give Examples; but the thing being Universal, makes that unnecessary. Even these mean Employments were now counted too good for Protestants; and all this contrary to the express Letter of the Law, which admitted none but such as would take the Oath of Supremacy, to any Office; but they took a peculiar pleasure to act in contempt and despite of the Laws; and it seemed to them a kind of Conquest to turn a Man out of his Employment, Office, or Freehold, contrary to Law. In the mean time it was a melancholy thing for Protestants to live under such illegal Officers, and have their Lives, Estates, and Liberties, at the mercy of Sheriffs, Justices, and Juries; some of whose Fathers or nearest Relations, they had either hanged for Thieving, Robbery and Murthering, or killed in the very Act of Torying.

5. I reckon as a fourth sort of Officers in the Kingdom, such as were of the Privy Council, which in *Ireland* is a great part of the Constitution, and has considerable Privileges and Power annexed to it. Regularly no Act of Parliament can pass in *Ireland*, till the chief Governor and Privy Council do first certifie the Causes and Reasons of it. It was therefore no less than necessary that King *James* should model this to his mind; and he quickly ordered it so, that the Papists made the majority in it; and whereas before it was a Refuge and Sanctuary to the oppressed, it now became a most effectual Instrument to strengthen the Popish Interest, and give Reputation to their Proceedings. We may guess what kind of Government King *James* designed, when he was attended with such a Council; and yet it is certain even some of these, who were Protestants, would have been turned out, if they had not absented themselves, and declined appearing at the Board; but whether they appeared or no, was of no consideration, since it is plain they could do Protestants little service.

See the Appendix for the List of Privy-Counsellors. N. 9.

SECT. V.

Fourthly, *King* James's *ordering Corporations was an effectual means to destroy his Protestant Subjects, and to alter the very Nature of the Government.*

1. WHoever knows the Constitution of *England* and *Ireland*, must observe that the Subjects have no other security for their Liberties, Properties and Lives, except the Interest they have of chooſing their own Representatives in Parliament. This is the only Barrier they have againſt the Encroachments of their Governor. Take it away, and they are as abſolute Slaves to the Kings Will, and as miſerable as the Peaſants in *France*. Whoever therefore goes about to deprive them of this Right, utterly deſtroys the very Conſtitution and Foundation of the Government. Now the Proteſtants of *Ireland* finding the neceſſity of ſecuring this right in their own Hands, to preſerve the Kingdom in Proſperity and Peace, had procured many Corporations to be Founded, and built many conſiderable Corporate Towns at their own Coſt and Charges. They thought it reaſonable to keep theſe in their own Hands, as being the Foundation of the Legiſlative power; and therefore ſecluded Papiſts as Enemies to the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *Ireland*, from Freedom and Votes in them by the very Foundation and Rules of planting them. This Caution they extended by a Law, to all other Corporations in the Kingdom, excluding Papiſts likewiſe from them, which they juſtly did, if we remember that theſe Papiſts had forfeited their Right in them, by their Rebellion in 1641; and by their having turned thoſe Towns, where they had Intereſt, into Neſts of Traitors againſt the King, and into places of Refuge for the Murtherers of the *Engliſh*; inſomuch that it coſt *England* ſome Millions to reduce them again into Obedience; witneſs *Kilkenny*, *Waterford*, *Galway*, *Lymerick*, and every other place where they had power to do it. Add to this, that generally the trading induſtrious Men of the Kingdom were Proteſtants, who had built moſt of the Corporate Towns (above thirty at once in King *James* the Firſt's time) and a great part of the Freeholds of the Kingdom did alſo belong to Men of the ſame Religion: Inſomuch that if a fair Election had been allowed, in probability no Papiſt could have carryed it in any one County of *Ireland*. All which conſidered, it was but reaſonable that the Proteſtants that had by ſo much Blood and Treaſure, brought the Kingdom into Subjection to the Laws of *England*, and

and planted it in such a manner as to render it worth the Governing by the King, should be secured of their Representatives in Parliament; especially when out of their great Loyalty, and Confidence in the King's kind intention to them, they by some new Rules had condescended, that none should Officiate as Majors, Portrieves, Magistrates, or Sheriffs in the chief Towns, till approved by the King's chief Governor for the time being. Their yielding this to the King, was a sufficient security, one would have thought, to the Royal Interest. A great diminution of their Liberties, and such as never was yielded before to any King; but this would not serve King *James* to be absolute, he must have the intire Disposition of them, and the power to put in and turn out whom he pleased, without troubling the Formalities of Law. To bring them therefore to this, it was resolved to Dissolve them all. *Tyrconnel* knew that the Protestants would never give up their Charters, without being compelled by Law: And therefore he endeavoured to prevail with them to admit Papists to Freedom and Offices in them, that by their means he might have them surrendred; but the Resolution of Sir *John Knox*, then Lord Mayor of *Dublin*, and of the then Table of Aldermen, spoiled that Design, and forced the King to bring *Quo Warranto*'s against them, since they would not easily consent to destroy themselves.

The Chief Baron *Rice*, and the Attorney General *Nagle*, were employed as the fittest Instruments to carry on this Work. To prevent Writs of Error into *England*, all these *Quo Warranto*'s were brought in the *Exchequer*; and in about two Terms, Judgments were entred against most Charters. Whereas if either Equity or Law had been regarded, longer time ought to have been allowed, in matters of such Consequence for the Defendants to draw up their Plea, than the Chief Baron took to Dispatch the whole Cause, and seize their Franchises. Attorney General *Nagle* plaid all the little Tricks that could be thought of; and had an ordinary Attorney brought such Demurrers or Pleadings into Court, in a common Cause, as he did in this most weighty Affair of the Kingdom; he would have received a publick Rebuke, and been struck out of the Roll for his Knavery or Ignorance. After all, there was not one Corporation found to have Forfeited by a Legal Tryal neither was any Crime or Cause of forfeiture objected against them; yet the Chief Baron gave Judgment against a hundred Charters or thereabouts, upon such little Exceptions, and pitiful Cavils, that it must be the greatest affront to the understanding of Mankind, to think to put such on them for Justice; and the greatest profanation of the name of Law, to endeavour to pass such Proceedings for Legal. Admit that a Corporation,

which is an invisible Body in Law, could do any thing to destroy its own being; or that it were reasonable it should be divested of a particular Privilege, which it has manifestly abused; or when, by alteration of Circumstances, such a Privilege becomes a prejudice to the Publick; as it sometimes happens. Yet to Dissolve all the Corporations in a Kingdom, without the least Reason or Pretence of abuse of Privilege or Forfeiture, to take advantage from the Ignorance of a Lawyer, or the mistake of a Clerk, nay to pretend these when really there is no such thing, is such an abuse of the King's Prerogative and the Law, that it is enough to make the People, oppressed by colour of them, to hate both, at least to wish the Administration of them in other Hands; and this was clearly the Case of the Corporations in *Ireland*. The City of *Dublin* was not allowed so much time to put in their Plea as was really sufficient to transcribe it as it ought to have been. The Clerk mistakes the Date of one of their Charters; they pray leave to mend it; this is denyed them; and the Chief Baron gives Judgment. The same Term the Charter of *Londonderry*, in which the City of *London* was so deeply concerned, was condemned on a yet more frivolous Pretence, upon which the Chief Baron gave Judgment against the Charter. And upon the like wrangling Cavils were the rest dissolved; except a few which were on Noblemens Estates. Some of these Noblemen employed *Roman* Catholick Agents or Receivers; who so managed their Estates for them, as chiefly to encourage Papists, and now became the Instruments to betray their Corporations. These Agents employed the Power and Interest they had amongst their Masters Tenants, by Threats and Intrigues, to procure Surrenders; and by these means, some few were influenced. Thus one *Porter*, a Papist, employed as a Receiver by the Earl of *Kildare*, betrayed his Lord, and prevailed with *Athy* and some other Corporations on his Estate to Surrender.

3. Whether they did not think fit to destroy the Charters upon their usual and trivial pretence of defective Pleading, there they found out other Expedients, without Tryal, to destroy them. And that was, by granting a New Charter (as in the Case of *Bangor* in the County of *Down*) to such Men as the Attorney General thought fit; who by the Sheriff should be put in Possession of the Government of the Town, and then if the former Possessors thought themselves injured, they might bring their Actions against the Intruders: In the Tryal of which, they had Reason to expect no more fairness, than they found in the Proceedings against their Charters.

4. This Contrivance, of superseding a former Charter by granting a new one, served to very good purpose. There were many particular

Charters

Charters granted to Corporations in the City of *Dublin*. Such were the Corporations of Taylors, Skinners, Feltmakers, *&c.* where these refused to Surrender, they got a few of the Trade to take out a New Charter, by which Papists were constituted Masters and Wardens, and as soon as they had taken it out they committed to Prison such of the ancient Members as would not submit to them.

5. Every Body dreaded the Effects of these Proceedings, the Gentry considered that they held their Estates by Patents from the King; and the Title was no stronger than that of a Charter. And if Men were outed of their Privileges and Freedoms by such Tricks and Shadows of Law, they began to fear that one day or other the like might be found to void their Patents.

6. As soon as the Corporations came to be supplied with new Charters, it plainly appeared that no *English* or Protestant Freeman could expect a comfortable Life in *Ireland*; for in the first place, the Corporations were made absolute Slaves to the King's Will, it being one Clause in all the new Charters, that the King's chief Governor should have power to turn out, or put in whom he pleased, without giving any Reason, and without any Form of Legal Proceeding; by which the Corporations were so much in the King's Power, that he might with as much Reason have named his Regiment of Guards, a Free Parliament, as the Burgesses return'd by such Elections. The whole Kingdom had therefore reason to resent such Proceedings, as being absolutely destructive to their Liberties; but more especially the *English* Protestants; for it plainly appeared in the second place, that all this Regulation was more immediately designed for their Destruction. The persons every where named for Aldermen and Burgesses in the New Charters being above two-thirds Papists, some few Protestants were kept in for form sake, that they might not seem absolutely to discountenance them; and to avoid discovering their Designs of turning them out of all: But yet so few, in comparison of the Papists, that they were incapable of doing either good or hurt. And when they saw that they must be insignificant, they generally declined serving at all. The Papists employed, were commonly the most inveterate and exasperated persons against Protestants and their Interest, that could be found. Many of them never saw the Corporations for which they were Named; they were never concerned in Trade or Business; many of them were named for several Corporations, because they wanted Men qualified as they would have had them, to make up the number of Aldermen or Burgesses. Most of them were poor and mean, and such whose very Names spake Barbarities

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7. The Protestants foresaw very well, what they were to expect from Corporations thus settled; and a great many of the richest Trading Citizens, removed themselves and their Effects into *England*. The Gentry likewise endeavoured to make Provision for themselves there; and such as could compass Money laid it out in *England*, and fled after it to avoid the Storm they saw coming on *Ireland*. The Truth is, 'twas intolerable to them to live under the Government of their Footmen and Servants, which many must have done, had they staid; and they could not but dread a Parliament, that should not only be Slaves to the King's Will, who they saw was bent to settle Popery at any rate, but which must consist of Members that they knew to be their inveterate and hereditary Enemies, who would not stick to sacrifice the Liberties and Laws of the Kingdom to the King's Will, so they might procure from him Revenge on the Protestants, and turn them out of their Estates. For what would they stick at, that were so servile as to accept such precarious Charters? They saw in this their own Ruin design'd; and the Event has shewn that they were not mistaken, perhaps no King in the World, much less a King who had been obliged in so high a manner as King *James* had been, by his Protestant Subjects, did ever take so much Pains to ruin his Enemies, or condescend to such mean Acts as he did to ruin us.

SECT. VI.

V. *King* James's *destructive Attempts upon the Trade and Trading Part of the Nation.*

1. TRade is of so great Advantage to a Kingdom, and the Profit it brings to the Exchequer is so considerable, that it is hardly credible that any King should contrive to destroy it in his own Kingdom; and yet King *James* has given us just reason to conclude, that he designed the Ruin of it in all his Kingdoms, at least was well pleased with it. Many *Roman* Catholicks, who pretended to know his Mind, have confidently affirm'd, that he purposely let the Ships of *England* decay and rot, that the *French* might grow great at Sea and destroy the Trade of the *English*. The Reason pretended for doing so, was to *humble his Subjects*, and take away their Wealth from them, that made them proud and surly, so that the King *could not have his Will of them*; I speak the Language of these *Roman* Catholicks; and the King himself could not sometimes forbear Words to the same purpose. And

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if we consider the Condition in which their present Majesties found the *English* Fleet, the thing will not want probability. It was further pretended by many of King *James*'s Officers, that it was more for the King's Advantage, to have his Subjects poor than rich; *For*, said they, *you see how willing the poor* Irish *are to enlist themselves Soldiers for two Pence a day, who know no better way of living: But it were impossible to bring the rich Churls of* England *(so they usually called them) from their Farms and Shops, on such Terms, to serve the King.* They further alledged, that the Poverty of the Generality of *France*, is the Reason that they are so willing to be Soldiers, and makes them so easily maintain'd when they are enrolled. Upon such destructive Maxims did they found their design of ruining Trade in these Kingdoms.

2. But whatever be said to the general Design, it is certain King *James* ruined the Trade of *Ireland*, in prosecution of his purpose of destroying the Protestants there. The Money and Wealth circulated in their Hands, and few others had either Stock, Understanding or Credit, to carry on a Trade besides them. They innocently imagined, if there had been no other Reason, that this alone would have prevailed with the then Government to have permitted them to live secure, easie and quiet; but they quickly found that King *James* and his Ministers would rather have no Trade at all in the Kingdom, than it should be in the Hands of the Protestants. Merchants have generally their Stock in Moveables, so that it is easie for them to transport themselves and their Effects into another Country, if they find themselves uneasie in their own. And sure the Protestant Merchants could not be easie in Towns which they had formerly governed, and in which they were now subjected to mean and inconsiderable People; many of which had formerly been their own menial Servants, but now advanced to the Honour of being Magistrates, treated their late Masters with such Affronts and Abuses, as are intolerable to Free Men; and, which *Solomon* observes, make even wise Men mad.

3. This, together with the apprehension of danger to their Lives and Fortunes, from the advancement of such indigent and malicious Persons to Power, did drive most of the rich Traders out of the Kingdom. The rest contracted their Stocks, called in their Debts, and resolved to give over Trading, or else follow their Neighbours into *England*, as soon as they could clear themselves of their Business; the effect of this Resolution of theirs was ruinous to all such as were indebted to them, or in their Books; for it was impossible to raise Money to Answer those Debts, when called for so suddenly, tho' they had Stock enough to Answer them, if time had been allowed them, as they expected

cted when they contracted them; by which means Protestants were forced to ruin one another, as well as some Papists that depended on them; a great many being forced thereby to shut up Shop, and break for small Debts, that bare no proportion to their Stocks and Credit, whose Payment had been good, if they had not been called on too suddenly, and if the Circulation of Trade had not been stopped.

4. The next thing that destroyed the Trade of *Ireland* was the advancing persons of mean or no Fortunes unto places of Profit. These had no ready Money to give the Merchants, and yet were necessitated to live high, and appear in fine Cloaths; and either by force or fraud they got into the Shop-Books; and by refusing to pay, disabled the Merchants to make their usual Returns, and by that means broke their Credit, which is the Foundation of Trade. The Protestant Soldiers and Officers, in whose places the indigent Papists were substituted, were generally so good Husbands as to have some little thing in store; and hence were enabled to take up at the best hand, and punctually pay what they had expended; but these New-Comers gave their Creditors, where they chanced to be trusted, only Oaths, and Curses, and Abuses, instead of Payment; a general stop of Trading immediately followed; especially the Manufactures set up in the Kingdom, which were very considerable to its Trade, came to be neglected; and every thing upon *Tyrconnell*'s coming to the Government, was at a stand. The Clothier would not lay out his Money to make Cloth, and pay Workmen, when it must either lie on his Hands, or he be obliged to trust it to such Debtors that would only return him Abuses for his Money. The Builder would not go on in his Building, and part with his ready Money, when he could have no Security of enjoying it, or receiving Rent for it, if he Let it. By these means great numbers of Tradesmen and Laborers, all generally Protestants, were reduced to Beggary, and their Families starved. Such sort of People as these, are the Men that carry on Trade, and enrich a place; but were now forced to leave the Kingdom, and seek elsewhere for Work: Their going away stopped the usual Consumption of Commodities, and made Trade yet more dead and heavy.

5. There was a third thing that did further discourage the Merchants, and that was the Exaction of the Custom Houses. The Officers found that by the decay of Trade, the King's Revenue must fall, and that then they would be in hazard to lose their places; to prevent which, they used all the Rigor and Exactions imaginable: They had Valuators of their own chusing, which put what Rates on Goods they pleased, and then the Merchant must paythe Duties accordingly without Remedy. Frequently the Values set on Goods were double, nay treble to

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what they ought to have been, and to the true intrinsick Worth of the Commodity, or what they could be sold for; the Consequence whereof was, that the Merchant paid often double or treble Duties to what he ought; and this was a great Discouragement to Trading. The Complaints of all People in general as well as of Merchants were great on the account of Exactions of the Officers of the Revenue, who were grown up to a high degree of Exorbitance; which, with many other Abuses in the Kingdom, proceeded from the long Disuse of Parliaments, the inferior Officers being freed from that fear for twenty four years, did forget that there were any, to whom they were accountable, besides their own Masters; and therefore not only exacted upon and oppressed the Subjects, but likewise treated them with insufferable Insolence, while the Commissioners or Farmers strained and perverted the Laws for their own profit, or to ingratiate themselves with the Courtiers, on whose Favour they depended.

6. There was a fourth thing that more peculiarly ruined the Protestant Trade, and 'twas thus; the King's Revenue in *Ireland* was so considerable a part of each Man's Estate, that most of the current Coin in the Kingdom came into the Treasury once in a year, either for Hearth Money, Crown Rents, or some other Duties. And the King having turned Protestants out of all profitable Employments, and out of the Army, and put in Papists, his Revenue was paid out again to them, and ought to have circulated indifferently amongst his Subjects, as it used to do. But so great was the Malice of these new Officers to Protestants, that they combined amongst themselves, to let them have as little of it as was possible; and therefore wherever they could lay it out with one of their own Religion, they did it. And very few Protestants ever received a Groat of their Money, as the Citizens of *Dublin* can universally witness. When they wanted Money they came to the Protestant Shops, where they abused and affronted and terrified them, if they refused to trust; calling them *Dogs*, *Whigs*, *Rebels* and *Traitors*, swearing with many Oaths, that they would be revenged on them. But if they had ready Money, tho they had been formerly Customers to Protestants, and in their Books, they never came near them any more. This practice was so universal amongst them, that even the Women learn'd it; particularly the Lady *Tyrconnel*'s Daughters: For thus the Lady *Ros* and her Sister *Dillon* treated several Shopkeepers, falling furiously upon them in the former Terms, because their Servants refused to Trust. By the like rudeness the Exchange was intirely ruined; neither Buyers nor Sellers being able to keep in it, by reason of the Insolencies of the new Popish Officers who walked in it,

affronted and assaulted every Body, or extorted their Goods from them for nothing, the Shopkeepers not daring to refuse to trust them. By this means the rich Shopkeepers were driven away, and most of the considerable Shops shut up, even in the principal Streets of the City, long before we heard any News of the Prince of *Orange*. As soon as the Earl of *Tyrconnel* came to the Government, there was almost a Desolation in the Town; and there were at least fourteen or fifteen Trades that had nothing to do; the Government knew very well that this would be the Effect of their Proceedings, and that the Trade, Manufactures and Improvements of the Kingdom must cease, if they went on at the Rate they did; but they were so far from being concerned at it, that they rather seemed well pleased with it.

7. And to ruin our Trade intirely, they suffered and connived at the Transportation of our Woull to *France*: A thing so fatal to *England* as well as to *Ireland*, that the Law has made it Felony to be punished with Death. The new Mayor of *Gallway*, Mr. *Kyrovan* was catched in the very Fact; and the Delivery of a considerable Cargo sent by him into *France*, was fully proved; for which he ought to have been hanged: But the Lord Deputy *Tyrconnel*, notwithstanding all his Oaths and pretended Displeasure, when the Mischief of it was laid before him, quickly shewed this to be only a Copy of his Countenance; for he not only granted him a Pardon, and remitted his Forfeiture of about 10000 l. but as a further Mark of his Favour, he continued him in his Mayoralty for another year. Thus the Trade of the Kingdom was ruined, and the Protestants, who with vast Hazard and Charge carried it on, had it left to their Choice whether they would stay here and starve, or remove themselves to another Kingdom; and I believe no Body will wonder if they had no great affection for a Government that designedly brought this hardship upon them.

8. It must be acknowledged, that King *James* did not only ruin the Protestant Trade, but that he went a great way in destroying the Trade of the *Roman* Catholicks also. It is well known, that the Citizens of *Gallway* are the most considerable *Roman* Catholick Traders in *Ireland*; many of whom had purchased Estates under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and must therefore fall together with them. They foresaw their own Ruin in the Repeal of those Acts, and petitioned the Parliament, that Consideration might be had of their Purchases and Improvements; but this reasonable Request was denyed them; those Acts were repealed, and by their Repeal left the most considerable *Roman* Catholick Traders in *Ireland*, without Estates or Credit to follow their Trade, or to Answer their Correspondence abroad.

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I might add here the further ſteps made by King *James* towards ruining the Proteſtant Trade, by his Coining Braſs Money, by his lodging it in Proteſtants Hands, ſeiſing their Stocks and Commodities, whereby they were utterly diſabled to Trade; whilſt Papiſts were not only ſpared, but had the Proteſtants Goods put into their Hand. But theſe with the other Influences the Braſs Money had to deſtroy us, will be more proper, when we come to conſider the Invaſions made on our Properties.

SECT. VII.

VI. *King* James's *deſtructive Proceedings againſt the Liberties of his Proteſtant Subjects.*

1. THere is no Worldly thing more valuable to Man than Liberty. Many prefer it to Life; and few can live long without it. 'Tis the Darling of our Laws, and there is nothing of which they are more tender. But the Proteſtants of *Ireland* from the very beginning of King *James*'s Reign, had their Liberties invaded, and at laſt intirely deſtroyed. 'Twas obſervable, that at his coming to the Crown he made no Proclamation for a general Pardon, as has been uſual with Kings: Neither did he paſs any Act of Grace in his firſt Parliament, which gave a fair opportunity to the Papiſts of *Ireland* to revenge themſelves on their Proteſtant Neighbours. No ſooner had they gotten Judges and Juries that would believe them, but they began a Trade of Swearing, and ripping up what they pretended their Neighbours had ſaid of His late Majeſty, whilſt Duke of *York* ſome years before, eſpecially in time of the popiſh Plot. The new Juſtices of the Peace were eager to exerciſe their Offices, and therefore on the ſlighteſt occaſion, bound over and committed their Proteſtant Neighbours, many times without any reaſon at all; at leaſt, without any given in their Warrants: It was time enough to invent ſome againſt the next Aſſizes. There never wanted Evidence enough to accuſe a Man; the very Prieſts being forward to encourage ſuch perjuries, as were to the prejudice of Proteſtants. Of this there are ſeveral Inſtances on Record in the Courts of Juſtice; where we find them ſometimes ſwearing Falſhoods themſelves, and ſometimes encouraging others to do it. Of which the Courts, even in ſpite of all their partiality, were ſatisfied. I gave one Example before in Sir *William Petty*'s Caſe. There is another of Mr. *Balfours* in the County of *Fermanagh*, where the falſe Affidavit of one

Hultaghan a Priest, had almost destroyed his Cause, and lost him a considerale Estate.

2. Upon this account Perjuries became so common, that if a Tenant owed his Protestant Landlord his Rent, he payed him by swearing him into a Plot, or by fixing on him some Treasonable or Seditious Words. If a Papist had any former Quarrel with his Protestant Neighbour, or owed him Money, he paid him in the same Coin. Many were indicted by these Contrivances; many found guilty, and excessively fin'd; some were imprisoned for their Fines, not being able to satisfie the King, who seised both their Bodies and Estates. Hardly any County in *Ireland* was free from numerous Indictments of this kind, and very few Country Gentlemen escaped being accused. Great numbers were indicted and found guilty in the Counties of *Wexford* and *Wicklow*, to the number at least of sixty, the most considerable Gentlemen in the County of *Meath* were indicted, but had better luck; the Perjury of their Accusers being made so manifest, that even a Popish Bench had not the confidence to countenance it, nor a Popish Jury to find it. Thus Mr. *Meredith*, Mr. *Parry*, Mr. *Chetwin* a Minister, and several others, escaped; having discovered the very bottom of a wicked Contrivance to carry on a Trade of Swearing against all the Gentlemen in the Country; but though they discovered it, yet they durst not prosecute it, by reason of some Priests being concerned in it, and of the Discountenance of the Courts; a great many in the County of *Tipperary*, were likewise brought into Trouble, but escaped the first time by a kind of Miracle; one of the Jurors was so maliciously bent against them, that he swore he would die before he would acquit them. It happened to him according to his own desire, he fell dead in the place, whilst they were disputing about returning the Verdict, which saved the Gentlemen for that time. Yet this did not discourage their Prosecutors, they caused them to be indicted anew, and upon their second Tryal *Justin Macarty* (afterwards made Lord *Mountcashel* by King *James*) came into the Court, threatened and hectored Sir *John Mead*, who then sate as Judge for the Duke of *Ormond* (it being within his Graces palatinate) because he would not direct the Jury to find them guilty; but Sir *John* stood his Ground, and declared, that there was no sufficient Evidence against them; upon which they were acquitted. It vexed them, that they could not bring their popish Judges and Sheriffs into that County, as they did into the rest of *Ireland*, by reason that the nomination of them was in his Grace, as Lord of the Regalities; and therefore in their pretended Parliament they not only Attainted him, but likewise, by a particular Act, dissolved his Principality. The first Plot against

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the Gentlemen of the County having miſcarried, they began a ſecond, and got Depoſitions againſt ſeveral; but they were as unlucky in this as in the firſt. They laid the Scheme of their Affairs ſo unskilfully, that the Witneſſes ſwore that the Gentlemen met to carry on their Plot at *Nenagh*, a place above ſixty Miles from *Dublin*, on the ſame day that ſome of them had been examined before the Council Board on the firſt Informations. This appearing to the Council by an entry made in their own Books, quaſhed the Deſign againſt them, and ſaved them a third time. It would make a Volume to enumerate all the Particulars of this Nature.

3. The new Mayors and Juſtices of the Peace were no leſs troubleſome to Proteſtants in their Employments; they made no ſcruple to ſend their Tokens and Warrants for Perſons of the beſt Quality. And wherever a Papiſt and Proteſtant had any difference, there needed no more but a complaint to procure a Committal, and to be ſure it was done with all the indignity and affronting Circumſtances imaginable. Sir *Thomas Hackett*, whilſt Lord Mayor of *Dublin*, did ſo many brutiſh and barbarous things of this nature, that it were endleſs to recount them; taking example from the Lord *Tyrconnel*, who made him Mayor, he treated every body with Oaths, Curſes, ill Names, and barbarous Language. The Lord Primate *Boyles* Family could not eſcape his Warrants; he (or his Clerk, as he afterwards pretended) ſent one for Mr. *Francis Cuff*, and Mr. *Jephſon*, who lived in my Lords Family, being his Son in Law and Nephew: Their Crime was, refuſing to Contribute to the maintainance of two begging Fryars; one of them was one *Magee*, a Debauchee and Renegado, who had the impudence to have demanded it from my Lord Primate if he had been permitted acceſs. The Fryars vexed that they ſhould be repulſed, procured a Warrant for the two Gentlemen that refuſed them, and attempted the Execution of it in my Lord Primates Houſe, with a Rabble of near two Hundred. Sir *Thomas* was not content to Execute his Authority within his own Precincts, but extended it where the Mayors Power was never owned. He ſent his Warrant and Committed the Officers of *Chriſt-Church*, *Dublin*, to the Stocks, becauſe he fancied they did not make the Bells ring *merily enough* for the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*. It was in vain for the Officers to tell him, that their Church and Perſons were not ſubject to his Juriſdiction; that if the Bells did not ring *merily enough* as he alledged, it was the Ringers fault, not theirs. That no body, beſides his Lordſhip, could obſerve any ſuch thing in their Ringing. His brutiſh Paſſion would not give him leave to hearken to Reaſon, but upon all occaſions he proceeded

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ded in the ſame method; which made every body, that valued his Liberty, get out of his Power; and prevailed with a great many to leave their Eſtates and Concerns, and Tranſport themſelves, and what Effects they could carry with them into *England*. It was unſafe and uneaſie living both in the City and in the Country, and he reckoned himſelf happy that could get out of them at any rate.

4. But when the Deſcent was made by his preſent Majeſty into *England*, things grew yet more troubleſome. The Proteſtants were every where Robbed and Plundered. The new Commiſſioned Officers and their Soldiers, under the new name of Rapperies, committed many Outrages and Devaſtations on their Proteſtant Neighbours; inſomuch that they could not be ſafe in their Houſes. If any endeavoured to keep their Houſes, though merely to ſecure themſelves from the Robbers and Tories, immediately they were Beſieged; and though they Surrendred themſelves as ſoon as Summoned, having no deſign to reſiſt Authority, and put themſelves into the Hands of King *James*'s Officers, upon promiſe of Freedom, nay on Articles, yet afterward they were impriſoned and proſecuted, as Mr. *Price* of *Wicklow*. Some of them Condemned and Executed; which happened to Mr. *Maxwel* and one *Lewis*, in the Queens County. They thought it not ſafe to Execute ſome till the War was over, and therefore only kept them in Priſon. So Sir *Laurence Parſons*, and many others were ſerved.

5. At laſt it came to a general Seizure, and almoſt all the Proteſtant Gentlemen, without Reaſon or pretence of Reaſon, without ſo much as a Warrant, or Form of Law, were put in Goals under the cuſtody of mean and barbarous Guards. Whoſe very Captains had had no better Education than that of Footmen or Cowherds; who exerciſed what underſtanding they had, to invent new methods of vexing their Priſoners. This general Confinement continued with moſt, from the middle of Summer 1689, till Winter; and with ſome, till his Majeſties Victory at the *Boyne* ſet them all at Liberty: During all which time, no Reaſon or Ground of their Committal was given; nor were *Habeas Corpus*'s allowed them, though earneſtly ſollicited. One indeed was allowed to Mr. *Thomas King*, a Miniſter, which being the only one that took place, it may be proper to give the Reader an account of the Caſe. The Reaſon of his Committal was really a Quarrel picked deſignedly with him by an Officer of the Guards, becauſe he refuſed to admit one *Ambroſe*, the Popiſh Quarter Maſter of the City, for a Godfather to a Proteſtant Child, whom he Chriſtened: In Revenge whereof, the Officer intruded into his Company whilſt at Meat, as was common with them, and would needs oblige him to drink Confuſion and Damnation to the

Prince

Prince of *Orange*; which he modeſtly declining, and alledging that it was unfit for a Chriſtian, much more for a Clergy-man, to drink Damnation to any: The Officer hurried him away to *Newgate* by his own Authority, and after lying there till the Term, his *Habeas Corpus* was allowed him. Upon the Return made by the Goalor, the Court was ſo vexed at it, that they fined the Goalor for making ſuch a Return, but in earneſt becauſe he made any, for that was the contrivance they had to keep People in Goal: And after all he was ſtill kept a Priſoner notwithſtanding his *Habeas Corpus*, till moſt were bailed; and then upon Bail of five thouſand pound he was permitted to go out: Under which Bail he continued as all the reſt did, under the like Sums, till the general Deliverance. After his, no more *Heabeas Corpus*'s were allowed. Moſt of the Priſoners towards the depth of Winter were indeed bailed, and continued ſo from Term to Term, till the news of his preſent Majeſties arrival, and then all were confined anew, notwithſtanding their Bail, with ſome that had not been confined before. At the hour when the laſt of King *James*'s Forces were leaving *Dublin*, they were ordered to carry away four hundred Priſoners along with them; but the Officers were too much afraid of a Purſuit, and too buſy in carrying off their own Baggage, to embarraſs themſelves with Priſoners, and therefore for a little Gold diſmiſſed them. How the Proteſtants of *Drogheda*, who were all made Priſoners, were uſed, whilſt the Town was ſurrounded, is not to be forgotten. They carried them to the Mount where they expected the Cannon would play, tyed them together and ſet them to receive the Shot, if the Town had been Attacked: But their Hearts failed them who were to Defend it, and ſo it Pleaſed God to preſerve the poor Proteſtants, they being delivered, together with the Town, to his Majeſty, upon Summons and Articles. The Proteſtants of *Cork*, and other Towns, were yet worſe uſed; they were carried from their own Homes to ſome remote Caſtles, and there kept without Conveniencies till many of them periſhed. There were ſome very barbarous Circumſtances in their Sufferings, which I muſt leave to the Perſons themſelves to relate, having not yet had full Information.

6. During their Confinement, the Priſoners were kept very ſtrictly, their Servants, Children, and Wives, were often debarred from ſeeing them; or when admitted, not ſuffered to ſpeak to them, but in preſence of the Soldiers. In *Dublin*, when they had filled the Goals, the Hoſpitals, the College, and other Places of Confinement, they at laſt Impriſoned the Citizens in Churches. They were crowded into ſtinking, naſty, unhealthy Rooms, ſometimes twenty, ſometimes forty

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in a Room. At the College, and at a House called *White Friars*, where there were many Prisoners, they put Barrels of Powder under them, threatning to blow them up if they should be prest, and not able to keep the Places. Colonel *Luttrel*, Governor of *Dublin*, denied indeed that this was done by his Order; but yet when he was informed of it by Sir *John Davis*, then a Prisoner and Witness of it, he commended the Discretion of the Officer that did it. This Confinement did not only fall on Gentlemen, but also on the Clergy, nay on the meanest Citizens. Whoever pleased, had a Power to Commit Protestants; and if at any time they asked by what Authority they were committed, those that committed them, made no other Answer than that *they committed them, let them get out as they could.* Some few Gentlemen were indeed committed by C. J. *Nugent's* Warrant, upon a kind of Affidavit made by one *Leak*, whom most of them had never seen: Several of these, by express Orders of the Lord Chief Justice, were sent to *Newgate*, and committed in the Common Goal, in the same Room with Thieves and Common Rogues, though Gentlemen of the best Quality in the Kingdom: And so hasty was his Lordship in it, that he did it before he knew some of their Names; which he was forced afterward to send for, and learn from themselves. A Bill was prepared against them, and offered to the Grand Jury; but *Leak* was unwittingly clapt up, by one of themselves, for a former Robbery, at the time he should have given Evidence, and so the Gentlemen escaped being Tryed. The Confinement was yet more severe and uneasie in the Country; the Gentlemen being at such distances from their Homes, that they could hardly be supplied with Necessaries.

7. It may be thought that these things were unknown to King *James*, and therefore are not to be imputed to him: But it is certain, that if he did not Contrive and Order them, he yet consented to them; neither did he seem to have the least resentment or pity for their Sufferings; as appeared from his Carriage to the Bishop of *Limerick*. His Lordship, by his Majesties Command, on a particular Service waited often on him; he took one of those Opportunities that seemed most favourable, to lay before his Majesty the manifold hardships which were put on the Clergy, and the Protestants in general, of his Dioceſs. He represented to him how they were first Robbed of all, and then laid in Goal; and that they had no way offended his Majesty, or disturbed his Government; and begged his favour in their behalf. His Majesty heard him, but made him no answer; instead thereof, he fell into discourse of another Affair, with a Papist that chanced to be by, and that with an Air more than ordinarily pleasant and unconcerned. Indeed his Majesty had

had by one general Order and Proclamation, dated *July* 26. 1689, confined all Protestants, without distinction of Age or Sex, to their Parishes and Cities, though their Occasions were such that he very well knew that this alone without any more, was a very great encroachment on their Liberty, and a mighty inconveniency to their Affairs; especially when it was continued without Reason or Limitation, No body knew when this would be relaxed; and it was Executed with great strictness, till his present Majesties success put an end to it, and to the Power that imposed it.

8. But least these hardships and restraints should either be avoided by our flight, or known in *England*, where King *James* had a Party to cry up the mildness of his Government, and face down the World that the Protestants lived easily and happily under him in *Ireland*, a most strict Embargo was laid on all Ships, and effectual care taken to destroy all Correspondence with our Friends there: Insomuch that to avoid a Goal, great numbers of Gentlemen and other persons were forced to make their escapes in small Wherries and Fishing-Boats, which before these times durst never venture out of the sight of the Shoar: But it seemed more tolerable, to every body that could compass it, to cross the *Irish* Seas, so famous for their boisterousness and Shipwracks, in that hazardous manner, than to continue under a Government where they could call nothing their own; where it was in the power of any that pleased, to deprive them of their Liberty; where they durst not Travel three Miles for fear of incurring the severest penalties; where they could not send a Letter to a Friend, though in the next Town, and about the most necessary Occasions; and where, tho never so cautious and innocent, they were sure at last to be sent to a Goal. A Government that thus encroached on our Liberties, could not expect we should continue under it longer than we needs must; and it had been unpardonable folly in us not to desire, much more to refuse a deliverance, especially from *England*: Which if Blood and Treasure, or a Possession of five hundred years can give a right to a Country, is justly intitled to the Government of *Ireland*. And which, if it had no other exception against King *James*'s Government, but his Carriage towards *Ireland*, and his attempts to separate it from its dependence on *England*, must be justified by all the World, in their laying him aside, as a Destroyer of his People, and a disinheritor of the Crown of his Ancestors.

SECT. VIII.

7. *The Preparations made by the Earl of* Tyrconnel *to ruin the Estates and Fortunes of the Protestants, by taking away their Arms.*

1. 'TIS Property that makes Government necessary; and the immediate end of Government is to preserve Property; where therefore a Government, instead of preserving, intirely ruins the Property of the Subject, that Government dissolves it self. Now this was the State of the Protestants in *Ireland*: The Government depriv'd them contrary to Law and Justice (nay, for the most part, without so much as the pretence of a Crime) of every thing to which persons can have a Property; even of the necessaries of Life, Food and Rayment. To lay this more fully before the Reader, I will shew First, That King *James* took away the Arms of Protestants. Secondly, That he took away their personal; and Thirdly, their real Estates.

2. When his present Majesty made his descent into *England*, King *James* had an Army of Papists in *Ireland*, consisting of between 7 and 8000, of which, near 4000 were sent over to him into *England*; there remain'd then about 4000 behind, scattered up and down the Kingdom; which were but a handful to the Protestants, there being Men and Arms enough in *Dublin* alone, to have dealt with them: When therefore the News came, that King *James* had sent Commissioners to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, it was propos'd by some to seize the Castle of *Dublin*, where the Stores of Arms and Ammunition lay; the possibility of this was demonstrated, and the Success extreamly probable; insomuch that the persons who offer'd to undertake it, made no doubt of effecting it; they considered that the Papists, besides the 4000 of the Army, were generally without Arms; that those who were in Arms, were raw and cowardly, and might easily be suppress; that to do it effectually, there needed no more but to seize the Deputy *Tyrconnel*, who had not then above 600 Men in the City to guard him, and secure it; that their hearts were generally sunk, and they openly declar'd themselves to be desirous to lay down their Arms; proposing to themselves no other Conditions, but to return to the station in which they were when K. *J.* came to the Crown. This was so universally talk'd of by themselves, that if any one could have assured them of these Terms, there was no doubt but they would readily have comply'd,

ply'd, and have left the Lord *Tyrconnel* to shift for himself; nay, it is probable, the wiser sort amongst them would have bin glad that the Protestants had seiz'd him; and he himself (*a*) commanded some Protestants to signifie to their Friends in *England*, that he was willing to part with the Sword on these terms, so he might have leave to do it from K. *J.* But the Protestants had bin educated in such a mighty veneration to the very name of Authority, and in so deep a sense of Loyalty, that notwithstanding the many provocations given them, and their fear of being serv'd as in 1641, the memory of which was still fresh to them, they yet abhorr'd any thing that look'd like an Insurrection against the Government; and generally condemn'd the design of meddling with the Lord Deputy, tho they knew he was no Legal Governour, and uncapable by the Law of that Trust. Especially the Lord *Mountjoy* laboured for his safety, and prevented the forementioned proposal of seising him and the Castle, with as much industry as if he himself had been to perish in it.

(*a*) See Appendix, No. 14.

The truth is, it was an unanimous resolution of all the Protestants of the Kingdom, that they would not be the Aggressors; and they held steadily to their resolution. None offered or attempted any thing, till they saw the whole body of the Papists in *Ireland* forming themselves into Troops and Companies, and these new rais'd Men permitted, nay, put under a necessity to rob and plunder for their subsistence. They pitied the hard Fortune of K. *J.* and notwithstanding they were half ruin'd themselves when he came into the Kingdom; yet if he had carried himself with any tolerable moderation towards them, and his designs to ruin them had not been so apparent, he might have prevail'd on them in a great measure. But his behaviour was such, as shall appear in the sequel of this Discourse, that it left no room for them to expect or hope for any safety under his Government; of which such Protestants as had followed him from *England* were generally so sensible, that many of them repented too late their having stuck to his Interest, and heartily wished themselves at home again: Openly professing, that they could not have believ'd that he was such a Man, or his designs such as they found them: Nay, several of the English Papists that came from *France* with him, abhorr'd his Proceedings; and us'd to alledge, that he not only hated the English Protestant, but also the English Man. The very Ambassador *d'Avaux*, if he might be believ'd, was dissatisfied with K. *J*'s Measures, and condemned them; alledging that he had intirely given himself up to the Conduct of the bigotted Irish Clergy, and of *Tyrconnel*; who in earnest was the only Minister he

trusted, and would effectually ruin him and the Kingdom: Whatever the Ambassador thought, it is certain he has Discours'd in this manner, and the event has answer'd the Prediction.

4. But to return to the Lord *Tyrconnel*'s dealing with the Protestants: When he found himself so very weak, and so much in the power of the Protestants, that nothing but their own Principles of Loyalty secur'd him against them, he betook himself to his usual Arts, that is of falshood, of dissimulation, and of flattery; which he practis'd with the deepest Oaths and Curses, protesting that he would be rid of the Government very willingly, so it might be with Honour; that it *was easie for him to Ruin and Destroy the Kingdom, and make it not worth one Groat, but impossible to preserve it for his Master.* Every body wondred to find so great a Truth come so frankly out of the mouth of one they usually stil'd *Lying Dick Talbot*, and who had been known, not without reason, many years by that Name. Some believ'd that in earnest he intended to part with the Sword, and perhaps if it had been demanded before K. *J.* went into *France*, it had not been denied; there wanted not several to second the same Truth to him, with all earnestness and application, both in writing and by word of mouth, which the Deputy seem'd to approve; all that he answered to their perswasions to surrender and save the Kingdom was, that he could not do it with Honour, till it was demanded; and sometimes he ask'd them in Raillery, if they would have him *Cast the Sword over the Castle-Walls.* What he desired the World should at that time believe concerning his intentions, may be best collected by the Letters he procur'd to be written and sent into *England*: I have in the Appendix *Appendix*, No 14. given the Copy of one written by his Command, and perused by him before it was sent; it was from a Protestant of good sense and interest in the Kingdom, to another in *London*: Several were written by his order to the same purpose. 'Tis observable in this Letter in the Appendix, 1*st*. That the Lord Deputy owns the Robberies then committed, but would have it believ'd, that the Members of the Army were not the Robbers; which sufficiently shews the falshood of the Allegation whereby the Papists would excuse themselves, as if they had not begun to Rob till the Protestant Associations were set on foot; whereas those were some while after this Letter, and occasion'd by the Robberies mentioned in it.

2*ly*. He would have it believ'd that the Papists fear'd a Massacre from the Protestants, as much as the Protestants from the Papists, which had no ground; The Arms, Forts, Magazines, *&c.* being in the Papists hands, and a vast number of Men every where enlisted by

their

their new Officers; it is true, that the *Prieſts* did by order of their Grandees, endeavour to ſpread ſuch a Rumour, to make their own people arm the faſter; which if it were at all credited by ſome few of them, was look'd on as ridiculous by all others.

3*ly*. He would have the People in *England* believe, that he and the Roman Catholicks were willing to give up the Sword, and return to the Condition in which they were before the death of King *Charles* the the Second. This is plainly the main deſign of the Letter; and ſome think he was ſincere in it, till the coming over of Coll. *Richard Hamilton* altered his Meaſures; but that is not at all probable, his actions all along ſignifying his reſolution to deſtroy the Kingdom rather than part with his greatneſs. However he made a ſhift to perſwade ſome Proteſtants that he meant it; their own earneſt Deſires that it might be ſo, helping to impoſe on them; amongſt whom the Writer of this Letter happened to be one, but was not ſingular, many of good Senſe being deceived as well as he. Laſtly, it appears from the Letter, that the Roman Catholicks as well as the Proteſtants were of opinion, that the Kingdom muſt be ruined, if not yielded up to the Prince of *Orange*: And if ſo, had not the Proteſtants in the North reaſon to do that which in the opinion of all could only ſave the Kingdom? The caſe then ſtood thus with them, if they joined with King *James* or ſate ſtill, they were certainly undone; if he periſhed they muſt periſh with him; if he conquered, he would then be in a capacity to execute his deſtructive Intentions againſt them which he had entertained long before: But if they joyned with their Preſent Majeſties, they were ſure of Safety and Protection as long as *England* is able to Maſter *Ireland*, which in probability will be for ever.

But whatever the Lord *Tyrconnel* profeſt of his being deſirous to give up the Sword, 'tis certain he meant nothing leſs, and the generality of Proteſtants believed, that he only deſigned to gain time and delude them, till he had gotten ſomething like an Army to Maſter them; and they had the more reaſon to believe it, becauſe whilſt he profeſt the greateſt Inclinations to Peace and Accommodation, he was moſt intent on providing for War, and gave out about Five Hundred Commiſſions of one ſort or other in a day; which yet he did in ſuch a manner, as to make the leaſt Noiſe, not paſſing them in the regular forms, or entring them in the uſual Offices, but antedating them, the more to delude and amuſe the Proteſtants; which put the Muſter-Maſters Office out of Order ever after, moſt of theſe Commiſſions being never entred in it: Nor was it ever able to furniſh a perfect Liſt of the very Field Officers, as will appear from the Liſt it ſelf in the Appendix. Appendix No 11.

5. Theſe

5. Theſe new made Officers were ſet on Foot, partly on the firſt noiſe of the Prince of *Orange*'s deſcent, and partly in the beginning of *December*, 1688, and were without Money, Eſtate, or any other viſible means to raiſe their Troops and Companies, and to ſubſiſt (ſo they term'd maintaining) them for Three Months, from the firſt of *January*; a thing impoſſible, without allowing them to Steal and Plunder. It was this ſtruck ſo much terror into Proteſtants, and made them ſo jealous and apprehenſive of Danger, that they fled into *England* in great numbers, eſpecially when they found that the New Raiſed Men, as they ſurmiſed, began to make havock of all things. It was this gave Credit to a Letter dated *December* the Third 1688, ſent to the Lord *Mount Alexander*, whether true or counterfeit I cannot determine, intimating a deſign to Deſtroy the Proteſtants on *Sunday* the Ninth of the ſame Month, which Letter was ſpread over the whole Kingdom. The People of *Derry* had beſide this, ſeveral Letters and Intimations of Miſchief deſigned againſt them, and againſt the Proteſtants of *Ireland*. And though that directed to the Lord *Mount Alexander*, may not ſeem of great weight, yet whoever conſiders the circumſtances of the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, at that time, will acknowldge that it was not to be deſpiſed. In the Year 1641, the Seizing of *Dublin* by the Lord *Mac Guire*, was prevented by as improbable a Diſcovery as this Letter; while the Proteſtants in the reſt of the Kingdom were Maſſacred through the incredulity of ſome who could not be perſwaded to give ear to ſuch intimations of the Deſign, as were brought before them. In *England* the Gun-powder Treaſon was revealed, and the deſtruction of the Three Kingdoms prevented by a Letter as inſignificant as that directed to the Lord *Mount Alexander*. About the very time intimated in the Letter for the Maſſacre, a new raiſed Regiment belonging to the Earl of *Antrim*, appeared before the Town without the King's Livery, without any Officers of Note, or the leaſt warning given by the Earl of their coming; laſtly, without any Arms beſides Skeans, Clubs, and ſuch other Weapons as Kearnes and Tories uſed.

See Appendix.

6. The People of the Town were frightened at the Sight, and refuſed them entrance into the City; this was the Firſt rub or provocation the Lord Deputy met with; it was a meer accident, and proceeded from his own Ignorance or Negligence, who had left that Garriſon, the only one of any conſiderable ſtrength in *Ulſter*, where moſt Proteſtants lived, without one Soldier to Guard it; and then ſent ſuch a pack of Ruffians to take Poſſeſſion of it, many of whoſe Captains and Officers were well known to the Citizens, having lain long in their Jails for Theſts

Theſts and Robberies. When therefore ſuch a Body of Men came to demand entrance at the very time that they expected a Maſſacre, what could they imagine but that theſe Men came to execute it; and who could blame them for ſhutting their Gates? They were well aſſured that theſe were Men fit for ſuch an Execution, and that they were ready on command to do it; and perhaps would not ſtay for an Order. The Lord Deputy bethought himſelf too late of his Error, but could never retrieve it; though by means of the Lord *Mountjoy* he did all in it that was poſſible, having brought the City to accept of a Pardon, and receive a Garriſon of Soldiers; but then it was ſuch a Garriſon as they were able to Maſter, and no more by the Articles were to be admitted into it before the enſuing *March*.

7. We ought to remember the reaſon of Building *Londonderry*, and 'tis plain from its Charter granted by King *James* the Firſt, that it was Founded to be a Shelter and Refuge for Proteſtants againſt the Inſurrections and Maſſacres of the Natives, who were known always to deſign and be ready to execute their Malice on their Conquerors: To keep them therefore in awe, and ſecure the Plantation, was the Deſign of Building the City; it was upon this condition, and by theſe Covenants the Proprietors of the City held their Eſtates; and the Inhabitants had been falſe to the very deſign and end of their Foundation, if they had given up the City, with the keeping of which they were intruſted, into the Hands of thoſe very Men againſt whom by the Charter it was deſigned to be a Security and Bulwark. At this Rate the Lord Deputy might give away any mans Eſtate, and have beſtowed it on his greateſt Enemy, and that with much leſs injury to the Publick.

The People therefore of *Londonderry* had good reaſon to refuſe to deliver their City to the Kearnes and Tories of *Ulſter*, though inliſted under the Earl of *Antrim*, by a Commiſſion from a pretended Lord Deputy; theſe were excluded by their very Charter, and by the deſign of Building the Place from poſſeſſing it: Much leſs had they reaſon to deliver it to a parcel of Men of whoſe Commiſſion they knew nothing, and whoſe Errand they had Reaſon to believe was to cut their Throats.

8. 'Tis to be conſidered, that *Londonderry* was under a further provocation to lay hold on the firſt opportunity to do themſelves Juſtice, and that was the wicked and illegal Invaſion made on their Charter, Liberties, Privileges and Eſtates by a moſt unjuſt and oppreſſive Sentence given by an unqualified Lord Chief Baron, on a *Quo Warranto*, for which there was not the leaſt pretence in the World, as may appear to any one that will be at the pains to view the Proceedings in Court: By this Sentence grounded on a fooliſh nicery objected to the Plea, the whole

whole *Engliſh* Intereſt and Plantations in that County were ruined, and the whole Deſigns of them deſtroyed and perverted; and therefore it was not to be wondered if they took the firſt opportunity to ſave themſelves from imminent Deſtruction. They concluded that a Government, who on a nicety could take away their Charter, their Privileges their Eſtates, and ſubvert the deſign of Building their City, might as eaſily and unavoidably find another nicety to take away what remained, together with their Lives; and therefore they cannot be much blamed, if they had been under no other Temptation but this, that they were willing to withdraw themſelves from a Government whom they durſt not truſt, and which took all advantages againſt them to deſtroy them.

9. The ſhutting up of *Derry* againſt the Earl of *Antrim*'s Regiment, was all that was done by any Proteſtant in *Ireland* in oppoſition to the Government, till King *James* Deſerted *England*; except what was done at *Enniskillen*, where the People were under the ſame Circumſtances with thoſe of *Derry*, having about the ſame time refuſed to Quarter two Companies ſent to them by the Lord Deputy. They were not ſo much as ſummoned by him, nor did they enter into any Act of Hoſtility or Aſſociation, or Offend any till aſſaulted, being content to ſtand on their Guard againſt ſuch as they knew to be Mortal Enemies to the Engliſh Intereſt; to ſubdue whom, they were planted in that wild and faſt Country. But as ſoon as the News of King *James*'s Deſerting the Government came into *Ireland*, all Proteſtants look'd on themſelves as obliged to take Care of their own Preſervation; and finding that continual Robberies and Plunderings were committed by ſuch as the Lord Deputy, againſt the Laws of the Kingdom and the Intereſt of the Nation, had intruſted with Arms and Employments, and that no care was taken by him to prevent theſe Miſchiefs, (but on the contrary the Robbers were ſecretly cheriſhed and encouraged,) the Gentlemen in the North to prevent their own Ruin, and the Ruin of all the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, which they ſaw unavoidable, entred into Aſſociations to defend themſelves from theſe Robbers; their Aſſociations did really reach no farther than this; nor did they attempt any thing upon the Armed Robbers, except in their own Defence, when invaded and aſſaulted by them: Inſomuch that I could never hear of one Act of Hoſtility committed wherein they were not on the Defenſive. Their Crime then if any, was only this; they were not willing to ſuffer themſelves to be robb'd and plundered as their Neighbours were, without oppoſition, but diſarm'd ſome of thoſe who under colour of being King *James*'s Soldiers, deſtroyed the Country: This was all the reaſon the Lord Deputy and Council had to call them Rebels,

and

and to charge them in their Proclamation dated *March* the 7th, 1688, with *actual Rebellion*, and with Killing and Murthering ſeveral of his Majeſties Subjects, and with Pillaging and Plundering the Country; whereas it was notorious they never killed any whom they did not find actually Robbing, to kill whom, the Laws of the Kingdom not only indemnified them, but likewiſe aſſigned them a Reward; and for Plundering, it is no leſs notorious that they preſerved the whole Country within their Aſſociations from being Pillaged, when all the reſt of *Ireland* was deſtroyed: And their great care of themſelves and their Country was the Crime which only provoked the Lord Deputy, and made him except from Pardon Twelve of the principal Eſtated Men in the North, when he ſent down Lieutenant General *Hamilton*, with an Army which he tells us in the ſame Proclamation *would inevitably occaſion the total ruin and deſtruction of the North.*

10. And leſt there ſhould be any Terms propoſed or accepted by the People in the North, and ſo that Country eſcape being Plundered and Undone, he made all the haſte he could to involve the Kingdom in Blood: King *James* was every day expected from *France*, and landed at *Kinſale*, *March* the 12th, but no Perſwaſions would prevail with the Lord Deputy to defer ſending the Army to the North, till the King came, though he had good aſſurance given him by ſeveral who knew their Minds and Tempers, that in all probability if King *James* himſelf appeared amongſt them and offered them Terms, they would have complyed with him, at leaſt ſo far as to ſubmit quietly to his Government: But it was the Lord Deputy's deſign to deſtroy the Proteſtants there as well as in the reſt of the Kingdom; and therefore he haſted to make the Parties irreconcilable, by engaging them in Blood, and by letting looſe the Army to Spoil and Plunder. The War therefore was entirely imputable to him, and the Proteſtants were forced into it, having no other choice than either to be undone without offering to make any Defence for themſelves, or elſe with their Arms in their Hands, to try what they could do in their own Preſervation.

11. But it muſt be conſidered that *Ireland* is a Kingdom dependent on the Crown of *England*, and part of the Inheritance thereof, and therefore muſt follow its fate, which it cannot decline without moſt apparent ruin to the *Engliſh* Intereſt in it. Now King *James* having abdicated the Government of *England*, and others being actually poſſeſſed of the Throne, it was the buſineſs of the Proteſtants of *Ireland* to preſerve themſelves rather than diſpute the Titles of Princes; they were ſure it was their Intereſt and their Duty to be ſubject to the Crown of *England*, but whether King *James* was rightly intitled to that Crown,

is not so easily determinable by the common People: No wonder therefore they declared for King *William* and his Queen, whom they found actually in the Throne of *England*, and own'd as rightful Possessors by those who had best reason to know, rather than for King *James* who indeed pretended to it, but with this disadvantage amongst many others, that he was out of Possession; and he had not used the Power when he was in possession so well, that they should be desirous to restore him to it, with the danger of their own ruin.

12. They considered further, that their defending themselves and those Places of which they were possest, would in all probability very much contribute to save not only themselves, but likewise the Three Kingdoms, and the Protestant Interest in *Europe*; to which it did certainly in some Measure contribute. King *James* and his Party believed it, and declared themselves to this effect; and some of them were very liberal of their Curses on the Rebels in the North, as they called them, for this Reason, had (said they) the Rebels in the North joyned with King *James*, he had such a Party in *England* and *Scotland*, which (together with the Succours he might then have sent from *Ireland*, and the assistance of the *French* King,) would in all probability have shaken the Government of *England* before it had been settled; but the Opposition of *Enniskillen* and *Derry* lost the opportunity, that will not easily be retrieved. How far this Conjecture of theirs was probable, I leave it to the Reader; what has happened since, shews that it was not altogether groundless; if the Design had taken, the condition of *Europe*, especially of the Protestants, had been most deplorable; but it pleased God to spoil all their Measures by the Opposition made by a small Town, Mann'd with People before that time of no extraordinary Reputation in the World for Arms, Valour or Estates, and who perhaps had never before seen an Enemy in Arms: King *James* was pleased to call them a Rabble, but it must be remembred to their Honour, that they outdid in Conduct, Courage and Resolution all his Experienced Generals. To a Man that seriously reflects on it, the thing must almost seem miraculous; all Circumstances considered; the rest of the Kingdom, except *Enniskillen*, had yielded without a Blow; most of the chief Officers, Gentlemen and Persons of Note, Courage or Interest in the North, had Deserted their new rais'd Troops without Fighting; the Succours designed for them from *England* came at the very time when the Town was ready to be invested, and the Officers that came with those Succours, as well as their own Officers, were of opinion that the Place was not to be Defended; that they had neither Provision nor Necessaries to hold out a Siege. The Officers there-

therefore privately took a Reſolution to return for *England*, and carried along with them moſt of the Gentlemen and Leaders of the Town, without leaving any Governor or Inſtructions for the People what they were to do, and without offering to make any Conditions for them; but neither this, nor their extreme want of Proviſion, to which they were at laſt reduced, nor the Conſideration of their Friends whom their Enemies treated barbarouſly in their ſight, could prevail with them to give up Themſelves or their Cauſe; but by Patience and Reſolution they wearied out their Enemies, and inſtead of letting them make approaches to their Walls, they enlarged their Out-works upon them, and made them confeſs after a Siege of Fifteen Weeks, that if the Walls of *Derry* had been made of Canvas, they could not have taken it.

The ſame may be ſaid of the People of *Enniskillin*, who lived in a wild Country, and untenable place, ſurrounded with Enemies on every ſide, and removed from almoſt all poſſibility of Succour, being in the Heart of *Ireland*; yet they choſe to run all Hazards and Extremities, rather than truſt their Faithleſs Enemies, or contribute to the ruin of the Proteſtant Intereſt by yielding. After almoſt all their Gentry of Eſtates or Note had left them, or refuſed to join heartily with them, they formed themſelves into Parties, and though in a manner without Arms and Ammunition, yet by meer Reſolution and Courage, they worſted ſeveral Parties of the Enemy, and almoſt naked, recovered Arms and Ammunition out of their Hands, and ſignalized themſelves in many Engagements, by which they not only ſaved themſelves, but likewiſe did conſiderable Service to the Proteſtants that were under the Power of King *James*; for this handful of Men, by their frequent Incurſions and carrying off Priſoners in every Engagement, terrify'd even the Papiſts of *Dublin* into better Humour, and more moderate Proceedings, as to the Lives of Proteſtants that lived amongſt them, than perhaps they would otherwiſe have been inclin'd to: They ſaw from this, that their Game was not ſo ſure as they imagined, and the Priſoners taken by thoſe of *Enniskillin*, were Hoſtages for their Friends that lived in *Dublin*; and the Humanity with which the Priſoners were uſed there, was a Reproach on the Barbarity exerciſed by the other Party. In ſhort, it appeared that it was neither Malice nor Factiouſneſs that engaged them in Arms, but meer Self-Preſervation and the Obligation of their Tenures and Plantations, by which they were bound to keep Arms, and Defend themſelves and their Country from the Power of the Popiſh Natives which were then Armed againſt them.

13. But to return to the Lord Deputy's Proceedings in his New

Levies, in order to gain time and delude the Protestants, he sent for the Lord *Mountjoy* out of the North, after he had compounded the business of *Derry*, and perswaded him to go with Chief Baron *Rice* to King *James* into *France*, to represent to him the weakness of the Kingdom, and the necessity to yield to the Time, and wait a better opportunity to serve himself of his *Irish* Subjects. The Lord *Tyrconnel* swore most solemnly that he was in earnest in this Message, and that he knew the Court of *France* would oppose it with all their Power; for said he, *that Court minds nothing but their own Interest, and they would not care if* Ireland *were sunk to the Pit of Hell*, (they are his own Words,) *so they could give the Prince of* Orange *but Three Months Diversion*; *but he added, if the King be perswaded to Ruin his fastest Friends to do himself no Service, only to gratify* France, *he is neither so Merciful nor so Wise as I believe him to be. If he recover* England, Ireland *will fall to him in Course, but he can never expect to Conquer* England *by* Ireland; *if he attempts it, he ruins* Ireland *to do himself no kindness, but rather to exasperate* England *the more against him, and make his Restoration impossible*; and he intimated, that if the King would not do it, he would look on his Refusal to be forced on him, by those in whose power he was, and that he would *think himself obliged to do it without his Consent*.

14. Every body told the Lord *Mountjoy*, that this was all sham and trick, and that the design was only to amuse the Protestants, and get him, who was the likeliest Man to head them, out of the way: But his Answer was, that his going into *France* could have no influence on the Councils of *England*, who were neither privy nor parties to it; and if they had a mind to reduce the Kingdom, it was easie to do it without his Assistance; that he must either go on this Message, now the Deputy had put him upon it, or enter into an actual War against him, and against such as adhered to King *James*'s Interest; that he did not think it safe to do the latter, having no order or encouragement from *England*; but on the contrary all the Advice he received from thence, was to be quiet and not to meddle; that he was obliged to King *James*, and neither Honour, Conscience, nor Gratitude would permit him in his present Circumstances to make a War on his own Authority against him, whilst there was any possibility of doing the business without one. Upon these considerations, against the general Opinion of all the Protestants in *Ireland*, he undertook the business, and went away from *Dublin* about the Tenth of *January*, 1688. having first had these general Concessions made him in behalf of the Protestants: 1. That no more Commissions should be given out, or New Men raised. 2. That no more of the Army should be sent into the

North

North. 3. That none ſhould be queſtioned for what was paſſed. And 4. That no Private Houſe ſhould be garriſon'd or diſturb'd with Soldiers; theſe he ſent about with a Letter which will be found in the Appendix. But he was no ſooner gone, but the Lord Deputy, according to his uſual Method of Falſhood, denyed theſe Conceſſions, ſeemed mighty angry at the diſperſing the Letter, and refuſed to obſerve any of them. The firſt News we heard from *France*, was that the Lord *Mountjoy* was put into the *Baſtile*, which further exaſperated the Proteſtants againſt King *James*, and made them look on him as a Violater of Publick Faith to his Subjects. As for the Lord Deputy, this clearly ruined his Credit (if ever he had any) amongſt them, and they could never after be brought to give the leaſt belief to what he ſaid; on the contrary they look'd on it as a ſure ſign that a thing was falſe if he earneſtly affirm'd it. Appendix.

15. But it was not yet in his power to maſter them; he had not ſufficiently Trained and Exerciſed his Men; but as ſoon as he found that nothing was to be feared from *England* before the End of Summer, and that he was aſſured King *James* would be with him ſoon, he laid aſide his Vigour, and fell upon diſarming them: It was no difficult matter to do this, for in the very beginning of King *James*'s Reign, the Proteſtant Militia had been diſſolved, and though they had bought their own Arms, yet they were required to bring them into the Stores, and they punctually obeyed the Order: Such of the Proteſtant Army as remained in the Kingdom after their Caſhiering, were likewiſe without Arms, being as I ſhewed before, both diſarmed and ſtrip'd upon their being turned out. It was therefore a wonder that the Proteſtants had any Arms at all, eſpecially when it is to be remembred, that during King *James*'s Reign, they durſt not be ſeen to buy or import them, being under the jealouſy and ſuſpicion of the Government: However ſome they had, enough to make the Papiſts afraid, and to Beat them too, if they had had a little Aſſiſtance and Encouragement of Authority to attempt it. The Lord Deputy was therefore reſolved to have their Arms, and in Order to get them, he drew Nine or Ten Regiments to *Dublin*, and a proportional Party to every Place where the number of Proteſtants was conſiderable; and without the leaſt Notice or Declaration premiſed, on the 24th of *February*, 1688, he took away their Arms and Horſes, throughout the whole Kingdom, except in the North, where he durſt not yet attempt it. The method of doing it in *Dublin* was this, he filled all the Streets and Lanes with Foot and Horſe; and then for ſo much of the City as lies within the Walls, he ſent the City Officers to ſignify to every Houſe, that if they did

not ſend in every Sword and Bayonet, as well as Fire-Arms in their poſſeſſion into the Churches, (which were generally ſeized for this uſe and filled with Soldiers) they ſhould be left to the Mercy and Diſcretion of the Soldiers, both as to their Lives and Goods: This was perfect Dragooning to the Proteſtants; nor is it eaſie to expreſs what a Conſternation it cauſed amongſt them; the preparation at firſt looked like a Deſign to put in execution (what they long feared) a general Maſſacre, and which had never been out of their Minds ſince the Lord *Mount Alexander*'s Letter was diſperſed. While they had their Arms in their Hands, it gave them ſome Heart, reſolving to ſell their Lives dear; but when they ſaw theſe now taken from them, this ſupport failed, and they had no proſpect of Defence, but generally imagined that their Arms were taken away in order to the more eaſie execution of the deſigned Maſſacre. They knew themſelves to be the only Perſons qualified by Law to keep or carry Arms; they knew the malicious Deſigns of the *Iriſh* againſt them; they conſidered how neceſſary their Arms were at this time, not only to preſerve their Goods, which were every day robb'd, and their Houſes that were every night broken open, but likewiſe to ſecure their Perſons, that were daily aſſaulted; and yet to avoid this terrible Dragooning they were forced to part with them, and immediately delivered in near 3000 Fire Arms, beſides Swords, Bayonets and Pikes in *Dublin* only. At the ſame time ſome Hundreds of Horſes were likewiſe taken, without any other reaſon than that they belong'd to Proteſtants. Without the Walls it was much worſe than in the City; the Inhabitants there were not ſo much as required to bring in their Arms, but generally the Soldiers came and ſearched for them, on pretence of which, Five or Six Parties after one another, without method or order, rifled the Houſes: In many Places they pull'd up the Boards of the Floors, brake down the Wainſcots, Stealing and Plundering whatever they could lay their Hands on, and ſometimes torturing the poor People to make them confeſs their Arms.

16. The next day after this diſorderly Dragooning, came out a Proclamation dated *February* 25, 1688, ſignifying that this diſarming and taking away Horſes, was done by order of the Government, throughout all *Ireland*, there being only a Verbal Order for it before, of which the Proteſtants knew nothing, and which the Proclamation contradicted; for wearing Swords were excepted in it, whereas the Verbal Order is ſaid to have mentioned them, and they were delivered with great exactneſs before the Proclamation came out; for no body could hope to conceal them, it being known that every Gentleman had a

wearing

wearing Sword, yet none were delivered to them though demanded; and a ſecond Proclamation Publiſhed by King *James* himſelf, dated *July* 20, 1689, did expreſſly forbid all Proteſtants to wear or keep any Swords, under the penalty of being counted Rebels and Traitors, and uſed as ſuch; and leſt ſome ſhould wear them and not be diſcovered, they beſet all the Church Doors on Sunday Morning, *February* the 23*d*, 1689, whilſt the Proteſtants were at their Devotion, to their great terror, being ignorant of the Deſign; and the Soldiers ſearched every one whether he had a Sword or no.

171 But to return to the general diſarming, though the Proteſtants loſt in it their Horſes and Arms, the Kings Stores gained little by them; for the Soldiers who received the Arms, imbezel'd all that were better than ordinary amongſt them, conveying them away privately, and converting them to their own uſe. The Arms of the Citizens were generally fine, and the Gentlemens Swords were Silver, and the Soldiers that got them were Wiſer than to return ſuch to the Stores. The Lord Deputy ſeemed angry that ſo few Arms were returned, imputed it to the Citizens as an effect of their Obſtinacy; and an Order was ready drawn for him to Sign, wherein it was declared, that all Proteſtants with whom any Arms were found, ſhould be given up to the Mercy of the Soldiers; ſo that there needed only ſome ill Fellows to come into a Houſe and drop a Bayonet or Sword in a Corner, and pretend to find it there, for the Soldiers to have rifled whom they pleaſed; beſides which, all Proteſtants were to be required upon Oath to diſcover their Arms. This Order had been ſigned and put into Execution, if the Biſhop of *Meath* had not come in ſeaſonably to the Lord Deputy, and by diſcourſing him calmly, prevailed to have it laid aſide: The Reaſons and Propoſals that he made uſe of to divert this inconvemency from the City, may be ſeen in the Appendix; by them he got leave to enquire into the number of Arms taken away; and found upon examination, that more had been taken from one Pariſh, than had been returned into the Store from the whole City. The talk of putting the Citizens to their Oaths on this occaſion, did mightily alarm them; they knew not where it would end, if once the Government got into the Method of impoſing Oaths on them; and therefore the Biſhop took care to caution them againſt it, and they unanimouſly determined to take no Oaths at all, whatever hardſhips they ſuffered; and it is certain, they might have eaſed themſelves of many, if they would have engaged themſelves by Oaths; but the Remedy was counted worſe than the Diſeaſe; and in many places of the Kingdom they choſe to lye in Jail,

See Appendix, No 15.

rather

rather than take some new invented Oath that was put to them without any Law to enjoyn it.

18. The Management of taking up Horses was yet more disorderly; whoever pleased took them, and was not so much as obliged to tell his Name; the Proclamation mentioned only Serviceable Horses, but the Verbal Order that went before, and on which they were taken, made no distinction; so all were taken that could be found: At the best, it was left to the Discretion of a Dragoon, what he would count a Serviceable Horse, and what he would do with them when he had taken them; so that of 10000 Horses at least that were taken from the Protestants at that time, the King received not 100, nor had he one Troop raised out of them, but whoever could get a Horse, whether he were Officer or Soldier, from a Protestant, went away with it, and converted it to his private use; of which the Lord Deputy complains in a Proclamation, dated *March* the 1*st*, 1688; but this Proclamation though dated the 1*st* of *March*, was not Published till the 12*th*; the reason of the delay was this, the Proclamation ordered Horses that were not fit for Service to be restored, and if it had come out according to the Date thereof, many Protestants that knew in whose Hands their Horses were, would have claimed them: To defeat them therefore, some that had Interest with the Deputy, got the Proclamation delayed, till those that took them might have time to convey them far enough from being found. And this was their usual Method, they first did the Mischief they intended to the Protestants, and then they Published some antedated Proclamation, forbidding it to be done; and sometimes when a Proclamation came out, before they had gone through with what they intended, they denyed to be concluded by it, alledging it came out surreptitiously; as it happened in this very Case of Searching for Arms.

19. Now Arms are the Hedges that secure and preserve our Goods and Lives, especially in a Conquered Country, such as *Ireland* is; and it was but reason that the Law did allow none but Protestants to have them; though they never hindred any Man from arming himself so far as was necessary for his own Defence: When therefore they saw the keeping of Arms was made penal to them in the highest degree, (King *James*'s Proclamation having made it Treason and Rebellion, as I shewed before,) and some would needs perswade them it was really so, to which opinion the Lord Chief Justice inclined, when he gave charge to the Jury concerning one *Wolf*, who was indicted for keeping some Arms, and fined for it as a Misdemeanor,) when I say, they saw that which the Law required them to do, made so highly criminal, (for the Law requires every Freeman of *Dublin* to keep Arms,)

and those Arms put into the Hands of Tories and Ruffians, who had already robb'd them of a great part of their Substance, had they not reason to believe that they were disarm'd purposely, that they might be the more easily Robb'd or Massacred? And that it was as easie for a Government, that in one day disarmed them through the whole Kingdom, against Reason, Law and Justice, to find a pretence at another time to take away their Lives? They could neither doubt their inclinations, nor question their ability to do it. If one should tye a Man's Hands, and turn him naked amongst Wild Beasts, all the World would believe he designed they should devour him; and sure we had reason to suppose the same of our Governours; and they that treated us thus without provocation, and against the Laws, could not expect that we should be unwilling to change our Masters if a fair opportunity offered. By the Law we have as much property in our Arms and Horses that we buy with our Money, and in a conquered Country such as *Ireland* is, where every Forty Years we constantly have had a Rebellion, they are as necessary for us as our Cloaths or Estates, which indeed can signify nothing without them. And the King might as justly pretend that he had occasion for them, and take them from us without consideration, as our Horses and Arms: the oppression to us in our circumstances was really equal.

20. It may perhaps be imagined by those who are Strangers to our Affairs, that we had abused our Arms to oppress and wrong our Neighbours, or to oppose the King, and therefore deserv'd to lose them; but it is observable, that it doth not appear that any one Protestant in *Ireland* before this disarming, had used his Arms to injure any *R. C.* nor did they hurt any that was not either actually robbing them of their Goods, or assaulting their Persons, no not in the North, where they refused to give up their Arms; they kept even there on the defensive, and offended no Man but when first Assaulted: So that there was not the least reason or colour to disarm us, except that we might be Plundered and Robb'd, without being able to make resistance. Our crime for which we lost our Arms, for which we were exposed naked to our Enemies, and for which the best Gentlemen in the Kingdom were obliged to walk without a Sword, was because they suspected that we would not otherwise tamely part with our Goods, or suffer our selves to be abused and affronted in the Streets by every Ruffian, which was the condition of the best amongst us.

21. 'Tis true King *James* could not carry on a War for the advancement of Popery, without our Goods, and he could not be secure of them whilst we had Arms; but I hope all the World is convinced, that

it was not our Counsels nor Actings that brought him to these Straits; nor was it to be expected that we should be content to be undone, to repair the errors and faults of those Wicked Counsellors, who put him on those desperate courses which lost him his Crown. All our Crime is, then, that we could not be content to be undone with him and by him, and rather chose to desire Protection, Liberty and the restitution of our Privileges and Arms from their present Majesties, than to be in the condition of the Vilest of Slaves under King *James*; a Crime for which I am confident no Papist condemns us in his Conscience, however he may rail at us and call us Disloyal.

SECT. IX.

The Attempts made on the Personal Estates of Protestants, before the Revolution in England.

1. THE Earl of *Tyrconnel* when made Deputy of *Ireland*, found the Riches of the Kingdom in the Hands of Protestants; the Flocks, the Herds, the rich Housshold-Stuff and Plate, Beneficial Leases, improved Rents, Trade and Money were almost intirely theirs; whereas the Papists by their Idleness, Ignorance, and numerous Begging Clergy, were so low in their Fortunes, that they were in no condition to raise or maintain such an Army, as was necessary to carry on his Designs in this Kingdom; and he was sure the Protestants that had the Riches, would not contribute to support them: He therefore applied himself with all Art and Industry to impoverish them. He did what he could, as I have already shew'd, to destroy their Trade; he put all the hardships imaginable on Protestant Tenants, that they might not be able to pay their Rents, and he encouraged the Popish Tenants to oppose their Landlords: It was whispered amongst them, that they need not pay their Rents, for the Land in a littte time would be their own; they were taught to answer when their Rents were demanded, that they had spent what they designed for their Landlords, to fit themselves or their Son's for the King's Service; and he was sure to be represented as disaffected, that did not sit down with this Answer. If any Landlord was so hardy as to Sue them, they either got themselves inlisted in the Army, or got a particular Protection against Arrests. If any distrained, they let their Cattle be taken to the Pound, and then by Night they either stole or forced them from thence; and when they had thus secretly recovered and conveyed them away, they brought

brought Actions againſt the Landlord that diſtrained, as if he had imbezelled them; in which caſe they were ſure to meet with favour and countenance in the Courts. Sometimes they avoided paying Rents, by Swearing their Proteſtant Landlords into a Plot, or by affixing Treaſonable Words on them; inſomuch that hardly any Proteſtant durſt diſtrain, or even demand his Rent: And for Two Years before the Revolution in *England*, very few received any profit out of their Eſtates. This ſtop of Receipts for ſo long time, obliged Gentlemen to live upon the main Stock, and for want of their growing Rents, which ſhould have anſwered their Expences, they were as low as poſſible in ready Money, when the late Troubles fell upon them; and this made many of them on their Flight to *England*, need Charity for their Subſiſtence.

2. This hardſhip was the more heavy upon them, by the neceſſity they lay under of leaving their Farms and ſettled manner of Living in the Country, and of either repairing to *Dublin*, or removing into *England*, where nothing could be uſeful to them but ready Money; yet this was unavoidable, for there was no living for them amongſt a People that made no Conſcience to pilfer or rob them of their Goods, or to lay Snares for their Lives by falſe Oaths and ſuborned Evidence: Neither did their repairing to Cities and Towns protect them, but the ſame Perſons that drove them from their Country Houſes by their Robberies and Oppreſſions, did afterwards indict and impriſon them for leaving them, of which I have given an Example in the Appendix. Some indeed notwithſtanding all the hard Uſage they met with, ventured to ſtay on their concerns in the Country; but were at laſt burnt out of their Houſes, and forced to follow their Neighbours. A Houſe within Four Miles of *Dublin* was Burnt, and ſeveral Women and Children Murthered in it at the very beginning of Modelling the Army. Thus Mr. *Thomas Corker*'s Houſe in the County of *Meath* by *Navan* was Burnt, as ſuppoſed, by the Popiſh Pariſh Prieſt; who after he had done this injury to the Gentleman, gave out that Mr. *Corker* had burnt his own Houſe, to make the Roman Catholicks odious. Mr. *Henry Gonnes*,

Appendix, No 18.

See the First Proclamation by the E. of Tyrconnel, *Feb.* 21. 1686.

WHereas a late Proclamation iſſued forth by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of this Kingdom in *December* laſt for the Suppreſſing of Tories, Robbers, and their Harbourers in theſe Words following. Whereas there have been of late many Burglaries and Robberies committed in ſeveral parts of this Kingdom, to the ruin of ſome of his Majeſties good Subjects, and to the great diſquiet of many others, and it is found by experience, that his Majeſties Mercy that hath been heretofore extended to ſome Perſons that have been Attainted of ſuch Crimes, hath been an encouragement to others to commit the like, *&c.* Which Proclamation hath not yet met with the full effect, *&c.*

a Miniſters Houſe in *Connaught*, was likewiſe Burnt becauſe they could not otherwiſe prevail with him to leave the Country: And many others were ſerved in the ſame way, and their Families Murthered; or elſe were put to a vaſt Charge to guard their Houſes againſt theſe Cut-throats and Robbers. Even about *Dublin* hardly any Gentleman's Houſe eſcaped without being Robbed, or at leaſt ſeveral times Attempted; and if any were caught in the Fact, they eaſily got a Pardon for it.

3. Add to this in the Third Place, that though of a good while the Proteſtants got nothing out of their Eſtates, yet they were put to vaſt Charges to defend them; for the Papiſts having gotten Judges, Juries and Sheriffs of their own, brought in their Counterfeit Deeds and falſe Claims in great numbers, and either in *forma Pauperum*, or by the favour of the Courts, carried on their Suits with little Expences; and when worſted in them, as ſometimes in ſpite of the moſt manifeſt Partiality, they were, there was nothing to be recovered of them; whereas the Proteſtants were forced to row againſt the Stream, and to ſtruggle with all the expenſive delays and tricks the Courts could put on them. If at any time they were found tardy in the leaſt Circumſtance or Form of Law, though no Advantage uſed formerly to be made of ſuch Miſtakes, yet they were ſure to pay ſeverely for it; every body who has been concerned in Law Buſineſs, knows the difference of theſe Caſes as to Expences; and the conſequence was, that Proteſtants were forced to part with a conſiderable ſhare of their ready Money, to recover or defend their Eſtates, which when in their Poſſeſſion yielded them nothing.

4. They met with the ſame meaſure from the Treaſury, as from their Tenants; where any Salary Penſion or Payment was due to any of them from the King, they either did not get it at all, or if by importunity and intereſt they did get any thing, it was with ſuch Expences, Bribes to Courtiers, and Delays, that they loſt the Benefit of it. But where any thing was due to them, it was exacted with all the rigour imaginable, and the moſt ſtrict punctilio's obſerved to bring them under Fines and Forfeitures. The Chief Baron *Rice* could not contain himſelf on the Bench; but on occaſion of a Proteſtant Lawyers preſſing ſomewhat importunately for his Client that he might have Juſtice, he anſwered he ſhould have Juſtice, but as I ſaid before, that it ſhould be *Summum Jus*. Nay ſuch diſcouragement and diſcountenance was given to Proteſtant Lawyers, that many of the moſt celebrated Counſellors forſook their Practice and the Kingdom; and ſuch as ſtaid could hardly come in for a ſhare of the Fees expended by their former Proteſtant Clients; for it was enough

to deſtroy a Cauſe, to have them appear at the Bar for it. The conſequence of which was, that the Proteſtants were forced to employ their Enemies for Counſel, and give them their Money too often to betray their Cauſe; at leaſt they could not expect Lawyers that wiſhed ſo ill to it and them in their Hearts, would be earneſt to carry it for them.

5. In Cities and Corporate Towns, the Townſmen were put to great Charges to defend their Charters; and when Judgment was given againſt them, they were put to another Charge to take them out anew, and to purchaſe their Freedoms. It is true, ſome few Papiſts generally joyned to take out the new Charter; but when it was taken out, they forced the Proteſtants to pay for it at what rate they pleaſed, or obliged them to leave the Town. The Attorney-General got ſome Thouſands for his ſhare, and every petty Officer and Head of a Country Borrough, enrich'd himſelf with ſome part of the Proteſtants ſpoil on this account.

6. The next means uſed to impoveriſh them was that of Free-Quarters, by which they extorted from the Inn-keepers vaſt Sums of Money: It was a hardſhip in time of Peace to be obliged to entertain ſuch rude naſty Gueſts as the private Soldiers generally were, and to endure the inſolencies of their Officers, who practiſed ſeveral Arts with a Deſign to deſtroy their Quarters. Sometimes they would quarter a whole Troop of Horſe on Two or Three Proteſtant Inns for ſome Months together, till they wearied them out of their Trade, drove away their Gueſts, and broke them: Sometimes they would compound for a Sum of Money to be gone, and then immediately ſend another Party as bad as themſelves, to ſucceed them; by which means they ruined all the little Towns about *Dublin*, and broke the Inhabitants. The very firſt thing they did after they had gotten into the Army, was to ſet a Rate on Diet, on Hay and on Oats, not above One Third of what it coſt the Innkeeper; a thing to which they had been Strangers before; but it ſeemed tolerable, in reſpect of the Free Quarters to which they pretended afterwards, though in effect it came to the ſame thing, for they went away and never paid a Farthing for Meat or Drink, or any other conveniencies allowed them in their Quarters; only ſome gave Bills which were never paid; nay they were not content to have their Meat and Drink and Quarters free, but they ſo ordered the matter, that their Quarters were generally better to them than their Pay: They commonly had Billets on Three or Four Houſes apiece, every one of which paid them a certain rate *per* Week; one private Soldier bragg'd that he had Fifteen Quarters; the rate paid out of them was according

to

to the quality of the House, and the Person that had the Billet; the very least was 18 *d.* or 12 *d. per* Week, and the allowance to the Officers was proportional: The truth of this is notorious to all in *Dublin*, and is demonstrable from the number of Publick Houses which were obliged to quarter Men, compared with the number of Men quartered in them. The Houses were double in number to the Soldiers, and yet every House had one or two Soldiers at the least, some Three some Four quartered on them, for which they paid Weekly; and yet so unreasonable were these Creatures, that this would not satisfie them, but they would go up and down the Country Stealing and Plundering Meat and Drink, and forcing the poor Protestants to bring forth their whole Stock of Provisions, of which they used to eat what they pleased, and then destroy the rest, that the *Damned Whigs*, (that is, in their constant Dialect, the Protestants,) *might not have the benefit of it*. It was in vain to grumble or complain; instead of remedy they were sure to have the injury redoubled upon them. If any ventured to prosecute a notorious Robbery committed by a Soldier, their Officers appeared in the Court for them, and openly threatned the Jury if they found them Guilty. Thus Colonel *Lutterel*, afterwards Governor of *Dublin*, appeared at *Kilmainham*, and brought off his Soldiers who were guilty of a Robbery, by threatning the Jury, and telling them that it should *be worse for them if they found his Men guilty; that the King's Soldiers must not be discouraged, and must be allowed, when in want, to take from those that had*, meaning the Protestants; and by his Authority he saved them, being not only an Officer, but one of the Justices of the Sessions. And in the very Council, *Allbaville* publickly owned that the Protestants durst not complain, *except they had a mind to be Massacred*: I use his Words.

7. The Priests and Fryars were no less oppressive than the Soldiers; they Multiplied in *Dublin* to Three or Four Hundred at the least; they were well Fed and well Cloathed; there were not more Lusty Plump Fellows in the Town than they, insomuch that they were remarkable for it; and reckoning that they consumed but Twenty Pound apiece one with another, which was the least, they cost the Town Eight Thousand Pound *per Annum*; which is near Four times more than all the Protestant Clergy in Town received; they built about Fourteen Chappels and Convents in *Dublin*, and set up Two Nunneries, all which came to a great Sum; and a great part of it came out of the Protestants Pockets, for they were such experienced Beggars, that none escaped them, and so importunate that none durst refuse them; if any did, they must expect to be the next who were Robbed: They must be content

content to be Accuſed and Committed either on ſome ſecret Whiſper, or falſe Accuſation. The Inſolency of the Enyars may be gueſſed at by their Carriage to the Lord Primate *Boyle*; Two of them, as I had before occaſion to remark, came to demand Mony of him; and becauſe he refuſed them, they procured a Warrant from Sir *Thomas Hacket*, to commit his Son in Law and Nephew; but others were forced to buy their Peace by large Contributions to them.

SECT. X.

The Progreſs King James *made in deſtroying the Perſonal Eſtates of Proteſtants after the Revolution in* England.

1. THus the caſe ſtood with the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, long before the Revolution happened in *England*; Their Rents and Receipts were ſtopt, their Expences multiplied; and many were driven from their Houſes and Farms; their Trade decayed, and their Towns and Villages deſtroyed by Robberies and Free Quarters; but as ſoon as the new Levies upon pretence of reſiſting the Prince of *Orange*, were made, the miſchief became much more univerſal and intolerable; whereas before, only Inns and Publick Houſes, together with Brewers, Bakers, Butchers and Chandlers, were obliged to quarter Soldiers, this Burden was now extended to all Gentlemen of the beſt quality, if Proteſtants, none being exempted; this happened ſoon after the Lord *Mountjoys* going to *France*, though the Lord Deputy, as I noted before, did poſitively engage to him to the contrary in his Articles; theſe new Gueſts committed all manner of rudeneſs and inſolencies in their Quarters, and drove away as many of the Gentry aud Citizens as could ſteal a Paſſage, or procure a Licenſe to be gone by bribing the Secretary. Sir *William Domville* a Gentleman of about 80 Years of Age, who had been Attorney General near Thirty Years, as has been ſaid, had his Houſe filled with them; they treated the Old Gentleman ſo rudely and barbarouſly, that all concluded it haſtened his Death. Some Roman Catholicks, that were not known to belong to the Army, would come to the Houſes of Proteſtants, and agree with them for their beſt Rooms and ſuitable Attendance, and when they were to go away, and ſhould have paid, inſtead of Mony they would preſent a Billet, and then triumph in the trick they had put on their Landlords. There are in *Dublin* about Seven Thouſand Houſes, and it was very rare that King *James* had Four Thouſand of the Army in Town, and

yet

yet they ordered it ſo, that every Houſe had more or leſs quartered upon it: Some Gentlemen had Ten, ſome Twenty, nay ſome Thirty quartered on them; if there was no other Room they turned the Maſter or Miſtriſs of the Family out of their own Beds, and ſent both them and their Lodgers to provide for themſelves; not only Soldiers were thus quartered, but likewiſe all Gentlemen, Prieſts, Fryars and ſome Noblemen that came with King *James* from *France*, together with their Servants and Retinue. All the Houſes in Town were taken up with ſuch Gueſts, who were often treacherous Spies on their Hoſts, and reckoned themſelves very kind, if they did not procure them to be clapt up by a falſe Information. The Story of one Gentleman is remarkable, related to a good Family in *England* of his Name, as he pretended, which was *Brown*; he lodged at one Mr. *Brocks*, from whom he ſtole ſeveral things of value, and ſold them: Mr. *Brock* found him out, but he thought to have prevented the diſcovery by Swearing Treaſon againſt him, which he did before Chief Juſtice *Nugent*; but the Juſtice of the Peace who took the Examinations of the Theft, having gotten ſome of the things into his Cuſtody, traced them ſo clearly to the Thief, that there was no denying it. The Gentleman upon this, to prevent further Proſecution, was forced to certify under his Hand that he was perjured in what he had Sworn before the Lord Chief Juſtice. How heavy theſe things fell on the Citizens, may be conjectured from this; the Rents of the City were conſiderable, and many Gentlemens Eſtates conſiſted in them: But now they thought themſelves happy, if their Tenants would ſtay in their Houſes, and keep them in Repair, though they paid no Rents at all. In the beſt inhabited Places of the Town, where the Houſes about Two Years before yielded Sixty Pound apiece, they were well contented if they got Ten Pound, or the Ground-Rent; but it was a chance if they got ſo much.

2. Thus Eſtates both in City and Country were rendred Fruitleſs to Proteſtants; but yet whilſt the Cattle and the great Manufactories and Staple Commodities of the Kingdom were in their Hands; whilſt they had the Wooll, the Hides, the Tallow and Butter, which bring in all the Money that is in the Kingdom, all the former Arts would not have undone them, and therefore ſome means muſt be uſed to get their Stocks from them, it ſeemed not decent for the Government to Seize on them, as they Seized on our Horſes and Arms; it was not thought fit to give a poſitive Order for doing it; the truth is, there was no need of it; it was ſufficient to connive at the new raiſed Men, to have it effectually done; the Prieſts had made every Man that came to Maſs to get a Skean, and half Pike at leaſt, and they whiſper-

ed

ed to the People, that it was not for nothing that they were thus Armed. They assured them, that whatever Injury they did their Protestant Neighbours, would be forgiven them, only they advised them not to shed Blood. Sometimes they went along to see it effectually done; and sometimes they imposed it as a Pennance on such as came to them for Absolution, to rob some of their Protestant Neighbours: This may seem improbable, but we have had credible Informations of it, and it will not seem so unlikely, if we consider that the Priests often led them out to these Plunders, and stood by whilst they committed them; that all these Robbers are absolved by them, without restoring one Sheep; which could not be, if the Priests reckoned the taking and keeping them a Sin. And lastly, that some of the greatest of these Robberies were committed in *Lent*, when they do their Pennances, and eat no Flesh; and therefore they could not be tempted at that time to Steal and Kill in order to eat: For in some places they killed whole Flocks, and left them dead on the Place. These Robberies began in *November*, 1688, and by the end of *March* next after, they left hardly one Prostant in *Ireland* a Cow or Sheep. *Ireland* has always been famous for its Pastures, and the Riches of it has always consisted in Cattle, of which many Gentlemen had vast Stocks; for a Man to have Six, Eight, or Ten Thousand Sheep was very common; some had more, even to Twenty Thousand. All these were gone in Three Months, to the value of at least a Million of Money, which if rightly managed, would with the Cows and Bullocks, of which there were likewise great Herds, have furnished an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men with Flesh enough for Three Years Those who took them from the Protestants, destroyed them without consideration, they killed them by Fifties and Sixties, and threw them into Bog-pits; they took off their Skins, and left their Carcases to rot, and made all the havock of them imaginable.

3. Nor was the Government at all displeased at this, but on the contrary, did plainly encourage them; no Complaints made against them were minded; none of them punished or called to account for it; and there happened two or three remarkable things that plainly discovered it to be their design that the Protestants should lose all: For First, when these Robberies began, some Protestants got together, overtook the Robbers, rescued the Prey from them, and killed some of them; this being done in two or three places, they were frightened and quiet for some time, but the Lord Deputy saw that if this were suffered, his design would not take, and therefore ordered our Arms to be Seized; this was the true motive of his taking away so suddenly the Arms of the Protestants, These Arms he put into the Hands of those

very Robbers, whom the Proteſtants in the defence of their Cattle, had beaten and wounded, and whoſe Relations they had killed; who now knowing that their Adverſaries could make no further Reſiſtance, vowed Revenge, and perfected what they had begun, not leaving them a Beaſt, and forcing them to flee for their Lives; and then they plundered their Houſes as well as their Cattle, and left them nothing that could be found with them: Nay ſo far did the Government countenance them, that they had ſuffered thoſe Men, who had thus defended their Cattle, to be indicted, and Bills were found againſt them, who had killed ſome of thoſe Robbers in the actual fact of Robbing; to do which they are empowered, and ought to have been rewarded by a particular Statute of *Ireland*.

4. But Secondly, it appears that the Robbing of the Proteſtants was deſigned by the Government, from the Confeſſion of Chief Juſtice *Nugent*, who boaſted of it as a piece of Policy, and own'd that they could not have done their work without it; and at the Aſſizes at *Cork*, publickly called ſuch Robbers *neceſſary Evils*, and from the beginning he took care not to diſcourage them. The forementioned Proclamation *February* 21, 1686, acknowledges that the Robberies were occaſioned by the careleſſneſs and neglect of the Civil Magiſtrate.

And Thirdly, That it was a meer deſign to ruin the Proteſtants, is manifeſt from this, that as ſoon as their Stocks were gone, and thoſe who took them began to rob their Papiſt Neighbours, the Government put a ſtop to it, and iſſued out a Commiſſion to hang them; which accordingly was executed at *Wicklow*, and the *Naas*, and ſeveral other Places; and that it might be effectually executed, they joined ſome Proteſtants in it, which might as well have been done before; and there is no reaſon that it was not done, but becauſe it would have prevented the ruin of the Proteſtants, as well as it now preſerv'd the Papiſts. It is manifeſt what the Government deſigned, when by a few Robberies committed on Papiſts, it was alarm'd, and iſſued out Commiſſions to hang the Robbers yet could not be prevailed with to take notice of the many Thouſand Robberies committed on the Proteſtants. For the Proof of this, ſee *Albavill*'s Inſtructions to the forementioned Commiſſioners in the Appendix.

See Appendix No. 25.

SECT

SECT. XI.

The Methods by which King James *compleated the ruin of the Proteſtants Perſonal Fortunes.*

1. THE Proteſtants by the Deputies taking away their Horſes, and the Army their Cattle, were put out of a poſſibility of Living in the Country, or of making any thing of their Farms by Plowing or Grazing, and had ſaved nothing but their Houſhold-Stuff and Money; only ſome of them, when they ſaw the *Iriſh* taking away their Cattle, ſlaughtered part of them, Barrelled them up, and ſent them to *Dublin*, and other Towns; they preſerved likewiſe their Hides and Tallow of the Year 1688, not having any vent for them; and the Merchants upon the ſame account were ſtored with ſuch Commodities as uſed to be ſent Yearly into *England* or Foreign Parts; and many of theſe went out of the Kingdom for their own Safety, and left their Goods in the Hands of their Servants or Friends. Their going away, though they had Licenſe for it, and thoſe Licenſes not expired, was made a pretence to Seize their Goods; and in *March* 1688, the Officers of the Army throughout the Kingdom, without any Law or Legal Authority, by order from the Lord Deputy, Seized all Goods, Houſes, Lands, *&c.* belonging to any who were out of the Kingdom; there was no other reaſon given for this, but that it was the Deputies Pleaſure it ſhould be ſo; in *May*, the Commiſſioners of the Revenue took it out of the Soldiers Hands; and that they might be the better able to go through with it, endeavoured to procure from their pretended Parliament, an Act to confirm all they had done till that time, and further to empower them to examin Witneſſes upon Oath concerning concealed Goods of Abſentees: The Bill as it was drawn by the Commons, added a power to oblige every body to diſcover upon Oath what they concealed, belonging to their abſent Friends, and to Commit whom they pleaſed without Bail or Mainprize during pleaſure, not excepting the Peers of the Realm; which made the Houſe of Lords correct theſe Clauſes, and ſeveral others in the Bill, upon the Motion and earneſt Struggling of the Biſhop of *Meath*; though the Commiſſioners did in a great Meaſure put the Act in Execution, as the Commons intended it; for where-ever they expected any goods of Abſentees to be, they ſent and ſeized all that was in the place, and then refuſed to reſtore any thing to the Owners, but upon Oath that it was their own proper Goods; the reſt they ſuppoſed to belong to ſome

Abſentee, and made it lawful Prize; all ſuch being by the Act veſted in the King, though the Owners who were abſent without any Fault of their own ſhould have come back and claimed, by which Act all Proteſtants that had fled for their Refuge into *England*, or any other place, or were gone upon their lawful Occaſions, to the number of many Thouſands, were abſolutely diveſted of all their Perſonal Fortunes, and cut off from all Claim to their Goods and Chattels whatever.

The Condition of thoſe who ſtaid behind, was very little better, ſo many Contrivances were ſet on foot to ruin them, and take away the little Goods that were yet left them, that they were as effectually deſtroy'd as their Neighbours that went for *England*; they knew that beſides Goods, the Proteſtants had ſome ready Money and Plate; their chief aim was to come by them, and ſeveral ways were thought of to effect it; ſometimes they were for ſetting up a Mint, and for forcing every Body to bring in on Oath to be coined, whatever Plate was in their Poſſeſſion; ſometimes they were for ſearching Houſes, and ſeizing all they found, but theſe Methods were looked on as too Violent; and not likely to ſucceed if they ſhould put them in Practice; they therefore defer'd theſe for the preſent, and applied themſelves to the following Courſes, by which they got from us a great part of our Money, Plate and Goods; and if our Deliverance had not been ſpeedy, would infallibly have got the reſt.

1. They would pretend for a Sum of Money to procure Licenſe for a Ship to go off, and when they had gotten the Money, and the People had Ship'd themſelves and their Effects, they then ordered the Ship to be unloaded again, and ſeized all the Money and Plate they found, which had been privately conveyed on Shipboard, tho not forfeited by any Law.

2. They would take off the Embargo which was generally laid on Ships, and pretend that they would ſuffer the Merchants to Trade: And as ſoon as they had got the Cuſtom-houſes full of Goods, and receiv'd vaſt Rates for Cuſtom, beſides Bribes to the Officers that attended the Ships, they would put on the Embargo again, ſtop the Goods, and not return one Farthing.

3. They promiſed Licenſes for *England* to all who would pay for them; and when they had gotten vaſt Sums from the Crowd that preſs'd to get away, they would then ſtop the Ships, and make their Licenſes uſeleſs: There was nothing to be done without a Bribe, at what Rate may be imagined from this, that an ordinary Tide-Waiter, one

White

White at *Rings-End*, was accounted to have gotten in Bribs for conniving at Peoples going off, at leaſt 1000 *l.* in a few Months.

4. All Proteſtants that lived in the Country, were forced to take out Protections; theſe were ſold at great Rates, and it was not ſufficient to buy them once, they were often voided, either by new Orders, or the Change of Governors; and then they were obliged to take them out anew; ſome had Protections not only for their Goods but likewiſe for ſome Arms and Horſes, and renewed them five or ſix times, paying a good Rate for them every time, and yet at laſt they loſt all their Horſes, Arms and Goods, as well as their Neighbours who had no Protections.

5. Where they learnt any Man had Money, they ſeiz'd him on ſome Pretence or other; and if they found the Money, it was ſufficient Evidence of his Guilt; they ſent him to Goal, and converted the Money to their own uſe; at the worſt they knew it was only reſtoring it in Braſs: Thus they ſerv'd Mr. *Heuſton* in *Bridge-Street*, and Mr. *Gabriel King* in the County of *Roſcommon*, who could never get any Satisfaction for his Silver and Plate thus taken from him; and the caſe was the ſame with many others.

6. In ſeveral places the Governors went into Mens Houſes and Shops, and ſeiz'd what they found, without the Formality of a Pretence, and took it away: *Cork* was uſed at this Rate; their Governor Monſieur *Boiſelot*, not failing in any Punctilio of his Country Dragooning; and he is ſuppoſed to have ſent off for *France* to the value of 30000 *l.* in Money, Leather, and other Commodities; the Spoils of the Proteſtants in that Rich Town.

7. The Parliament granted the King a Tax of 20000 *l. per* Month for thirteen Months, which the Kingdom could hardly have paid if it had been in its moſt Flouriſhing Condition; but they knew it would fall moſt heavy on the Proteſtants, who muſt be forced to pay it out of their ready Mony, having loſt their Stocks generally by Plundering, and deprived of their Rents and Incomes.

2. Becauſe the Proteſtants in and about *Dublin* had ſaved ſome Hides, Tallow, Wooll, *&c.* King *James*, by pretence of his Prerogative Royal, laid a Tax of 20000 *l. per* Month, for three Months, on Chattels, becauſe the 20000 *l. per* Month granted by the Parliament was only on Lands.

This way of levying Mony did ſtartle every Body; the pretended Parliament was then in being, and was adjourned till *January* 12. 1689. which happened to be about the very time when the King and his Council were upon this Project. Some in the Council oppos'd it, and pleaded

ed the no necessity of using extraordinary ways of levying Money, when the King might have it in the ordinary way; and further, that it would give advantage to his Enemies, and be an Argument of his affecting an Arbitrary Power; but he was very angry with those that oppos'd it, and told them, That they had made him believe it was a Branch of his Prerogative to Levy Mony, and *If he could not do it, he could do nothing.* Chancellor *Fitton* appear'd Zealously for it; and 'twas carried, that the Mony should be raised, but it being a new thing, they were at a loss how to go about it; at last they issued out a Proclamation, dated *February* 4. 1689. wherein 'tis ordered and declared, *That a Contribution of* 20000 *l.* per *Month, for the space of three Months, ending the last day of* January *last past, shall be forthwith applotted, laid in and levied upon the Personal Estates of all Sorts.* And the Applotment is order'd to be made by Commissioners to be named by the King, *Who were to proceed according to Instructions forthwith to be published by him: Albaville*, the Secretary of State, thought it sufficient to send Letters, signed only by himself; in which he named and instructed the Commissioners; but the Persons so named for *Dublin*, judged this Authority insufficient, and demur'd on the Execution till they had their Nomination and Instructions according to the Proclamation, from the King himself, under the Great Seal. The King was heartily angry at them for this Demur, and was hardly prevailed on to issue a Commission under the Seal in the usual Forms, as judging his Secretaries Letter a sufficient Warrant: But at last the Commission was issued, in which the Commissioners were nam'd, and impowered to nominate Sub-Commissioners for every Barony in their respective Counties, to make the Applotment; of which Sub-Commissioners the High-Constable was to be one. The Commissioners of *Dublin*, and other Cities, were not yet satisfied; for their Counties had neither Baronies nor High-Constables; and therefore the Commission could not be duly executed in them; they therefore applied anew to the Lords of the Treasury, for a more ample Commission, which put the Lords and Attorney-General in as great a Passion as the King was in before; and all the answer return'd to the Commissioners was, That they should *go about their Business without such frivolous Scruples, or they should take a course with them:* The Commissioners being thus appointed, were most of them Papists; and the few Protestants that were named, declin'd acting as much as they durst; by which means the Papists had the applotting intirely in their own Hands, and never fail'd to lay the greatest Burden on their Protestant Neighbours, who, in effect, paid all Taxes that King *James* ever receiv'd in *Ireland.*

3. The

3. The Papists raised a Militia, and inasmuch as Protestants were not qualified to serve in it, by the Proclamation, which did not allow them to bear Arms, they were assess'd at a certain Rate for the Maintenance of the Militia, and sent to Prison if they refused to pay it. The Tax was as great as either of the former, amounting, in the small Parish of St. *Warburgh's, Dublin*, in which not above one half of the Protestant-dwellers were left to 900 *l. per Annum*.

4. They pretended to make some small Ditches at the several Avenues of the Town, and for these likewise the Protestants must pay; and they tax'd them at what Rate they pleased, distraining or committing them to Goal, if they refused to pay what was exacted, or wanted Money. Before they form'd this Militia Business into a Tax, the Officers of the Militia went about Weekly for several Weeks, and demanded and took what they pleased from every House with great Rigor, committing those who disputed their Demands, which was, for the time it lasted, a Heavy Burthen, and a Prodigious Tax.

5. Towards the middle of Winter 1689, their Forces were dispersed into their Winter-Quarters; very few being left in *Dublin*, it was most convenient to have such as remained in it quarter'd together; at least it was judged unsafe to have them dispersed in Protestant Houses; therefore they seized on waste Houses, and filled them with the Soldiers, the rest they quarter'd in the College. Nevertheless, that the Protestants might not escape Free, they obliged them to send in Beds to the Soldiers; but instead of Beds they took a Composition in Money, the Rate was from 24 *s.* to 5 *l.* for every House: This fell intirely on the Protestants, the Papists being conniv'd at, and the Conditions were not generally made good to them after they paid, for within two or three Months some had Soldiers quarter'd on them again; tho' while it lasted it must be confess'd it was a great Convenience and Ease, to be rid of such Guests at any rate.

6. All these Contrivances to get Money from Protestants, did indeed Impoverish them; but by their Industry and Charity to one another, they made a shift to subsist, and to keep something in reserve; but the Contrivance of making Brass Money pass instead of Silver, and at an equal Value with it, was an utter and unavoidable Ruin to them: It is true, the Coining of Money is a Prerogative of the Crown, and the

'Twas an ancient Law of *England*, some say, as Old as King *Alfred*, That no King should change his Money, nor impair, nor inhanse, nor make any Money, but of Silver, without the Assent of the Lords and all the Commons. See *Power of Parliaments asserted by Sir* Robert Atkins, *p.* 17. *And Lord* Cook, *Exposition of* Stat. Artic. super Chart. Cap. 20. 2 Inst. 577.

reason

reaſon of its being ſo, is to prevent its being adulterated, the King's Honour and Intereſt being the Engagement and Security for the Coin that bears his Impreſſion: But ſure the meaning was not, that he ſhould give a Value to what has no Value in it ſelf; otherwiſe the Cautiouſneſs of our Forefathers was ridiculous, who would not allow the King by his Prerogative to raiſe Money either by Loan or Subſidy from the Subject; ſince if it be allowed, that he may ſet what value he pleaſes upon Braſs, he may have what he thinks fit from the Kingdom without troubling a Parliament; but King *James*'s Council uſed not to ſtick at the Formalities of Law or Reaſon, and therefore vaſt Quantities of Braſs Money were coined, and made Current by a Proclamation dated *June* 18, 1689. under ſevere Penalties. The Metal of which this Money was made was the worſt kind of Braſs; old Guns, and the refuſe of Metals were melted down to make it; Work-Men rated it at Three-pence or a Groat a Pound, which being coined into Six-pence's, Shillings or Half-crowns, one Pound weight made about 5 *l.* And by another Proclamation dated 1690. the Half-crowns were called in, and being Stamp'd anew, were made to paſs for Crowns; ſo that then 3 *d.* or 4 *d.* worth of Metal made 10 *l.* There was coined in all, from the firſt ſetting up of the Mint, to the Rout at the *Boyne*, being about twelve Months, 965375 *l.* In this Coin King *James* paid all his Appointments, and all that received the King's Pay being generally Papiſts, they forced the Proteſtants to part with their Goods out of their Shops for this Money, and to receive their Debts in it; but the Proteſtants having only good Silver or Gold, and Goods bought with theſe, when they wanted any thing from Papiſts, they were forced to part with their Gold and Silver, having no means of coming by the Braſs Money out of the King's Hands; ſo that the Loſs by the Braſs Money did in a manner intirely fall on the Proteſtants, being defrauded (for I can call it no better) of about 60000 *l. per* Month by this Stratagem, which muſt in a few Months utterly exhauſt them, when the Papiſts had gotten moſt of their Saleable Goods from Proteſtant Neighbours, and yet great Quantities of Braſs Money remained in their Hands, they began to conſider how many of them who had Eſtates, had engaged them to Proteſtants by Judgments, Statute Staples and Mortgages; this was all the reſerve of their Fortunes left the Proteſtants: And to take this likewiſe from them, they procured a Proclamation dated *February* 4. 1689. to make the Braſs Money Current in all Payments whatſoever, whereas at firſt Judgments, *&c.* were excepted: Thus they rid themſelves of their Braſs Money, and put it on Proteſtants. The Chancellor *Fitton* compelling the Truſtees for Orphans

phans and Widows, to receive their Mortgages, &c. in this Coin, as well as others, tho they pleaded that they knew not how to dispose of it, nor if they did know, could they legally receive it, or make use of it, being only Trustees. Sometimes it was pleaded, that by the Original Covenants they were to have a certain time of warning, before they should be obliged to receive their Money, tho offered them in Silver; but all signified nothing, the Chancellor over-rul'd all their Pleas, and placed the Brass Money on them, not so much as allowing it to remain in the Court.

7. The Governor of *Dublin*, the Provost-Marshal, and their Deputies, assumed the same Power, and threatened to hang all that refused the Brass Money; of which we had many Instances, one Mr. *Bennet* a Tanner owed Money to one Alderman *Smith*, and to Mr. *Hugh Leeson* a Clergy-man; *Bennet* having some Goods taken from him for which he was paid in Brass Money, tendered it to them, but upon a Civil refusal he complained to Governor *Luttrell*, who gave him two Warrants to the Provost-Marshal to take them; he shewed them to Alderman *Smith*, who immediately complied and received his Money; but *Luttrell* being informed of it, was angry that *Bennet* had compounded the business, and therefore directed the Provost to take him; by whom he was kept a Fortnight, and not released till he paid 20 *l.* Fees. *Leeson* was likewise taken and committed with him.

One *Chapman* a Widow was used yet worse by the Provost-Marshal's Deputy one *Kerney*; a Petition was preferred against her, by the Sollicitor of one who owed her 150 *l.* by Bond, alledging falsly that she had refused to receive it in Brass: *Kerney* sent his Troopers for her at Ten a Clock at Night; he told her, with many Oaths and Execrations, that he would have her Burnt next Morning; that he had Power to put to what Death he pleased, any that should refuse or undervalue the Brass Money, and would exercise it on her. Her Debtor was present, and acknowledged that the Allegation in the Petition was false, that he had never tendered the Money, only sent to her House, and received answer that she was not at home, and that his Sollicitor had wronged her in the Petition; yet the Deputy-Provost abated nothing of his Rigour, but made her be thrust into a dark Closet for that Night, without Bed or Candle: Her Sollicitor offered any Security for her till next Morning, but he threatened to Tye him Neck and Heels, send him to *Newgate*, and Hang him next day at his own Door, for interceding for her. At Nine next Morning he sent a Messenger to her to prepare for Death, for he would have her Burnt immediately. She had often, whilst in Custody, proffered to receive her Money, and never

before refuſed it, which ſome repreſented to him ſo effectually, that he at laſt conſented to releaſe her, ſhe paying 4 *l.* Fees, and 10 *s.* to her Adverſary's Sollicitor that preferr'd the Falſe Petition againſt her, and ſigning an Acknowledgment to be entered on Record, and a General Releaſe: She demurr'd a little at the General Releaſe, but the Provoſt renewing his Threats of Burning her, and Hanging her Sollicitor, obliged her to perfect it.

But where Papiſts were Creditors, and Proteſtants Debtors, the Caſe was otherwiſe; of which Mr. *Roſe* a Merchant is an Inſtance; he had received 500 *l.* from ſome Roman Catholicks, for which he drew a Bill of Exchange into *England* on his Correſpondent; the Seas being ſhut up, they ſued for the Money, thô it was ſuppoſed on all hands to be paid in *England*: Whilſt they went on with the Suit, the Braſs Money came into Play, and then they would have withdrawn it, but Mr. *Roſe* having great quantities of this Money put on him for Goods taken away from him, perſiſted in it; the Declaration againſt him being filed; however the Judge kept him three Terms, taking occaſion from the Sickneſs of the Attorney, or any other little matter, to adjourn the Cauſe. At laſt Mr. *Roſe* brought the Money and depoſited it in Court, which the Judge called an Affront, and the receiving it was demurr'd to, and there the Cauſe remain'd till the Change of the Government, without any Determination.

8. By theſe means vaſt Quantities of Braſs Money were lodged in the Hands of Proteſtants; and not knowing what elſe to do with it, they laid it out on the Staple Commodities of the Kingdom, ſuch as Hides, Tallow, Wooll, Corn, *&c.* Theſe they bought up at any Rate, as ſuppoſing they might ſometimes turn to account, whereas the Braſs Money could ſignifie nothing. The Papiſts were aware of it, and therefore put the King upon taking theſe again out of their Hands, which they contrived thus, They put out a Proclamation, by which they ſet a Rate upon Commodities, dated *February* 28. 1689. Then the King declared he wanted certain Quantities of theſe Goods, and that he would have them at the Proclamation Rates. The Lord-Mayor firſt, then the Commiſſioners of the Revenue, and afterwards Sir *Thomas Hackett*, and others, were employ'd to ſearch for them and ſeize them. They firſt ſent out Officers to take an Inventory of all they could find in the Hands of Proteſtants; ſome few eſcaped by giving good Bribes: The Searchers return'd an account of the following Quantities in *Dublin*, *viz.* 61105 Stones of Wooll, 7780 hundred Weight of Tallow, 14687 Raw Hides, 18771 Tan'd Hides; what return was made from other places we could not learn; but we find,

when

when they came to Seize, that the following Parcels were actually taken up, *viz.*

	Wooll Stone	Tallow C	Raw Hides	Tan'd Hides Cq
In Dublin	10948½	4230	3237	900-2
In the reſt of the Kingdom	121339	12619	19100	1832-2
Total	132287½	16849	22337	2732-2

Computing 35 Stones to a Bag of Wooll, 600 Weight to a Cask of Tallow, and four Tan'd Hides to an hundred Weight; which appears to be the Proportion in *Dublin*, where both the Number and Weight is return'd.

Some Gentlemen had ſaved their Wooll of the Year 1688. and had placed it in *Dublin* and the Port-Towns, deſigning to ſend it off as ſoon as the Seas were open; and it was all they had to begin the World with, their Eſtates being taken from them by Act of Parliament, and their Stocks and Houſhold Goods by Robbers; but now this remainder of their Fortunes was taken from them by the King himſelf, and when they preſs'd the Commiſſioners of the Revenue to know the reaſon why they were thus uſed, it was anſwered them by Sir *Patrick Trent*, that he would not give any reaſon to *Such Rogues*; but at laſt, when urged, he told them, It was becauſe they were Proteſtants: Some, particularly Mr. *Piercy* the Merchant, being ask'd by Sir *Thomas Hacket*, whether he was willing to part with his Goods; anſwered very calmly, That he was not willing if he could help it. His ſaying ſo was reckoned a High Crime, he was brought before Colonel *Luttrell* Governour of *Dublin*, who put the ſame queſtion to him, and upon his making the ſame Anſwer, condemned him in his Paſſion to be Hanged, for oppoſing the *King's Will*: He ſent up and down for the Provo's to execute the Sentence, and Swore many Oaths that he would have it done immediately. Mr. *Piercy* continued under this Sentence for two Hours, during which time the Provo's could not be found, though diligent Search was made for them; at laſt the Governour wearied with waiting, and not able to find any to execute his Sentence, was, by ſome Interceſſion made to him, content to diſmiſs Mr. *Piercy* for that time. Some Proteſtants offered to Tranſport their Goods themſelves into *France*, and bring back ſuch things as the King needed; but this was refuſed them;

and the deſign being to ruin them, ſuch Goods as came to them from *France* were ſeiz'd on, and put into the hands of Papiſts, to be diſpoſed of by them, and the right Owners not ſuffered ſo much as to oblige a Friend with a little Salt or a Rundlet of Brandy. Thus Mr. *Bell*, a Proteſtant Merchant, was ſerved, with a Ship that came to him from *France*; and without any Crime alledged againſt him, that he might think no more of Trading, he was confined in cloſe Priſon, and no body allowed to ſpeak to him. As to the Goods thus taken up, King *James* diſpos'd of them to Mr. *Labady* and other Papiſts; ſo that this appear'd to be a meer Contrivance to get the Goods out of the Proteſtants hands, and enrich the Papiſts; and not, as was pretended, to ſupply the King's Neceſſity.

9. Some Proteſtants had laid out their Braſs Mony in Corn and Malt; of this Commodity Brewers, Maltſters and Bakers had good Quantities, and ſome private Perſons laid in enough for themſelves and Families, and perhaps a little to ſpare. Some likewiſe had Proviſions of Biſket, Barrelled Beef and Bacon, not knowing how the Market might be furniſh'd, after ſuch Deſtruction of Proviſions: There was a general Search made for all theſe, and they were, for the moſt part, taken away, or ſeized, for the King's uſe; it was Criminal to have Barrelled Beef or Biſket in a Houſe, and Alderman *Giles Meigh* was clap'd up in Priſon for the Treaſon of having ſome hundred of Biſket: The like happened to ſeveral others, they alledging that ſuch as had them, deſigned them for *Schonberg*'s Army; we were at a loſs what the meaning of taking away Corn from Proteſtant Farmers, Houſe-keepers and Bakers ſhould be, when there was no Scarcity in the Kingdom, and the Markets, if left open, were ſufficient to furniſh all; but Sir *Robert Parker*, and ſome others, blab'd it out in the Coffee-houſe, That they *deſigned to ſtarve one half of the Proteſtants, and hang the other, and that it would never be well till this were done.* We were very ſenſible that they were in earneſt, by the event; for no Proteſtant could get a bit of Bread, and hardly a drop of Drink in the whole City; Twenty or Thirty Soldiers ſtood conſtantly about every Bake-houſe, and would not ſuffer a Proteſtant to come nigh them; if they ſent into the Country, and by Intereſt and a great Price, got a Barrel of Wheat from a Popiſh Farmer, it was ſeiz'd as it came to Town; and though there was Plenty of all things, yet ſeveral Proteſtant Families could not get one Loaf of Bread, ſometimes in a Week, ſometimes in a Fortnight; there was a general Cry for Bread, and the Proteſtants could find no way to come by it, but by buying it from the Soldiers, who ſold their Two-penny Loaves for a Shilling or eighteen Pence;

Pence; it was confidently reported, that the Popiſh Store-keepers deſign'd to get all the Corn in the Kingdom into the King's Stores, and then to let the Proteſtants have none out but for Silver and Gold; which they did in good meaſure effect; and it is certain before Harveſt, they would have ſtarved many, and drained all.

10. Some few Proteſtants had, under ſhelter of a good natured Popiſh Landlord or Neighbour, preſerved a few Sheep; as ſoon as theſe were Shorn, the Commiſſioners immediately ſeiz'd the Wooll, and it was reſolv'd to ſeize their Corn likewiſe, where they had any, as ſoon as it was cut and made up.

They found it a hard matter to get Copper or Braſs to ſerve the Mint, there were on this account ſeveral Searches made in Town; and firſt the Braziers Shops were pillaged, and then the Citizens Kitchens of their Braſs Pots, Skellets, Boylers; and their Houſes of other Braſs Utenſils, even to the Knockers of Doors; hardly one ſuch was left in the whole City: Under the pretence of this they order'd their Emiſſaries to take a private Inventory of whatever they ſaw in the Poſſeſſion of Proteſtants, of which they made their uſes as they had occaſion, and intended more if their Power had continued.

11. The Deputy-Mayor of *Dublin*, *Edmund Reily*, iſſued out an Order, dated *Sept.* 27. 1689. for regulating the Rates of Proviſions, Country Goods, and Manufactoires, to be ſold in the City of *Dublin*; in which he took care to ſet a very low rate on ſuch Goods as were then moſt in the hands of Proteſtants, the Rate at which he ordered them to be ſold, was not one half of what they generally yielded. When therefore any Papiſt had a mind to put off his Braſs Mony, he went to ſome Proteſtant Neighbor, whom he knew to have a quantity of theſe Goods, offered him the Mayor's Rate in Braſs, and carried away the Goods by Force. This was practiſed even by the Lady *Tyrconnel*, and ſeveral of their Grandees: But the caſe was otherwiſe with Papiſts, they ſold at what Rate they pleaſed, not minding the Proclamation; of which Alderman *Reily*, who iſſued it, was an Inſtance; He had a quantity of Salt in his hands, and ſold it at exceſſive Rates, above what he compelled Proteſtants to part with theirs; Complaint was made againſt him, and he was indicted at the Tholſel, which is the City Court, that very Term in which the Proclamation came out; upon the Traverſe the Petty-Jury found him guilty, and the Court Fin'd him in an 100 *l.* but all this was only a Blind, for the Sheriffs ſet him at Liberty on his Parole after he was committed to them: He brought his Writ of Error returnable into the King's-Bench, but the Record was never remov'd nor the Fine levied. And the Conſequence was,

that

that neither he nor any Papist took notice of the Order, and yet kept it in its full Force against Protestants.

12. They saw therefore that it was resolved to leave them nothing that was easily to be found; for Sir *Thomas Hacket* had made a Proposal to Seize Feather-Beds, and other Furniture of Houses; alledging that they would be good Commodities in *France*; upon which the Protestants thought it the best way to exchange what Brass Money they had, into Silver and Gold, and gave 2*l.* 10*s.* 3*l.* 4*l.* and at last 5*l.* for a Guinea; but even so 'twas thought too beneficial for them, and to stop it, they procured a Proclamation, dated *June* 15. 1690. whereby it is made Death to give above 1*l.* 18*s.* for a Guinea, or for a *Louis d'Or* above 1*l.* 10*s.* *&c.* The Papists needed not fear a Proclamation, or the Penalty of it; they had Interest enough to avoid it, and therefore still bought up Gold at what rate they pleased; but if any Protestant had been found Transgressing, he must have expected the utmost Severity.

13. And thus the case stood when His Majesty's Victory at the *Boyn* delivered us; and let any one judge whether we had reason to be pleased with the Success, and gratefully receive him, that came to restore to us, not only our Goods and Fortunes, but the very Necessaries of Life; and what Obligations we could have of Fidelity or Allegiance to King *James*, who treated us plainly as Prisoners of War, and as Enemies not Subjects, and by designing and endeavouring our Ruin, declared, in effect, he would govern us no longer; but more expresly at his going away, freely allowed us to shift for our selves; and advised those about him, both at the *Boyn* when he quitted the Field, and the next Morning in Council at the Castle of *Dublin*, to make the best Terms they could, and quietly submit to the Conqueror, who, he said, was a Merciful Prince.

SECT. XII.

King James *destroyed the Real as well as the Personal, Estates of his Protestant Subjects in* Ireland.

1. THere remains yet to be spoken of, a third part of the Property belonging to Protestants; I mean, their Real Estates, and care was effectually taken to divest them of these, as well as of their Personal Fortunes: Their Estates of Inheritance were either acquir'd before the Year 1641. and were call'd *Old Interest*, or else since that time,

time, and pass'd by the Name of *New Interest*. The greater part of Estates belonging to Protestants were of this last sort, and they stood on this ground: The Papists of *Ireland* (as I have noted before) had raised a most Horrid Rebellion against the King, and Barbarously Murthered some Hundred Thousands of Protestants in Cold Blood in 1641. for which most of their Gentry were indicted and outlawed by due course of Law, and consequently their Estates forfeited. The English, after a War of twelve Years, reduced them with vast Expence of Blood and Treasure; and according to an Act of Parliament past 17 *Car.* I. at *Westminster*, the forfeited Estates were to be disposed of. When King *Charles* II. was restored, he restored many of the Papists, and after two years Deliberation, and the full hearing of all Parties before himself and Council in *England*, he pass'd an Act in a Parliament held at *Dublin* commonly call'd, *The Act of Settlement*, whereby a general Settlement was made of the Kingdom, and Commissioners appointed to hear and determine every Man's Claim. After this, upon some Doubts that arose, another Act pass'd 17 *Car.* II. commonly call'd, *The Act of Explanation*; which made a further and final Settlement: Every Protestant made his Claim before the Commissioners of Claims, and was forced to prosecute it at vast Expences: After this, he got a Certificate from those Commissioners, of what appear'd to belong to him for Arrears, or Debentures; and having here reciev'd a third part of what was actually set out to him, and in his Possession, and paid one Years full improv'd value of what remain'd, every Man pass'd a Patent for it, a certain considerable yearly Rent, called Quit-rent, being reserved to the King out of every Acre; these two Acts of Parliament at *Dublin*, with that and other Acts at *Westminster*, together with a Certificate from the Court of Claims, and Letters Patents from the King, pursuant to the Certificate from the Commissioners, made up the Title, which two thirds of the Protestants in *Ireland* had to their Estates. Those Papists that had forfeited in 1641. were commonly known by the Name of Old Proprietors, who notwithstanding their Outlawries and Forfeitures, and the Acts of Parliament that were against them, still kept up a kind of Claim to their Forfeited Estates; they were still suggesting new Scruples and Doubts; and either disturbing the Protestant Possessors with Suits, in which by Letters from Court they obtained Favour from some of the Judges or else threatning them with an after-reckoning. The Protestants earnestly desired a new Parliament, which might settle things beyond any Doubt, and cut the Papists off from their Hopes and and Expectations; but King *James*, when Duke of

of *York*, had so great interest with his Brother King *Charles* II. that he kept off a Parliament against all the Sollicitations that could be made for it for Twenty four Years, to the no small Damage of the Kingdom, on other accounts as well as this; and he so encouraged those forfeiting Proprietors, and so kept them in Heart by countenancing them, that they did not doubt some time or other to recover their Estates; and they often told the English, when heated by Drink or Passion, that the time was drawing near, when they would out them of their Estates and Improvements, and send them to Dig or Beg. This Hope kept the Irish Idle, and hindred them from applying themselves to any thing else; and they were so sure of regaining their forfeited Estates, that they disposed of them by Wills and Settlements, as if in Possession; which Wills and Settlements made by them whilst out of Possession, are confirmed by a particular Act made in their late pretended Parliament.

2. When King *James* came to the Crown, they reckoned they had gained their Point, and did not fail to labour it with all possible Industry; and no doubt but his Majesty designed to gratifie them in it, but he did not think fit to let the Protestants know his Intentions; on the contrary, he industriously concealed them: He sent over the Lord *Clarendon* Lord Lieutenant in the Year 1685. who arrived here *January* 10. he gave him in Charge to declare, that he would preserve the Acts of Settlement and Explanation inviolable: And accordingly the Lord *Clarendon* made this Declaration in Council, and further gave it in Charge to all the Judges, who solemnly declared on the Bench in their respective Circuits, the King's firm Intentions to preserve those Acts, and in them the Protestant English Interest of *Ireland*. At the same time Sir *Charles Porter* was sent over Chancellor of *Ireland*; and he likewise had a Command from the King, to assure all his Subjects, that he would preserve these Acts as the *Magna Charta* of *Ireland*; and Sir *Charles*, at his entrance on his Office, declared this solemnly on the Bench, (as Chancellor *Fitton* also after did; and used withall, to term it, *The Darling of the Nation*) and that it was the King's Pleasure to give his Subjects this Assurance: These kind of Declarations were often repeated, and gain'd Belief from the credulous Protestants, especially that made by Sir *Charles*, who behaving himself with Courage and Integrity in his Office, went a great way to perswade them: But the Papists were nothing daunted at it, they knew that this was only a piece of Policy to lull us asleep, till the Army was modelled, and things fitted for repealing these Acts, and then all the Protestations to the contrary would signifie nothing. The new Attorney General *Nagle*, was the first that durst openly propose the Repealing of them, in his Letter from *Coventry*, dated *October* 26. 1686. in which he endeavours to shew some Nulli-

ties,

ties and Invalidities in the Acts; but mainly insists on the Inconveniency it would bring to the Popish Interest, to have those Acts continued. When the Earl of *Tyrconnel* came to the Government things were Riper, and so King *James* ventured to discover his Intentions a little further; and therefore in the first Proclamation issued out by the Lord-Deputy *Tyrconnel*, and dated *Feb.* 21. 1686. he promised to defend the Laws, Liberties and established Religion; but upon debate at the Council-Board, leaves out the Preservation of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. In Spring 1688. he sends over to *England* Chief Justice *Nugent* and Baron *Rice*, to concert the Methods of repealing it. That this was their Errand was publickly known, and is confessed by my Lord *Sunderland* in his Letter to his Friend in *London*, dated *March* 23. 1689. and if we believe him, they bid 40000 *l.* to gain his Lordship to assist them; but whatever his Lordship did with them, it is certain they succeeded in their Design (though perhaps a little delay'd in point of time) and agreed on the several Steps, by which they were to bring it to pass; they knew it was generally discoursed that they went on this Errand, and it would have alarm'd the whole Kingdom, if they had own'd their Success; they therefore dissembled it, and contrived to have it given out, that the King had rejected their Proposals, but granted others that were very Beneficial to the Kingdom, the Heads of which they took care to have published. In the mean while they fell on prosecuting their Design according to the Secret Resolutions agreed on, and began immediately to put things in order to have a Parliament that would be sure to answer their Intentions; they proceeded to finish the Regulations of Corporations, against which *Quo Warranto's* had before been issued, as we have already shewed; and that things might not stick in the House of Lords, by reason of the Numerousness of the Protestant Peers and Bishops, a List was drawn up of such Papists as the King might by writ call into the House to Out-vote them: The Sons of such Lords as had been Indicted and Out-lawed for the Rebellion in 1641. had brought Writs of Error to reverse their Father's Outlawries, which made them uncapable of Sitting; which was in effect to destroy the Act of Settlement that was founded on those Out-lawries. The Protestants saw the Consequence of the Reversing them, and therefore earnestly opposed it; but Lord Chief Justice *Nugent*, and his Fellow-Judges overruled all Oppositions that could be made, and reversed as many as desired it; Some of them, when they had reversed the Outlawries, ask'd the Attorney-General whether they might not now Sue for their Estates: He answered, that they should have a *little Patience, perhaps*

they would come more eaſily; meaning that when a Parliament ſate, it would (by repealing the Act of Settlement) gave them their Eſtates without a Suit.

3. But many had not Patience to wait the General Reſtitution; and therefore as ſoon as they had Judges and Sheriffs to their mind, they ſet up Counterfeit Deeds, and eaſily obtained Verdicts; if the Proteſtants brought a Writ of Error, yet that did not benefit them, nor ſtop their being outed of Poſſeſſion; for the Sheriffs, on their own Heads, gave the Old Proprietors Poſſeſſion, and left the Proteſtants to recover it, by Injunction out of Chancery, or by Common-Law. Thus Doctor *Gorge* was outed by Mr. *Barnwell* of a great Eſtate, and many others, notwithſtanding their Writs of Error. Some Old Proprietors had gotten ſome Conditional Orders from the Commiſſioners of the Court of Claims, for Eſtates; many of which only enabled them to bring their Actions at Common-Law. Theſe had lain dormant ſince the ſitting of the Court of Claims, which was above Twenty Years; but now inſtead of bringing their Actions into the Court, they carried their old Injunctions which they had procured from the Court of Claims, and which they thought not fit in all this time to execute, as knowing legally they could not; yet, I ſay, ſo long after the Diſſolution of the Court which granted them, they carried them to the Sheriffs, and they, without any more ado, put them into Poſſeſſion; whereby they deprived the Subject of the Benefit of thoſe Laws that make Fines levied with Non-claim, a perpetual Bar; and alſo diſpoſſeſs'd and put by, all intermediate Purchaſes and Settlements. This was the Biſhop of *Meath*'s Caſe, whoſe Father purchaſed an Eſtate in 1636. and both he and the Biſhop had continued in Peaceable Poſſeſſion of it ever ſince; yet he was now outed of it, by an old Injunction from the Court of Claims, granted on a pretended Deed of Settlement, made for Portions to the Daughters of the Man that had ſold it to the Biſhop's Father: This Deed ought to have been proved at Common-Law before he ſhould have been diſturbed; but the Popiſh Sheriff of the County of *Meath*, one *Nangle* executed the Injunction on the Biſhop, and two other Proteſtants, without any ſuch Formality; ſome Papiſts were as deeply concern'd as they, as holding part of the ſame Eſtate, but the Sheriff durſt not, or would not execute the Injunction on their part, though he did it on that part which was in the Hands of Proteſtants; at this rate many Proteſtants were outed of their Eſtates, and the old Proprietors having gotten Poſſeſſion, put the Suit and Proof on Proteſtants to recover them; near a hundred Engliſh Gentlemen loſt conſiderable Eſtates in leſs than a Year, and the Papiſts were in hopes to do their work by their

Falſe

False Oaths, Forged Deeds, Corrupt Judges, and Partial Juries: No one Suit that I could learn, having been determin'd against them in either the King's Bench or Exchequer.

4. But this was not the way design'd by the Grandees; they saw it was like to be Tedious, Expensive, and must have been in many cases, Insuccessful; and therefore they were intent on a Parliament; and they had in less than nine Months fitted all things for it: So that we should infallibly have had one next Winter, if the Closeted Parliament, design'd to sit at *Westminster* in *November* 1688. had succeeded, and the News of the Prince of *Orange*'s intended Descent into *England*, had not diverted them; but it was not judged convenient to proceed farther in *Ireland* till the Penal Laws and Test were removed in *England*.

See the Copy of a Letter to King *James*, and *Maloney*'s Letter in the Appendix. N. 4. & 17.

5. After King *James*'s deserting *England*, and getting into *France*, which mightily rejoyced them, their great Care was to get him into their own Hands; and they easily prevailed on him to come into *Ireland*, where he landed at *Kinsale*, *March* 12. 1688. and made his entry into *Dublin* on *Palm-Sunday*, *March* 24. Upon his coming into *Dublin*, every Body was intent to see what he would do, in relation to the Affairs of *Ireland*; it was manifestly against his Interest to call a Parliament, and much more unseasonable to pass such Acts in it, as he knew the Papists expected.

6. For *First*, The Kingdom was not intirely in Obedience to him, *Londonderry*, *Enniskillin*, and a great part of the North being then unreduced; which gave occasion to many, even of his own Party to ridicule him and his Councils, who, so contrary to his Interest, had called a Parliament to spend their time in wrangling about Settling the Kingdom, and disposing Estates, before they had reduced it. But had they, instead of Passing such Acts as made them Odious to all Good Men, applied themselves to the Siege of *Derry*, it is like it had been reduced before the Succours came, and then all *Ireland* had been their own, and no Body can tell what might have been the Consequence of it.

7. *Secondly*, If a little reflected on King *James*'s Sincerity, who in his Answer to the Petition of the Lords for a Parliament in *England*, presented *Nov.* 17. 1688. gave it as one Reason why he could not comply, because it was impossible, whilst part of the Kingdom was in the Enemies Hands, to have a Free Parliament. The same Impossibility lay on him against holding a Parliament in *Ireland*, at his coming

How is it possible a Parliament should be Free in all its Circumstances, whilst an Enemy is in the Kingdom.

ing to *Dublin*, if that had been the True Reason; and his not acting uniformly to it, plainly discover'd, That the True Reason why he would not hold a Parliament in *England*, and yet held one in *Ireland*, under the same Circumstances, was not the pretended Impossibility, but because the English Parliament would have secured the Liberties and Religion of the Kingdom, whereas he was sure the Irish Parliament would Subvert them.

8. *Thirdly*, His Compliance with all the most Extravagant Propofals of the Papists in *Ireland*, was unavoidable if he call'd a Parliament; and to comply with them, was to do so palpable and inexcusable Injustice, to the Protestants and English Interest of *Ireland*, that he could not expect but that he should lose the Hearts of those Protestants in *England* and *Scotland* who were indifferent or well affected to him before, as soon as they were fully inform'd of what he had done in *Ireland*; and to lose their Assistance, was to lose the fairest Hopes he could have of recovering his Crown.

9. *Fourthly*, By holding a Parliament, he manifestly weakened his Forces in *Ireland*; for the Papists, whom he was to restore to their Estates, were most of them poor insignificant People, not able or capable to do him Service; for the Richer sort of Papists were either disoblig'd by it (being losers as well as the Protestants) or else under a necessity to neglect the King's Service, and spend their time to make Interest to secure themselves of Reprizals, for what they lost by the Parliament.

10. *Fifthly*, He strengthened and united his Enemies, by rendering all the Protestants, that were not under his Power, Desperate; and by convincing the rest of the Necessity of joyning with them as fast as they could; since no other Choice was left them, but either to do this or to be ruined.

11. All these Reasons lay before the King against calling a Parliament; and made it manifestly unseasonable to do it now, however bent to comply with the long and earnest Sollicitations of the Irish, as we see in *Nagles Coventry* Letter, and the two Papers in the Appendix. But contrary to all the Rules of Interest and true Policy, he was resolv'd to gratifie them; for which we were able to give no other reason, but the Resolution ascribed to him in the Liege Letter, *either to dye a Martyr, or to establish Popery*; and therefore he issued out a Proclamation for a Parliament, to sit *May* 7. 1688. at *Dublin*. The Proclamation was dated *March* 25. the next day after he came to *Dublin*, but was not published till *April* 2. it was said to be antedated four days, but of that I can say nothing.

12. Every

12. Every Body foreſaw what a kind of Parliament this would be, and what was like to be done in it. Our Conſtitution lodges the Legiſlative Power in the King, Lords and Commons, and each of theſe is a Check on the other, that if any one of them attempt a thing prejudicial to the Kingdom, the other may oppoſe and ſtop it, but our Enemies had made all theſe for their Purpoſe, and therefore no Law could ſignifie any thing to oppoſe them, it being in their Power to remove any Law when they pleaſed by repealing it. The King was their own, both inclined of himſelf, and eaſie to be prevail'd on by them, to do what they would have him: So that we could promiſe our ſelves no help from his Negative Vote.

13. The Houſe of Lords, if regularly aſſembled, had conſiſted for the moſt part of Proteſtants, and might have been a Check to the King's Intentions of taking away our Laws in a legal Method, there being, if we reckon the Biſhops, about Ninety Proteſtant Lords to Forty five Papiſts, taking in the new Creations and attainted Lords. But, *firſt*, To remove this Obſtacle, care had been taken to reverſe the Outlawries of the Popiſh Lords, in order to capacitate them to ſit in the Houſe. 2. New Creations were made, Sir *Alexandee Fitton*, the Chancellor, was made Baron of *Goſworth*, *Thomas Nugent*, the Chief Juſtice, Baron of *Riverſtown*; *Juſtin McCarty*, Viſcount *Mountcaſhel*; Sir *Valentine Brown*, Viſcount *Kenmare*: A Liſt was made of more to be call'd into the Houſe, if there were occaſion. 3. They had ſeveral Popiſh Titular Biſhops in the Kingdom, and it was not doubted, but if neceſſity required, thoſe would be call'd by Writs into the Houſe. 4. It was eaſie to call the eldeſt Sons of Noble-men into the Parliament by Writ, which would not augment the Nobility, and yet fill the Houſe. But there were already ſufficient to over-vote the Proteſtants, for there remain'd of about Sixty nine Proteſtant Temporal Lords, only four or five in *Ireland* to ſit in the Houſe, and of Twenty two Spiritual Lords, only ſeven left in the Kingdom; of which Dr. *Michael Boyle*, Arch-biſhop of *Ardmagh*, Dr. *Hugh Gore*, Biſhop of *Waterford*, Dr. *Roan*, Biſhop of *Killaloe*, were excuſed, on account of Age and Sickneſs. The other four were Dr. *Anthony Dopping*, Biſhop of *Meath*; Dr. *Thomas Otway*, Biſhop of *Oſſory*; Dr. *Simon Digby*, Biſhop of *Limerick*; and Dr. *Edward Wettenhall*, Biſhop of *Cork* and *Roſs*; theſe were oblig'd to appear upon their Writs directed to them, and King *James* was forced ſometimes to make uſe of them to moderate, by way of Counterpoiſe, the Madneſs of his own Party, when their Votes diſpleas'd him: But in the general, they proteſted againſt moſt of the Acts, and entered their Diſſent. It is obſervable, that all theſe Acts of this pretended

Parliament,

Parliament, are said to be by the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, whereas not one Spiritual Lord consented to many of them, but on the contrary, unanimously protested against them, and at passing the Act of Attainder, of which more hereafter, they were not so much as present. They complain'd of this, but were refus'd redress, and the express mention of their consent continued: Of Thirty seven Papist Lords, there appear'd, besides the new created Lords, Twenty four at times; of which Fifteen were under Attainders by Indictments and Outlawries; two or three were under Age; and there remain'd only Six or Seven capable of Sitting and Acting. Chancellor *Fitton*, now Baron of *Gosworth*, was Speaker of the House of Lords. King *James* was present constantly in the House, and Directed them not only in their Debates, but likewise in their Forms and Ceremonies; hardly one in either House having ever Sate in a Parliament before.

14. The House of Commons makes the Third Estate in Parliament, and 'tis by them that the People have a more immediate Interest in the Legislative Power; the Members of this House being such as are return'd by the Peoples Free Election; which is look'd on as the Fundamental Security of the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the Subject. These Members of the House of Commons are Elected either by the Free-holders of Counties, or the Free-men of Corporations: And I have already shew'd, how King *James* wrested these out of the Hands of Protestants, and put them into Popish Hands, in the new Constitution of Corporations, by which the Free-men and Free-holders of Cities or Boroughs, to whom the Election of Burgesses originally belongs, are excluded, and the Election put into the Hands of a small number of Men named by the King, and removable at his Pleasure. The Protestant Free-holders, if they had been in the Kingdom, were much more than the Papist Free-holders, but now being gone, thô many Counties could not make a Jury, as appear'd at the intended Tryal of Mr. *Price*, and other Protestants at *Wicklow*, who could not be Tryed for want of Free-holders, yet notwithstanding the Paucity of these, they made a shift to return Knights of the Shire. The common way of Election was thus, The Earl of *Tyrconnel*, together with the Writ for Election, commonly sent a Letter, recommending the Persons he design'd should be chosen; the Sheriff or Mayor being his Creature, on receipt of this, call'd so many of the Freeholders of a County, or Burgesses of a Corporation, together, as he thought fit, and, without any noise, made the Return: It was easie to do this in Boroughs, because, by their new Charters, the Electors were not above Twelve or Thirteen, and

and in the greateſt Cities but 24; and commonly not half of theſe on the place. The method of the Sheriffs proceeding was the ſame; the number of Popiſh Free-holders being very ſmall, ſometimes not a Dozen in a County, it was eaſie to give Notice to them to appear, ſo that the Proteſtants either did not know of the Election, or durſt not appear at it. By theſe means the pretended Parliament conſiſted of the moſt Biggotted Papiſts, and of ſuch as were moſt deeply Intereſted to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion and Proteſtants of *Ireland*. One *Gerrard Dillon* Serjeant at Law, a moſt furious Papiſt, was Recorder of *Dublin*, and he ſtood to be choſen one of the Burgeſſes for the City, but could not prevail, becauſe he had purchaſed a conſiderable Eſtate under the Act of Settlement, and they fear'd leſt this might engage him to defend it. Several Corporations had no Repreſentatives, either becauſe they were in the Enemies hands, or elſe becauſe the Perſons named by the Charter for Electors, were ſo far remote, that they could not come in ſuch Numbers as to ſecure the Elections for Papiſts, againſt the few Proteſtants that were left ſtill in the Charters, and who lived generally on the place. I have mark'd the Boroughs and Counties that had no Repreſentatives, in number about Twenty nine, few Proteſtants could be prevail'd with to ſtand, tho they might have been choſen, becauſe they foreſaw no poſſibility of doing good, and thought it unſafe to ſit in a Parliament, which they judged in their Conſcience Illegal, and purpoſely deſign'd for miſchief to them and their Religion; however it was thought convenient that ſome ſhould be in it, to obſerve how things went; and with much perſwaſion and Intreaty, Sir *John Mead* and Mr. *Joſeph Coghlan* Councellors at Law, were prevail'd on to ſtand for the Univerſity of *Dublin*; the Univerſity muſt chuſe, and it could not ſtand with their Honour to chuſe Papiſts, and therefore they pitch'd on theſe two Gentlemen, who were hardly brought to accept of it, as thinking it Scandalous to be in ſo ill Company; and they could not prevail with themſelves to ſit out the whole Seſſion, but withdrew before the Act of Attainder came to be concluded, not enduring to be preſent at the paſſing of that and ſome other Barbarous Acts, againſt which they found their Votes ſignified nothing while they ſtaid. There were four more Proteſtants return'd, of whoſe Behaviour I can give no account, or how they came to be return'd: The generality of the Houſes conſiſted of the Sons and Deſcendents of the Forfeiting Perſons in 1641. Men that had no Free-holds or Eſtates in the Kingdom, but were purpoſely elected to make themſelves Eſtates by taking them away from Proteſtants.

Append. N. 21.

15. Now

15. Now whilſt the power of making and repealing Laws was in ſuch hands, what Security could Proteſtants promiſe themſelves from any Laws, or what probability was there that any Laws already made in their favour would be continued?

Eſpecially if we conſider further, that this Parliament openly profeſs'd it ſelf a Slave to the King's Will, and he was look'd on as Factiouſly and Rebelliouſly inclin'd, that would dare to move any thing after any Favourite in the Houſe had affirm'd that it was contrary to the King's Pleaſure. Several Bills were begun in the Houſe of Commons; one for erecting an Inns of Court; another for repealing an Act commonly called *Poining*'s Act; which requires that all Acts ſhould be peruſed by the King and Council of *England* before they be offer'd to be paſs'd by the Parliament in *Ireland*; but King *James* ſignified his Diſſatisfaction to theſe Bills, and for that reaſon they and ſeveral others were let fall; tho' the Iriſh had talk'd much, and earneſtly deſir'd the repeal of *Poining*'s Act, it being the greateſt Sign and means of their Subjection to *England*: There was a doubt made in the Houſe concerning the Earl of *Strafford*, whether he ſhould be attainted for Eſtate and Life; ſeveral moved in his behalf, but it was carried againſt him upon this Evidence; Colonel *Simon Luttrell* affirmed in the Houſe, *That he had heard the King ſay ſome hard things of him*: The King's pleaſure therefore was the Law, to which we were to truſt for our Lives and Fortunes, our Enemies having entirely engroſs'd the power of making and repealing Laws, and devolved it on the King's pleaſure; the very Proteſtant Lords and Biſhops being denied their Privilege of entring their Proteſtations againſt ſuch Votes as they conceiv'd Deſtructive to the Kingdom: The King told them, That Proteſtations againſt Votes were only uſed in Rebellious times, and with much ado they were allowed to enter their Diſſent; thô after that was allowed them, the Clerk of the Parliament, one *Polewheele*, a Nephew of Chancellor *Fitton*'s, ſhifted them off and did not enter their Diſſent to ſome Votes, thô often ſollicited and preſs'd to do it, according to the Orders of the Houſe.

16. When King *James* had labour'd as much as in him lay, to get a Parliament that would repeal the Penal Laws and Teſt in *England*, and open the Houſes to Papiſts, he found at laſt that the great Obſtacle that rendered the Kingdom ſo averſe to this, was the general Fear and Apprehenſion, that the Legiſlative Authority would be engroſs'd by them, and turn'd againſt Proteſtants; this was ſo obvious and reaſonable a Surmiſe, that he knew there was no hopes that the People would ſide with him againſt their preſent Majeſties, if ſomething were not done

done to ſatisfie them; and therefore to remove this fear, he publiſhed his Proclamation dated *Sept.* 20. 1688. wherein he declares himſelf willing that Roman Catholicks ſhould remain incapable to be Members of the Houſe of Comtions; if the Proteſtants of *England* had reaſon to apprehend, that Papiſts would engroſs the Legiſlative Authority in *England*, and from the Example of Queen *Mary*'s Houſe of Commons, to dread ſuch Lawgivers, how much more reaſon had the Proteſtants of *Ireland* to dread that power, when entirely engroſſed by their moſt inveterate Popiſh Enemies, whoſe Intereſt, as well as Religion, oblig'd them to diveſt all thoſe that profeſs'd the Reform'd Religion, not only of the Favour, but likewiſe of the Benefits of Law?

17. They ſate from the Seventh of *May*, till the Twentieth of *July* following, and in that ſhort time entirely deſtroy'd the Settlement of *Ireland*, and outed both the Proteſtant Clergy and Laity of their Freeholds and Inheritances. It is not to be expected I ſhould give an account of all their Acts; that which concerns this preſent Section, is to ſhew how they deſtroy'd the Proteſtants real Eſtates.

1. And that was firſt by an Act of Repeal, whereby they took away the Acts of Settlement and Explanation; by virtue of which (as I have already ſhew'd) two thirds of the Proteſtants of the Kingdom held their Eſtates, that is, all that which is call'd New Intereſt, was loſt by this Repeal; there is no conſideration had in it, how any Man came to his Eſtate; but thô he purchaſed it at ever ſo dear a rate, he muſt loſe it, and it is to be reſtor'd (without Exception) to the Proprietor or his Deſcendent that had it before, *October* 22. 1641. upon what account ſoever he loſt it; thô they themſelves did not deny but many deſerv'd to loſe their Eſtates; even Sir *Phelim O Neal*'s Son, the great Murtherer and Rebel, was reſtor'd.

2. In order to make a final Extirpation of Proteſtants, they contrive and paſs an Act of Attainder, by which all Proteſtants, whoſe Names they could find, of all Ages, Sexes and Degrees, are attainted of High Treaſon, and their Eſtates veſted in the King; the pretence of this Attainder, was their being out of the Kingdom at the time of paſſing the Act, as ſhall be ſhewn in the next Section.

3. Leaſt ſome ſhould be forgotten of thoſe that were abſent, and not put into the Bill of Attainder, they contriv'd a general Clauſe in the Act of Repeal, whereby the real Eſtates of all who *Dwelt or ſtaid in any place of the three Kingdoms, which did not own King* James's *Power, or correſponded with any ſuch as they term Rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting or aſſiſting to them from the Firſt day of* Auguſt 1688. *are declared to be forfeited and veſted in his Majeſty, and that without any*

Office or Inquisition found thereof; By which Clause almost every Protestant that could Write in the Kingdom, had forfeited his Estate; for the Pacquets went from *London* to *Dublin*, and back again, constantly from *August* to *March* 1688, and few had Friends in *England*, or in the North, but corresponded with them by Letters, and every such Letter is made by this clause a Forfeiture of Estate. They had intercepted and search'd every Pacquet that went or came, the latter part of this time, and kept vast Heaps of Letters, which were of no consequence at all to the Government; we wondered what the meaning of their doing so should be, but by this Parliament we came to understand it, for now these Letters were produced as Evidences in the House of Commons, against those that appear'd in behalf of their absent Friends, or oppos'd the attainting of such Protestants as they had some kindness for; and they were further reserv'd to prove a Correspondence against the few Estated Men that were in the Kingdom. Lastly, It was the end of *Sept.* 1688. before we heard any thing of the Prince of *Orange*'s Design to make a Descent into *England*, and yet to have been in *England* or *Scotland* any time in the Month before, or to have Corresponded with any there, is made Forfeiture of Estate by the Letter of this Statute.

4. Lest the Children and Descendents of the Protestants thus attainted, who had Estates before 1641. should come in and Claim them after the Death of the attainted Persons, by virtue of Settlements made on valuable Considerations, and upon Marriages, all such Remainders and Reversions are cut off; for there is an Express Exception to all Remainders on such as are commonly call'd *Plantation-Lands*, and likewise to such Lands, *&c.* as are held by *Grants from the Crown*, or upon *Grants by Commissioners upon defective Titles*; it were too tedious to explain these several kinds of Tenures; it is sufficient to let the Reader know, that they comprehend all those Estates which were acquir'd by Protestants before the year 1641. Thus then the Case stood with the Protestants; if they purchased or acquired their Estates since the year 1641. out of any of the Lands then Forfeited, they were to lose them, whether Guilty or Innocent, by the Act of Repeal; if their Estates were such as belong'd to Protestants before 1641. and consequently were what we call Old Interest, then to have been in *England* or *Scotland*, or to have Corresponded with any of their Friends there, or in the North since *August.* 1. 1688. was a Forfeiture of Estate, and a Bar for their Remainders for ever, tho the Heirs had done nothing to divest themselves of the Estates derived to them by legal Settlements on valuable Considerations. And here the Partiality of this Parliament

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is visible, for there is a saving in the Act for all such Remainders as they thought might relate to any Papist; whereas all the Remainders in which they did imagine Protestants could be concern'd, are bar'd.

5. There is indeed a Promise of reprising Purchasers in the Act of Repeal, which was put in to qualifie the manifest Injustice of it, and to satisfie the Clamors of several amongst themselves, who were to lose their Estates by it, as having Purchased New-Interested Land: But least any Protestant, who staid in the Kingdom, should hope for Benefit by this Clause, or be repriz'd for the Lands he had purchased, perhaps from a Papist, they contrive a Clause in the latter end of the Act—Whereby the King is enabled to gratifie *Meriting Persons, and to order the Commissioners to set forth Reprizals, and likewise to appoint and ascertain where and what Lands should be set out to them*: By which the Protestants were excluded from all hopes of Reprizals for to be sure where any of them put in for a piece of Land, there would never want a Meriting Papist to put in for the same; and when it was left intirely to King *James*, which he would prefer of those two, let the World judge what Hope any Protestant could have of a Reprisal. Thus when Sir *Thomas Newcomen* put in Proposals for a *Custodiam* in order to a Reprizal, Mr. *Robert Longfield* a Convert, and Clerk of the Quit-Rents and Absentees Goods, is said to have put his own Name to Sir *Thomas*'s Proposal, and to have got the *Custodiam* for himself.

6. Lastly, Some might think, that tho near 3000 Protestants were attainted, and the Estates of all the rest in a manner vested in the King, yet this was only done *in terrorem*, and that K. *James* never meant to take the Forfeiture. To this I Answer, That it was not left in his power to pardon any that was attainted, or whose Estate was vested in him by this Act; this was (if we believe his Majesty) more than he knew when he pass'd it, and was one reason why the Act of Attainder was made so great a Secret, that no Copy could be gotten of it by any Protestant, till the *Easter* after it was pass'd, and then it was gotten by a meer accident. We had from the beginning labour'd to get it, and offer'd largely for a Copy, but could not by any means prevail; Chancellor *Fitton* keeping the Rolls lock'd up in his Closet, till at last a Gentleman procur'd it by a Stratagem, which was thus, Sir *Thomas Southwell* had been condemned for High-Treason against King *James*, amongst other Gentlemen at *Galway*, in *March* 1688. and attainted in the Act of Attainder also, he continued a Prisoner till my Lord *Seaforth* became acquainted with him; my Lord undertook to reconcile him to the King, and to get his Pardon; K. *James* promis'd it on the Earl's Application, and order was given to draw up a Warrant for it. The

Gentleman I mentioned being a Lawyer, and an acquaintance of Sir *Thomas*'s was employ'd to draw it up; he immediately apprehended this to be a good Opportunity to get a Copy of the Act of Attainder, which he had labour'd for in vain before, and which was kept from us by so much injustice: He told the Earl therefore, and Sir *Thomas*, (what was the real Truth,) that he could not draw up an effectual Pardon, except he saw the Act that Attainted him. Hereupon the Earl obtain'd an express Order from the King, to have a Copy deliver'd to him. This I believe was the only Copy taken of it after it was Inroll'd; It was taken for the use of a Papist, and was lent to the Earl, who was permitted to shew it to his Lawyer; and accordingly left it with him only one day, who immediately imploy'd several Persons to Copy it, and the Copy was sent by the first Opportunity into *England*. The List of the Names of those that were attainted, had been obtained the *January* before, with Difficulty; the Commissioners in the Custom-House, who seiz'd Absentees Goods, and let their Estates, could not do their Work without such a List; and that which was Printed in *England*, with some of the Acts of our *Irish* Parliament, was Copied from thence, but the Act it self could not then be procured, and therefore was not Printed with them. When the Lawyer had drawn up the Warrant for Sir *Thomas*'s Pardon, with a full *Non Obstante* to the Act of Attainder, the Earl brought it to the Attorney-General, Sir *Richard Nagle*, to have a Fiant drawn; the Attorney read it, and with Indignation threw it aside; the Earl began to expostulate with him for using the King's Warrant at that rate. The Attorney told him, That the King did not know what he had done, that he had attempted to do a thing that was not in his power to do, that if the Earl understood our Laws, or had seen the Act of Attainder, he would be satisfied that the King could not dispense with it: My Lord answered, That he understood Sense and Reason, and that he was not a Stranger to the Act of Attainder. Sir *Richard* would not believe him till he shewed the Copy, which much surpriz'd Sir *Richard*; he began to enquire how his Lordship came by it, and intimated that the Keepers of the Rolls were Treacherous, in letting any one see it, much more in letting a Copy of it go abroad. His Lordship, with good reason, express'd his Admiration, that an Act of Parliament should be made a Secret; and the Laws, upon the Observation of which, the Lives and Fortunes of so many Men depended, should be conceal'd with so much care from them: At last the Attorney told him, That he himself would draw up a Warrant for Sir *Thomas Southwell*'s Pardon, that should do his Business, and get the King to Sign it: But the Earl refused to accept his offer, unless his Lawyer might first per-

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uſe it; which being granted, the Lawyer, upon peruſal, found it to be ſuch as would not hold in Law, and intended only to delude him. The Earl made new Application to King *James*, and Sir *Richard* being ſent for, the King aſk'd him why he did not prepare a Fiant for Sir *Thomas Southwell*'s Pardon, according to the Warrant ſent to him: He anſwered, That his Majeſty could not grant ſuch a Pardon; That his Majeſty was only a Truſtee for Forfeited Eſtates, and could not Diſpenſe with the Act; that by an expreſs Clauſe in it, all Pardons that ſhould be granted were declar'd void. The King in ſome Paſſion told him, That he hoped they did not intend to retrench his Prerogative: Sir *Richard* replied, That his Majeſty had read the Act before he paſs'd it: The King anſwered, He had betray'd him; that he depended on him for drawing the Act, and if he had drawn it ſo that there was no room for Diſpenſing and Pardoning, he had been falſe to him, or words to that effect. Thus the Matter ended, and Sir *Thomas* went into *Scotland* with my Lord *Seaforth*, without being able to obtain his pardon for Eſtate or Life, the Act voiding any pardon granted to any attainted by it after *Nov.* 1. 1689. or not enrolled before the laſt day of that Month.

18. And now I doubt not but the Reader, from this Story which is literally true, will obſerve firſt the Juggling of the Popiſh Lawyers with King *James*, and will pity a Prince who gave himſelf up to ſuch Falſe and Double-dealing Counſellors, when an Act of Parliament is made againſt a Papiſt, then it is no leſs than Treaſon to queſtion the King's Pardoning and Diſpenſing Power; but when an Act bears hard on a Proteſtant, and the King has a mind to eaſe him, then the King has no power to Diſpenſe, he cannot grant a Pardon tho' he earneſtly deſire it: From whence we may ſee, that the Diſpenſing Power was only ſet up to ſhelter Papiſts from the Laws, and ruin Proteſtants; and that Papiſts, in their Hearts, are as much againſt it as Proteſtants.

2. We may obſerve what fair Juſtice was deſign'd for Proteſtants; a Law was made to turn near 3000 out of their Eſtates, and to take away their Lives if they did not come in againſt a certain day: and yet the Law that ſubjected them to this Penalty was made a Secret, and they not ſuffer'd to know one word of it, till the time allow'd them to come in was paſt at leaſt three Months; but there was an Intrigue in this, they knew they had a Party in *England*, who were to face down the World, that there was no ſuch Acts made; a Party that were to repreſent it as a Sham and Contrivance of King *James*'s Enemies to make him Odious; and the great Argument they were to urge to prove it, muſt be to alledge, Where is the Act? Why doth it not appear? If there were any ſuch Act, would not the People that came ſo often from

Ireland

Ireland, and tell such Frightful Stories, have brought it with them? This is the part the Favourers of King *James* were to act in *England* and *Scotland*, and this is the reason the Act was so long kept Secret.

3. We may observe the Folly of those Men who were attainted in this Act themselves, and yet Flatter themselves with the hopes of living Happily and enjoying their Estates, nay, and getting Preferment under King *James* when restor'd to his Kingdoms: These Men do not consider that this Act would be restor'd, together with him, and that then it is not in his power to do this for them; that if they expect any such thing, they must be oblig'd to an Irish Popish Parliament for it; and he is much a Stranger to *Ireland*, that knows not what Mercy an Englishman and a Protestant is to expect from them, especially when they can give him nothing but what is taken from one of themselves. Till therefore the Papists of *Ireland* become so good natur'd as to give away, by their own voluntary act, their Estates (of which they were in actual Possession) to Protestants, it is the greatest Folly in the World, for any Protestant to think of enjoying any Estate in *Ireland*.

4. For 'tis observable that the Protestants Estates were not only given away by this Act of Attainder, but the Papists were likewise in Possession of them by the following means; The Act of Repeal was to be executed by Commissioners appointed by the King, who were to determine the Claims of the Proprietors, or Heirs to the Proprietors of the respective Estates, *October* 22. 1641. and give Injunctions to the Sheriff to them in Possession. In the mean time the Protestants were to keep their Possession till the First of *May* 1690. and to pay Rent to the Popish Proprietors. The same Commissioners were to set out Reprizals to Reprizable Persons: But notwithstanding this, no such Commissioners ever sate; the Protestants were generally outed, and the Papists possess'd both of their old Estates, and likewise of the Estates of Protestants; they compass'd this by several Stratagems.

19. Wherever the Protestants had set their Lands to Papist Tenants those Tenants forsook their Protestant Landlords, and became Tenants to the pretended Popish Proprietors: Several Protestants complained in Chancery of this, as contrary to the Act, which allowed them to keep Possession till *May* 1690. which not being yet come, nor any Commissioners being yet appointed to execute the Act, they mov'd for an Injunction to quite their Possessions; but the Chancellor answer'd, That this did not concern Landlords, that set their Lands, but only such as occupied Farms themselves; and that the Parliament had granted that indulgence to them, only that they might have time to dispose of their Stocks, which not being their Case who had Tenants, they must go to

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Common Law, and try their Titles; by this means moſt of the old Popiſh Proprietors got into their Eſtates. Nay, they not only outed the Landlords of their Eſtates, but even the Proteſtant Tenants of their Leaſes, made in conſideration of a valuable reſerv'd Rent, though this was poſitively againſt the intent of the Act, which confirm'd ſuch Leaſes, and only gave the Reſerved Rent to the reſtor'd Proprietor. 2. But they found a way to elude this by another Clauſe in the ſame Act, which orders the Manſion Houſe and Demeaſnes of the Proprietor or his Aſſignee in 1641. to be reſtor'd, and the Leaſes made of ſuch to be void. Now they never wanted an Affidavit to prove any beneficial Farm or good Houſe, they found in the Hands of a Proteſtant, to have been Demeaſnes, and a Manſion Houſe; and then the Lieutenants of the Counties put them in Poſſeſſion. 3. The ſame Lieutenants had an Order from *Alhaville*, Secretary of State, to turn all Proteſtants out of their Houſes, if they judged them to be Houſes of any ſtrength, and to garriſon them with Papiſts: We could never procure any Copy of this Order from the Office, though they own'd there was ſuch an Order, and we found the Effects of it; the Reaſons of concealing it I ſuppoſe were the ſame with concealing the Act of Attainder. The deſign of the Order was to turn out the few Proteſtant Gentlemen that liv'd on their ancient Eſtates, and had neither forfeited them by the Act of Attainder, nor loſt them by the Act of Repeal; it was left to the diſcretion of the Lieutenant of the County whom they would turn out; and they acted according to their Inclinations, and turn'd out almoſt every body; and 'twas with great difficulty and intereſt, that any procured to be eaſed of this trouble. I have given a Copy of ſome of their Orders in the Appendix. In ſhort, the Soldiers or Militia took Poſſeſſions of ſuch Gentlemens Houſes as durſt venture to live in the Country, and they themſelves were ſent to Jail; and had K. *James* got the better, they muſt never have expected to have gotten poſſeſſion of their Houſes, or been releas'd of their confinement, till they had gone to execution; for though they had been very cautious how they convers'd, yet there would not have wanted Witneſſes to prove they had correſponded with ſome body in *England* or *Scotland*, ſince the Firſt of *Auguſt*, 1688. and then their Eſtates were forfeited. The Gentlemen thus uſed were very ſenſible of one inconveniency that befel them on this Account; it troubled them, more than their confinement, to ſee their Houſes and Improvements deſtroy'd: For when the Soldiers got into the Houſes, under pretence of garriſoning them, they ſometimes burnt them, and always ſpoil'd the Improvements.

Appendix N. 24.

As for the Estates of Absentees, the Commissioners of the Revenue dispos'd of them, and hardly one Estate in *Ireland* but was already promis'd to some Favourite Papist or other, who by Leases from the Commissioners were in actual possession of them through the whole Kingdoms, as far as King *James*'s Authority was owned.

20. It may be imagined by some, that King *James* did not know that the Repealing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation was of such mischievous Consequence to Protestants, and that the Protestants were wanting to themselves and him in not giving him due Information. But these Persons will find themselves mistaken in their surmises, if they consider.

1. That King *James*, when Duke of *York*, was present at all the Debates concerning the Settlement of *Ireland* at the Council Board in *England*, and was one of the Council, when those Acts of Settlement and Explanation past it; he had heard every Clause in them Debated for near Two Years: and from time to time he had perfect information, and was continually sollicited about them, having a fair Estate in *Ireland* settled on him by them containing by estimation 108000 Acres, to the value of 10m. pounds *per Annum*; and perhaps there was not any thing he understood better relating to the Affairs of his Kingdoms, then the Consequence of these Acts. We have seen before how many Promises and Assurances King *James* had given for maintaining them; as well knowing the importance of them to this Kingdom. But notwithstanding this, he of his own accord was the first that motioned the Repealing of them, in his Speech at the opening the Parliament in *Dublin*.

2. The Protestants prest, and earnestly sollicited to be heard at the Bar of the Lords House upon the Subject of those Acts that they might shew the reasonableness of them, and demonstrate the injustice and mischief of Repealing them, but were deny'd to be heard; and an Order made, that nothing should be offered in their favour. If therefore King *James* wanted information, it was because he would not receive it.

3. The Bishop of *Meath*, so far as was allow'd him, laid open the Consequences of Repealing these Acts so fully, in his Speech which he made in the House of Lords, when he voted against the Act of Repeal, that no Man who heard him as his Majesty did, could pretend to want information.

See Appendix *N.* 23.

4. The Protestants were so far from being silent, or letting things pass without Opposition, that they laboured every point with all imaginable

ginable induſtry, and uſed all the induſtry they could with King *James*, to inform and perſwade him; and when they could not gain one Point, they ſtuck at the next, and endeavour'd to gain it, till he had deliberately over-rul'd their Reaſons and Pleas from Point to Point; and this they did to make his Deſigns againſt them the more undeniably plain; not out of any hope of Succeſs, or expectation to prevail with him; for they knew their appearing for a thing in the Parliament was enough to damn it, of which they had many Experiments. One was ſo remarkable, that I ſhall mention it, Mr. *Coghlan* had a mind to procure a favour for a Friend from the Houſe of Commons, whereof he was a Member; he knew if he mentioned it, it would miſcarry, and therefore he got a Papiſt to propoſe it; the Houſe ſeem'd averſe to it, and he, for Experiments ſake, roſe up, and with ſome ſeeming warmneſs oppos'd it; immediately the Houſe took the Alarm, and, in oppoſition to him, voted it. They knew likewiſe, that it was determined to deſtroy them, and gratifie their Enemies; and that the reaſon why they were not allow'd to debate the main Point, the Juſtice and reaſonableneſs of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, was becauſe that could not be done, without ſhewing what Traitors and Murtherers the Papiſts had been, whom King *James* was then about to gratifie; a thing which he would by no means endure to hear.

5. The Reaſon therefore why the Proteſtants made ſo vigorous an oppoſition, and plyed the King and his pretended Parliament with ſo many Petitions, Repreſentations and Interceſſions, was to ſtop the Mouths of thoſe that they foreſaw would be apt to impute their Misfortunes to their ſullenneſs or negligence, that would not be at the pains of an Application to ſave themſelves, and to demonſtrate to the World, that the Deſtruction brought on them was not a thing of Chance, but that it proceeded from a formed and unalterable deſign of their Enemies to deſtroy them, inſomuch that they never could have expected to enjoy one Foot of Eſtate or quiet hour in the Kingdom, if King *James* had continued his Government over them.

6. The Caſe of the Purchaſers and Improvers in *Ireland* ſeem'd the hardeſt: The Land forfeited by the Rebellion in 1641. was ſet out to thoſe that had been Adventurers and Soldiers in that War; and many of theſe had ſold them at Twelve or Fifteen Years Purchaſe; the Purchaſers had built fair Houſes and Villages on them, incloſ'd Deer-Parks, planted Orchards and Gardens, and laid out vaſt Sums in theſe and other Improvements; it ſeem'd hard to turn them out without conſideration; to try therefore whether any thing would make King *James* relent, they endeavour'd to ſee what he would do for theſe poor Men:

How their Case was prest and represented to King *James*, may be judged by a Paper given him by the Lord *Granard*, and drawn up by the Chief Justice *Keating*, with the Approbation of other Protestants; 'tis in the *Appendix*. King *James* read it, and made no other answer to it, but, *That he would not do evil that good might come of it*; the meaning of which Words, as then apply'd, is not easily understood.

Appendix, N. 22.

It has been a common Question put to the Gentlemen of *Ireland*, by some that neither know them nor their Affairs, *What have you lost?* But sure whosoever knows the extent of *Ireland*, and the value of Land in it, will see that the Interest of the *English* Protestants ruined by King *James*, since he came to the Crown, is of greater value than the Estates of all that favour his Cause in *England* and *Scotland*; and I suppose it would put them out of Conceit with him, or any other King that should take away but one half of their Estates from them.

SECT. XIII.

Eighthly, *King* James *brought the Lives of his Protestant Subjects in* Ireland *into imminent Danger.*

1. I Suppose from the former Sections, it is sufficiently apparent, what Invasions King *James* made on the Liberties and Fortunes of his Protestant Subjects; there remained to them only their Lives, and these, as will appear from this Section, were put in imminent danger by him; many were lost, and the rest escap'd with the greatest hazard. When King *James* came into *Ireland*, it was certainly his Interest to exercise his Clemency towards his Protestant Subjects; and he knew it to be so; and therefore in his Declaration which he sent privately into *England*, he made large Professions of his tenderness towards them, and boasted how much *their Safety had been his Care*; every body expected a Proclamation for a General Pardon and Indemnity should have been sent before him; and that he would have put an effectual stop to the illegal Prosecutions against their Lives, and to the Robberies of their Fortunes, that every where were going on at his coming; but on the contrary, he rather push'd on both; and not content with the Laws that already were in force, which Partial Judges and Juries wrested to destroy them, he made new Snares for them by Acts of his pretended Parliament, and by several private Declarations; whereby

whereby not only he, but his inferior Officers, took on them to diſpoſe of the Lives of Proteſtants.

2. It is not reaſonable to charge his Majeſty, with the private Murther committed on Men in their Houſes, which were many up and down the Kingdom; ſeveral even in the City of *Dublin*. Only thus far in ſome degree he may be thought reſponſible for them: He knew very well with what barbarous Murthers the Papiſts of *Ireland* had been charg'd in the Rebellion of 1641; he knew what inveterate hatred they carried towards the Proteſtants, and how many Tories and Robbers conſtantly diſturbed the Peace of the Kingdom; and yet without any neceſſity at all, he threw himſelf upon theſe People, he encouraged them, he Armed them, he gave Commiſſions even to thoſe that had been Tories, and guilty of Murthers, and therefore cannot altogether be excuſed from the Irregularities committed by them; eſpecially when there was no ſearch made after, or Proſecution of the Murthers; as it happened in the caſe of Colonel *Murry* of *Weſtmeath*, Brother in law to my Lord *Granard*, an old Gentleman who had ſerv'd King *Charles* the firſt and ſecond, and ſuffered conſiderably for his Loyalty; he was waylaid and ſhot dead as he rode to his own Houſe under King *James*'s Protection, and with ſome marks as he imagined of his Favour. Yet no enquiry was made after it. There were many ſuch private Murthers but I do not think it neceſſary to inſiſt on them: I ſhall confine my ſelf to ſuch as are of a more publick Nature, which gave us juſt reaſons to fear that the Government had a deſign upon our Lives.

3. Such were firſt encouraging Witneſſes to ſwear us into feigned Plots and Conſpiracies; of theſe there were many ſet up in the Kingdom; almoſt every County had one ſet up in it, and many were put into Priſon and indicted for high Treaſon, as Captain *Phillips*, and Mr. *Bowen* in the County of *Weſtmeath*, and ſeveral others in other places, ſome of which I have before mentioned; and when the perjuries of the Witneſſes came to be plainly diſcovered, they yet were encouraged and protected from any Legal proſecution. Of this nature a Conſpiracy was framing againſt one Mr. *William Spike*, and if it had taken effect it would have reached to a great many more. The contrivance was thus; one *Dennis Connor* had a mind to a ſmall Employment which Mr. *Spike* held in the Caſtle; he had petitioned for it, but *Spike*, by the Intereſt of my Lord *Powis*, thô a Proteſtant, kept his place, being found diligent in it. *Connor* reſolv'd to try another experiment to get him removed; he framed a Letter as from one in *Inniskilling*, directed to *Spike*, in which the writer thanks him for his Intelligence, and refers to a method agreed on for ſeizing the Caſtle of *Dublin* on a certain Day. The Letter (to

make the thing more credible) abuses King *James* in very ill Terms: *Connor* drops this Letter in the Castle, where *Spike* came every Day, knowing that as soon as it was found, *Spike* would be seized, and then he might manage the Plot as he pleased; but his Contrivance was spoiled, for the Sentinel saw him drop the Paper, and procured him immediately to be seized: he was Examined before the Chief Justice, and I think before King *James* also, why he wrote such a wicked Letter: He said it was for the King's Service to remove *Spike*, whom he believed to be a Rogue, and who being a Protestant would betray the King. *Spike* Prosecuted him in the King's-Bench; but after all that could be done, the Jury brought *Connor* in not Guilty, pretending that it did not appear that this was the very Letter dropt by *Connor*, thô he had confest it before the King and the Lord Chief Justice, and thô it was proved and owned to be his Hand, and a rough draft of it found with him, and the Sentinel swore he dropt a Letter, which he delivered to the Officer; and the Officer swore that was the Letter, delivered by the Sentinel to him, thô he did not see it dropt.

About the same time a Fryer was brought up to Town, who pretended to be dumb and maimed; the Popish Clergy gave out that Duke *Schomberg* had cut out his Tongue and thus maimed him, and declared that he would serve all the Priests and Fryers after the same manner, and they made proposals to revenge it on the Protestant Clergy. King *James* caused the Fryer to be examined, and discovered the deceit; which falling immediately on Mr. *Spikes* business, made the King say in great Anger, that for ought he saw the Protestants were wronged, and misrepresented unto him, and that there were some as great Rogues among the Roman Catholicks, as amongst them. The Fryers to acquit themselves of the Cheat, got their Brother Fryer severely Lasht; pretending that he was a Spy, and none of their Fraternity; upon which he was carry'd naked through the Town on a Cart in a Savage manner, to Execution as was suppos'd, but was brought back and put into Prison, from which, after some time he was dismissed and his Habit restor'd him. Many such Contrivances there were against the Lives of Protestants, and they could not look on themselves as safe while such wicked Men were unpunished; the Courts also declaring that the Witnesses, though Perjur'd, could not be punisht, because they Swore for the King.

2. No Protestant was secure of his Life, because the Courts wrested such facts to Treason as were not declared so by any Law. Thus Cheif Justice *Nugent* declared it was Treason for any Protestant to keep Arms, or wear a Sword after the King had forbidden it by his Proclamation,

mation, and declared them Rebels that did so; ſeveral Gentlemen in the Country had kept their Horſes and Arm'd their Servants, to watch them againſt the Robbers, commonly call'd Rapparies that plundered them; this was conſtrued a Levying War againſt the King; and the pretended Parliament Attainted them of High Treaſon. In the County of *Cork*, one Mr. *Brown* had appear'd in a company of Men who endeavoured to make their eſcape from thoſe that came to plunder them of their Arms and Horſes; but miſliking the Deſign, went home to his own Houſe: He was brought before Judge *Dally* for this at *Limerick*, who upon examination of the matter, diſmiſt him, judging him innocent of any crime that would bear an Indictment; but he was taken up again for the ſame Fact at *Cork*, and brought before Judge *Nugent*, at the time when King *James* came firſt thither: Judge *Nugent* ſeem'd at firſt to be of the ſame opinion with Judge *Dally*; but after he had diſcours'd h[illegible] Majeſty, he proceeded vigorouſly againſt the Gentleman and procured him to be found guilty by a partial Jury. Every body lookt on this only as an occaſion ſought for the King to ſhew his Clemency; Mrs. *Brown* the convicted Gentlemans Wife with five or ſix Children, preſented him a Petition begging her Husbands Life at his Feet, as the firſt Act of Grace on his coming into the Kingdom; but he rejected her Petition; and notwithſtanding ſhe reinforc't it with all the Friends and intereſt ſhe could make, the Gentleman was hanged, drawn and quartered. This awakened all the Proteſtants in *Ireland*; it made them remember the bloody Executions in the *Weſt* of *England* on the account of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, and how ſmall a matter ſerv'd to take away Mens Lives there!; they ſuſpected that Judge *Nugent* would act the ſame part in *Ireland*, that Chief Juſtice *Jefferys* had done in *England*; and they knew that if the King did not interpoſe, neither Juryes nor Witneſſes would be wanting to deſtroy them; in ſhort they became very ſenſible that their Lives were in imminent danger, when they ſaw a Gentlemen of ſome Eſtate and Credit in his Country, hang'd for being but in the Company for a little time (without acting any thing) of ſome others who endeavoured to make their eſcape from a Crew of Robbers that without Order or Commiſſion came to Plunder them of their Horſes and Arms; they had the more reaſon to be Apprehenſive of their Lives, when they found that no Advantage was let ſlip againſt them, nor any Articles or Promiſes, however ſolemnly made to them for their ſafety and indemnity, were regarded; of which there were many Examples.

3. At

3. At the time of disarming, *February* 24. the Town of *Bandon* near *Cork*, being frightned and surpriz'd with such an unjust and sudden thing, and not knowing where it would end, shut up their Gates, and turn'd out some Dragoons who were appointed to disarm them. General *Mac-Carty* went to reduce them, and they believing him to be a Man of Honour, yielded to him upon Articles, for which they paid him 1000 *l. sterl.* by the Articles they were to be indemnified for what was past, and a Pardon to be granted them. Notwithstanding which Articles the Grand Jury at *Cork*, by direction of Chief Justice *Nugent*, found Bills against them, resolving to serve them as he had served Mr. *Brown*: And it was suppos'd that he was encouraged to do it by King *James* himself. The time allowed him for the Assizes would not permit him to try them then; and for this reason and on the Importunity and Menaces of General *Mac-Carty*; who being on the Place thought himself obliged to make good his Articles; he put off their Tryal till the next Assizes. These Bills lay over their Heads, no pardon was granted them, and some of them were condemned in the Act of Attainder.

The Earl of *Inchiquin* and Captain *Henry Boyle* had put themselves under General *Mac-Carty*'s Protection, and he engaged to secure them and their Houses, but he did not perform his Promise; for *Castle-martyr*, belonging to Captain *Henry Boyle*, with all the Improvements and Furniture, to the value of some Thousands of Pounds, were destroyed and plundered by his Soldiers, assisted with the Rabble, and he with the Earl were glad to provide for their safety by leaving all and flying into *England*. In *Connaught* some Protestants got into *Headford* Castle, belonging to Sir *Oliver St. George*, to avoid the violence of the Rabble: They were besieged by the Lord *Gallway*, and surrendred on Articles of Pardon and Safety. But at the next Assizes a Bill was prepared against them, and presented the Grand Jury at *Gallway*: The Jury, tho Papists, considered, as they said, that it might be their own Case another Day, and some stickled so earnestly against the Bill, that there were not enough to find it. However no body knew whether every Jury would be of that humour; and no care was taken to discountenance such Proceedings. Sir *Thomas Southwell*, with some Gentlemen of *Munster*, were unwilling to part with their Horses and Arms, many of them having been robbed and plunder'd of their Stocks before, and justly suspecting that as soon as their Arms were gone, neither their Lives, nor the remainder of their Substance could be safe. They got together therefore with their Servants, to the number of near Two hundred, and resolved to march to *Sligoe* to joyn the Lord *Kingston*, for their common defence, but were met in the way by a small Party of King *James* his Dragoons,

gooons, to whom they surrendred themselves on Articles of Safety and Liberty. Notwithstanding which they were robb'd and made Prisoners; and tho many of them had plentiful Estates, yet these were seized by King *James*'s Commissioners, and nothing allowed them to preserve their Lives except the Charitable Contributions of their Fellow Protestants from several parts of the Kingdom: They were brought to Tryal before Judge *Marvin*, who perswaded them to Plead Guilty, assuring them of the King's Mercy, who was just then Landed. They were over perswaded by him; tho they had not been guilty of any overt Act that could be construed Treason, or proved against them, as their Lawyers informed them. The Judge as soon as he had prevailed with them to confess themselves guilty, past Sentence of Death on them; and with much ado, and a Sum of Money, they procured a Reprieve; which they were forced to renew from time to time. They continued under the Sentence of Death in close Imprisonment, being removed from Jail to Jail, till the General Deliverance by his Majesty's Victory: All which time they were not only in a starving condition, but likewise had once a Summons sent them, either in jest or earnest, to prepare for Execution, by the Earl of *Clanrickard*; who came to *Gallway* about the beginning of *November* 1689. and sent them word that they must prepare for Death on the sixth of the same Month; for it was his Majesty's Pleasure that they should then be executed: And accordingly the Sheriff appear'd with all necessary Preparation for their Execution on the Day appointed. There was indeed no such Order; but his Lordship being a new Convert, thought it allowable to put this Jest on them, as a Testimony of his Zeal against Hereticks: And there was no other reason but this given why he put so many Gentlemen into that terrible fright. But all Protestants who heard it were very ill pleased, that the Lives of so many of them should be thought a proper Subject for a Jest, and no notice taken of those who made it; and considering the Solemnity and Circumstances with which he carried on this Jest, the very Roman Catholicks judged it unseasonable.

See the Articles in the Appendix. *N.* 16.

4. The Protestants had reason to fear their Lives, when they saw that they were in the Hands of such, as not only broke all Articles and Conditions with them, but likewise violated the King's Protections granted to poor innocent People that had no ways offended him. This was the case of many in the County of *Down*, tho they had Protections granted them, and lived quietly; yet not only their Goods were taken from them, but likewise their Wives and Daughters were ravished by the Soldiers. They were most sensible and impatient of this Injury, and

yet

yet proceeded no further than to complain of it to the chief Officers, and to demand redress from them. The Answer they had was, That these Robbers and Ravishers had no Authority from the King for what they did; and therefore they advised the Complainants to fall on them and oppose them if they made any further attempts on the Country. The poor People were satisfied with the answer, and resolv'd to do as they were directed; and accordingly fell upon the next Party of Soldiers they found plundering and committing Outrages on the Country People, and they killed some of them. This instead of being approved, as they were made to believe it would be, was counted a Rebellion: And immediately Major Gen. *Bohan* was sent among them with a Party, who massacred about Five or Six hundred of them in cold Blood for several days together. Many of those who were killed were poor, old, impotent People; many were killed at their Work, and while they were busie about their own Affairs and suspected no such matter. King *James* was so far from resenting the barbarous usage of these poor People, that he rail'd on this occasion against Protestants in general, representing them as false and perfidious; for, said he, *many were killed with my Protections in their Pockets*; not considering the Reflection was on his own Party, against whom his Protection, as appear'd by his own Confession, was no Security. And when Men were thus slaughtered with his Approbation, notwithstanding his Protections in their Pockets, it was but reasonable for such as survived to think of some other way of protecting their Lives. If he had design'd in earnest to have secured his Subjects Lives, or to prevent their destruction, he would have made Examples of those who robb'd or kill'd such as had been at the Charges of taking out Four or Five Protections, and yet were never the safer or securer of their Fortunes or Lives.

The violation of Protections in the County of *Derry* and *Donnegall* was yet more barbarous, and satisfied all Protestants, that they ought not to expect any Security of their Lives, whilst under the Power of such Men. The noise of the Siege of *Derry* has filled the World, and such an Account is given of it as supersedes my insisting on it. The City is neither well scituated, nor well fortified; it has no Mote about it, nor Counterscarp, and the Bastions are so small, that they are not capable of so many Men as are requisite to defend the Curtains against a vigorous Attack, and so ill placed that their Guns do hardly clear it. Yet the whole strength of King *James*'s Army, assisted with his *French* Engeniers, could never come so near it as to dismount one Cannon on the Walls, or make a Breach in them: This proceeded from the Cowardize of the Besiegers; who, according to the nature of Cowards, stuck

at

at no Cruelty to gain their purpose. They considered that the besieged had many Relations in the neighbouring Country, and that they had a general kindness for all the Inhabitants thereabout, being, if not their Relations and Acquaintance, at least their Countrymen, and Protestants. The Besiegers therefore hop'd to take advantage of this tenderness and good Nature of the besieged to reduce the Town; and in order to it made use of this Stratagem, which I think was of their own Invention; for I do not remember to have met any thing like it in History; nor do I believe it was ever practis'd by any Nation, unless the *French* have used it in their late Wars. Thus it was; General *Rosen* issued out Orders to bring together all the Protestants, Men, Women and Children, protected, and not protected, and to set them before the Walls, there to receive the shot of the Besieged, whilst the Besiegers made their Approaches under their Covert, and in the mean time to starve and famish them, if their Friends in the Town would not, out of Compassion to them, yield up themselves and City into the Hands of these Murtherers. The Dragoons and Soldiers executed this Order with the utmost rigour; they first stript, and then drove the whole Country for about 30 Miles before them, not sparing Nurses with their sucking Children, Women big with Child, nor old decrepit Creatures; some Women in Labour, some that were just brought to Bed, were driven amongst the rest; the very Papist Officers that executed the thing, confest that it was the most dismal sight they had ever seen, and that the cries of the poor People seem'd to be still in their Ears: They owned that they gathered above 4000, others say 7000 and that they kept many of them without Meat or Drink for a whole Week; that several hundreds died in the Place before they were dismist, and many more on the way as they went home again to their Houses; nor were they better when they came there, for the straggling Soldiers, Raparies and Pelferers that follow'd the Army, had left them neither Meat, Drink, Houshold-Stuff nor Cattel, but had taken away all in their absence; so that the generality of them afterwards perish'd for want, and many were knockt on the head by the Soldiers. I need not trouble the Reader with the success of this cruel and foolish Stratagem; it was the same which any thinking Man would have expected; it confirm'd the Besieg'd in their Resolutions, never to yield to such barbarous People, and it made them set up Gallows, and threaten to hang all the Prisoners they had in their hands, if their Friends were not immediately dismist; with which the Besiegers being startled (and finding that it did not answer their design to keep them

See Appendix, N. 28.

See Dr. Walkers Siege of Derry.

ſtill under the Walls) did at laſt comply, after they had kept them there three days without Meat; this was the ſecurity Men had of their Lives by King *James*'s Protections; the news of this Order came to *Dublin* before it was executed, and the Biſhop of *Meath* went immediately to King *James* to ſee if he could prevail with him to prevent ſuch a barbarous proceeding: His Majeſty very calmly told the Biſhop, *That he had heard of it before, and that he had ſent Orders to ſtop it; that General* Roſen *was a Forreigner, and us'd to ſuch Proceedings as were ſtrange to us, though common in other places; and that if he had been his own Subject he would have call'd him to account for it.* Yet he continued him ſtill in his Employment. 'Twas he burnt the Country about *Derry*, when he was forced to raiſe the Siege, and left, after the *French* Cuſtom the Gentlemens Houſes and Villages, that lay in his way towards *Dublin*, in Aſhes. It was commonly ſaid, that he and *Mammo*, who was kill'd before *Derry*, were the Perſons employ'd to Dragoon the Proteſtants of *Languedock*, and that committed ſo many Barbarities on thoſe poor People: If ſo, it is not ſtrange that they ſhould commit the like on the Proteſtants of *Ireland*: but it is ſtrange that King *James* ſhould employ ſuch Men, and not at all puniſh ſuch monſtrous violation of Faith, as well as of Humanity, and yet expect that we ſhould depend on him for our Protection.

His Protections were in every place alike inſignificant; many Proteſtants loſt the value of Three, many Four, and ſome of 10m. Pounds *Sterling*, notwithſtanding their repeated Protections, and their approv'd and peaceable demeaning themſelves; of which Captain *Barton*, in the County of *Monaghan*, was a ſignal Example; he had a Protection for his Houſe, at *Carrick Mac Roſs*, and Arms, and had left his Servants in his Houſe, to preſerve it and his Goods, he himſelf ſtaying in *Dublin*, as a Hoſtage to the Government, that they might not ſuſpect him to have any Deſign to withdraw to the *North*, or join with ſuch Proteſtants as were in Arms there; yet in his Abſence, a Party of Colonel *Mac Mahon*'s Regiment, about *February* 1688. came and demanded the Houſe; the Servants ſhew'd their Protection, and told him who Commanded the Soldiers, that they had Orders from the Government to keep the Houſe; the Commander aſſur'd them that he would not diſturb them, and that he only deſign'd to lodge ſome of his Men in it, to ſecure it more effectually for the King and the Owner; upon which promiſe, the Servants let him and his Soldiers into the Houſe; they no ſooner had obtain'd Entrance, but they fell a Plundring, deſtroying and defacing; and in a few Hours, by ruining his Improvements, and robbing his Goods, Stock and Furniture, they damnify'd him to near the value

value of 10m. Pounds: He complain'd of this falſe and injurious dealing to the Government, but could never obtain any Redreſs, or procure the Actors of it to be brought to any account or puniſhment; inſtead of obtaining any thing of that nature, they added new Injuries to their former, and at laſt burnt his Houſe to the Ground.

And here it will not be amiſs, by the way, to give ſome further Inſtances of their violation of Articles, as well as of Protections. About Thirty Soldiers, *January* 1688. deſerted from *Dublin*, and endeavour'd to make their Eſcape to *Inniskilling*: They were purſued by one Captain *Nugent* with a Party of Horſe, and overtaken near *Navan*, within Twenty Miles of *Dublin*; they put themſelves in a poſture to fight, and were ready to fire at him; but he by fair Promiſes and good Words, perſwaded them to Capitulate, and at laſt upon Articles to yield: He Covenanted with them that they ſhould be ſafe and free, and ſhould ſuffer no other Injury but the loſs of their Arms; notwithſtanding which, as ſoon as they gave up their Arms, he ſtript and Pinion'd them, and with much Intereſt they eſcaped preſent Death; this Mercy was due to the Circumſtances of the Time, which oblig'd the Government to reſerve them in Jail till a more proper Seaſon, though in a Condition more grievous than if they had been hang'd immediately.

The Fort of *Culmore* near *Derry* yielded on Articles to King *James*, by which the Gentlemen that ſurrendred it were to be indemnified, and liberty allow'd them either to live ſecure and quietly in the Kingdom, or elſe go to any other place where they thought fit; but notwithſtanding theſe Articles, they were diſarm'd and ſtript, and ſeveral of them ſeized and put into Priſon, nay Attainted in their pretended Act of Parliament.

The Garriſon of *Londonderry*, after the Forces which came under Col. *Cunningham* and Col. *Richards* to ſuccour it, had reſolved to return for *England*, ſent one Capt. *White* to K. *James* to receive Propoſals from him it being the Opinion of many of thoſe that remain'd in the Town that they muſt ſurrender it; the Conditions were not difficult to concert; in the mean time it was agreed, as a Preliminary Article; that the Army ſhould not march within Four Miles of the Town; but before the Terms could be adjuſted, or any anſwer be return'd from the City, the King himſelf marched his Army towards it, and was in view almoſt as ſoon as the Commiſſioners that came with the Propoſals: This being againſt his Engagement, and an abſolute breach of the Preliminary Article already agreed on, put a ſtop to the Treaty, and contributed to the Reſolution of the Beſieged; who durſt never truſt any Articles after this, but rather than depend on the Faith of King *James* or his Party, choſe to ſuffer the utmoſt Extremity.

The Breach of Articles by my Lord *Galmoy* to Mr. *Dixey* a Young Gentleman, (Son to the Dean of *Kilmore*) and Mr. *Charlton* was yet more barbarous; the Lord *Galmoy* went down in *March* 1688-9 to the County of *Cavan* and surpriz'd these two Gentlemen; he had a Party of the Army with him, and took up his Quarters at *Belturbet*. His two Prisoners were to be exchanged for one Captain *Mac Gwire*, then Prisoner at *Crum*, a small Castle, and the only place that stood out against King *James* in that County; the owner of the Castle was one Captain *Creighton*, who permitted Captain *Mac Gwire* to go to *Belturbet* on his parol to be a true Prisoner; *Mac Gwire* so negotiated the matter, that he return'd with a Summons and proposals as well for *Inniskilling* as the Castle of *Crum*; and he suppos'd them not averse to a Surrender on good terms; but the Lord *Galmoy* immagined that these Proposals would make the People of *Crum* secure, and therefore that very Night, without waiting for any answer, he march'd to the Castle before they were aware, and had almost surpriz'd them; but the resolution of those within prevented the success of his perfidious design, and forc'd him back without being able to do any other mischief than the venting his Anger on his two Prisoners, whom after his return to *Belturbet*, he, contrary to his Faith and Engagement, hang'd on a Sign-Post, and suffer'd their Bodies to lie unburied, and be barbarously abused. This was Captain *Mac Gwires* own account of the matter; the consequence of which falshood was, that those People would never hear of any terms afterwards; and upon trial found much more safety in their Arms than in the Promises of King *James*, or of any of his Party; having baffled and cut off several considerable Bodies of his Forces sent against them, and taken many and considerable Prisoners, whom yet they used with all Humanity, as it were to reproach the barbarous and perfidious usage which their Prisoners met with; but it was avowed and profest by the generality of King *James*'s Men, that they did not look on themselves to be obliged to treat the Rebels of the *North*, as they call'd them, as fair Enemies, but as Traitors and infamous Persons, whom they might destroy at any rate.

In the County of *Longford* some Protestants got into the Castle of *Kenaught*, belonging to Sir *Thomas Newcomen*; his Lady, and those with her, surrendred it on Articles *January* 13. 1689, to Brigadier *Nugent*, (slain afterwards by the *Inniskillin* Men at *Cavan*) one of the Articles was for the Goods belonging to those in the House, and their Friends; notwithstanding which, *Nugent* seiz'd and took away several parcels of Goods; and several that were in the House, as soon as they came out, were plundered and stript naked. Another Article was,

that

that the Houſe of *Kenaught* ſhould not be Burnt nor Injured, notwithſtanding which it was burnt to the Ground by Colonel *Cohannaught Mac-Gwire*. In ſhort it was obſerv'd that amongſt all the Articles into which King *James*, or his Officers entred, they never kept any to Proteſtants.

5. A fifth Invaſion on our Lives was, that both King *James* and his inferiour Officers, took on them to diſpoſe of them by private Orders and Proclamations, the penalty of violating which was often preſent Death: Thus the Proclamation that required us to bring in our Arms, was on the Penalty of being left to the diſcretion of the Soldiers; which was to expoſe our Lives and Fortunes to the Mercy of our greateſt Enemies. By a Proclamation dated *July* 20*th* 1689. all Proteſtants are required to bring in their Swords and other Arms, on Penalty of being dealt with as Rebels and Traytors. The Proclamation dated *June* 15. 1690. forbad any to change a *Guinea*, &c. for more than 36 *s.* in Braſs, under pain of Death; and Colonel *Luttrell* publiſhed a Declaration, forbiding more than five Proteſtants to aſſemble together, or to be out of their Lodgings after Ten of the Clock at Night, on the ſame Penalty; the Declaration was of his own Penning, and to gratifie the Curious, I have put it in the *Appendix*; the order to the Miniſters to number the Proteſtants, was likewiſe Penned by him; and in it he declared that every one who did not enter in their Names by a certain Day, ſhould be treated as a Spy or Enemy; nay ſometimes he took on him to make Death the penalty of his verbal orders, without a Declaration publiſhed: Thus he commanded the Fellows and Scholars of the College of *Dublin*, upon pain of Death, not to meet together, or converſe above Two or Three at a time; and he would needs hang Mr. *Piercy* the Merchant, as I ſhewed before, without any notice given, for ſaying that he was unwilling to part with his Goods.

See Appendix. *N.* 31.

In *April* 1690. The Quarter-Seſſions for the County of *Dublin* were held at *Kilmainham*, near *Dublin*; Colonel *Luttrell* Governor of *Dublin*, was on the Bench, and in a Speech declared that King *James* wanted Wheat and other Grain for his Horſes, and that he had given the Country Farmers Three Weeks to bring in their Corn, and had waited for their compliance during that time; that he reſolv'd to wait further till the Saturday after, and if they did not bring it in by that time he would compel them; that it was the King's Will they ſhould do it, and he the King's Servant, who would ſee his Maſters Commands Executed; and with a great Oath ſwore, he would hang that Man before his own Door that did not obey and bring in his Corn according to Order. Of this Speech the whole Bench and Country were Witneſſes.

May

May the 7. 1690. the Lord Mayor thought fit to reinforce a former Proclamation about the rate of Goods in the Market, but Colonel *Luttrell* did not think the Mayors Order ſufficient, and therefore publiſhed an Order of his own by beat of Drum, declaring that whoever tranſgreſt the Lord Mayors Order either by buying or ſelling, ſhould be hanged before their own Doors.

About the ſame time Brigadier *Sarsfield* Publiſhed an Order requiring all Proteſtants on the Borders, to leave their Houſes, and retire Ten Miles from the Frontiers on pain of Death.

Theſe were the Laws King *James*'s Council and Miniſters preſcribed us by their Proclamations and Orders; and theſe were the Acts of his Generals and Governours, whom he made Guardians of the Lives and Fortunes of Proteſtants, and yet they all came ſhort of the inhumanity of his Parliament.

6. It has been uſual in Parliaments to attaint notorious Rebels and Traitors, who were too ſtrong for the Law, or who being kill'd in their Rebellion, could not be tryed or condemned by the ordinary courſe of it; and when one or two in a King's Reign were thus attainted upon the moſt evident Proof, and notoriety of the Fact, it was counted a great matter; even in the late *Iriſh* Rebellion, none were attainted but by the legal courſe of Juries. But King *James* and his Parliament intended to do the work of Proteſtants ſpeedily and effectually, and not to wait the ſlow methods of proceeding at the Common Law: They reſolv'd therefore on a Bill of Attainder; and in order to it, every Member of the Houſe of Commons return'd the Names of ſuch Proteſtant Gentlemen as liv'd near him, or in the County or Burrough for which he ſerv'd; and if he was a ſtranger to it, he ſent into the County or Place for information; they were in great haſte, and many eſcaped them; on the other hand, ſome that were actually in King *James*'s Service, and fighting for him at *Derry*, (of which Cornet *Edmund Keating*, Nephew to my Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating*, was one,) were return'd as abſent, and attainted in the Act. When they had made a Collection of Names, they caſt them into ſeveral Forms, and attainted them under ſeveral Qualifications, and accordingly allow'd them time to come in, and put themſelves on Tryal; the Qualifications and Numbers were as follow.

1. Perſons Attainted of Rebellion, who had time given them till the Tenth of *Auguſt* to ſurrender themſelves and be tryed, provided they were in the Kingdom and amenable to the Law at the time of making the Act, otherwiſe were obſolutely Attainted.

One Archbiſhop.

One Duke.

Four-

Fourteen Earls.
Seventeen Viſcounts, and one Viſcounteſs.
Two Biſhops.
Twelve Barons.
Twenty ſix Baronets.
Twenty two Knights.
Fifty ſix Clergymen.
Eleven hundred fifty three Eſquires, Gentlemen, *&c.*

2. Perſons who were abſentees before the Fifth of *November* 1688. not returning according to the Proclamation of the Twenty fifth of *March*, attainted if they do not appear by the Firſt of *September*, 1689.

One Lord.
Seven Knights.
Eight Clergymen.
Sixty five Eſquires, Gentlemen, *&c.*

3. Perſons who were Abſentees before the Fifth of *November* 1688. not returning according to the Proclamation of the Twenty fifth of *March*, attainted if they do not appear by the Firſt day of *October* 1689.

One Archbiſhop.
One Earl.
One Viſcount.
Five Biſhops.
Seven Baronets.
Eight Knights.
Nineteen Clergymen.
Four hunder'd thirteen Eſquires, Gentlemen, *&c.*

4. Perſons uſually reſident in *England*, who are to ſignifie their Loyalty, in caſe the King goes there the Firſt of *October* 1689. and on His Majeſty's Certificate to the Chief Governour here, they to be diſcharged, otherwiſe to ſtand attainted.

One Earl.
Fifteen Viſcounts and Lords.
Fourteen Knights.
Four hundred ninety two Eſquires, Gentlemen, *&c.*

5. Abſentees by reaſon of Sickneſs and Noneage, on proving their Loyalty before the laſt day of the firſt Term after their Return, to be acquitted and reſtor'd; in the mean time their Eſtates Real and Perſonal are veſted in His Majeſty.

One Earl.
Seven Counteſſes.
One Viſcounteſs.

Thirteen

Thirteen Ladies.
One Baronet.
Fifty nine Gentlemen and Gentlewomen.

6. They vest all Lands, *&c.* belonging to Minors, Ladies, Gentlewomen, in the King till they return; and then upon Proof of their Loyalty and Faithfulness to King *James*, they are allow'd to sue for their Estates before the Commissioners for executing the Acts of Repeal and Attainder, if sitting, or in the High Court of Chancery, or Court of Exchequer; and upon a Decree obtain'd for them there, the Sheriffs are to put them in possession of so much, as by the Decree of one of those Courts shall be adjudged them. The Clauses in the Act are so many and so considerable that it never having been Printed intire, I thought it convenient to put it into the *Appendix*. Perhaps it was never equall'd in any Nation since the time of the Proscription in *Rome*; and not then neither, for here is more than half as many Condemned in the small Kingdom of *Ireland*, as was at that time proscribed in the greatest part of the then known World; yet that was esteemed an unparallel'd Cruelty. When Sir *Richard Nagle*, Speaker of the House of Commons, presented the Bill to King *James* for his Royal Assent, he told him that many were attainted in that Act by the House of Commons, upon such Evidence as fully satisfied the House; the rest of them were attainted, he said, *upon common Fame*. A Speech so very brutish, that I can hardly perswade my self that I shall gain credit to the Relation; but it is certainly true, the Houses of Lords and Commons, of their pretended Parliament; are Witnesses of it; and let the World judge what security Protestants could have of their Lives, when so considerable a Lawyer as Sir *Richard Nagle* declares in so Solemn an occasion, and King *James* with his Parliament approves, that common Fame is a sufficient Evidence to deprive, without hearing, so many of the Gentry, Nobility and Clergy, of their Lives and Fortunes, without possibility of Pardon; and not only cut off them, but their Children and Posterity likewise. By a particular Clause from advantages, of which the former Laws of the Kingdom would not have deprived them, though their Fathers had been found guilty of the worst of Treasons in particular Tryals.

See Appendix.

7. I shall only add a few Observations on this Act, and leave the Reader to make others, as he shall find occasion.

1. Then this Act leaves no room for the King to pardon after the last day of *November* 1689. if the pardon be not Enroll'd before that time, the Act declares it absolutely void and null.

2. They

2. The Act was conceal'd, and no Proteſtant for any Money permitted to ſee it, much leſs take a Copy of it, till the time limited for Pardons was paſt at leaſt Four Months. So that the State of the Perſons here attainted is deſperate and irrecoverable, except an *Iriſh* Popiſh Parliament will relieve them; for King *James* took care to put it out of the power of any *Engliſh* Parliament (as well as out of his own Power) to help them, by conſenting to another Act of this pretended Parliament, Intituled, *An Act declaring that the Parliaments of* England *cannot bind* Ireland, *and againſt Writs of Errors and Repeals out of* Ireland *into* England.

3. It is obſervable, with what haſt and confuſion this Act was drawn up and paſt; perhaps no Man ever heard of ſuch a crude imperfect thing, ſo ill digeſted and compos'd, paſt on the World for a Law. We find the ſame Perſon brought in under different Qualifications; in one Place he is expreſly allow'd till the Firſt of *October* to come and ſubmit to Tryal; and yet in another Place he is attainted if he do not come in by the Firſt of *September*; many are attainted by wrong Names; many have their Chriſtian Names left out; and many whoſe Names and Sirnames are both put in, are not diſtinguiſhed by any Character, whereby they may be known from others of the ſame Names.

4. Many conſiderable Perſons are left out, which certainly had been put in, if they could have gotten their Names; which is a further proof of their haſt and confuſion in paſſing the Bill. It is obſervable, the Provoſt, Fellows, and Scholars of the College by *Dublin*, are all omitted; the Reaſon was this, Mr. *Coghlan* ſerved as one of the Burgeſſes for the College; the Houſe of Commons requir'd him to come into the Houſe (for he had withdrawn himſelf from it, as we obſerved before, at the paſſing this Act) and to give in the Names of the abſent Members of the College, that they might be put into the Bill: He demurr'd at firſt, but was over-rul'd; then upon Conſultation with Doctor *Aſton*, the Vice-Provoſt, he moved the Houſe to ſend for the College Butler, alledging that he had the Buttery Book, wherein the Names of the Collegians were in order, and without this he could not get them. The Houſe hereupon ordered a Serjeant at Arms to be ſent for the Butler, but he on Mr. *Coghlans* intimation abſconded for ſome days. The Houſe was in haſt to paſs the Bill, and by this means the Collegians eſcaped an Attainder.

5. It was obſervable that any Application made in behalf of Abſentees by their Friends who ſtaid, or were in the Houſe, conſtantly made their Condition worſe: The Application of Mr. *Henry Temple*, in behalf

of his Brother Sir *John Temple*, removed him upwards into the first Rank of Attainted Persons; the like Petition had the same effect as to Mr. *Richard Wiarburton*, and so upon several others. The Papists did this to rid themselves of trouble and importunity, and to let the Protestants know that all their endeavours for themselves and Friends should do them no Service, and that their ruin was absolutely resolved on.

6. That their allowing Persons a certain time to come in and submit to Tryal to prove their Innocency, was a meer nothing: For they very well knew, that it was impossible any body should certainly know, what time was given each Man to come in; and it had been a foolish venture for such as were absent, to come into a Place where, for ought they knew, they were already condemned, and should be immediately hang'd without a Tryal. 2. No body knew what they could call Innocency; perhaps writing to, or petitioning any one that had King *William*'s Commission, nay, conversing with such, might be reckoned corresponding with Rebels, and sufficient Evidence of their Guilt; and indeed Judge *Nugent* had in a manner determin'd this Case; for he interpreted one Mr. *Desminiere*'s answering a Bill of Exchange for Sir *Thomas Southwell*, who was Prisoner at *Galloway*, a corresponding with Rebels, and committed him to Jail for it: He likewise put one Mr. *Ginnery* in Jail for High Treason, because being Agent for the Prisoners at *Galloway*, to procure them a Reprieve and other Affairs, he received Letters from them, though Mr. *Ginnery*'s Father and Brother were amongst them. 3. When this pretended Parliament past this Act, they were very well aware that the Embargo here was so exceedingly strict, that from the time of passing the Act, till the First of *October*, nay of *November* following, which was the longest time allowed any one to come in, not one Ship or Boat was suffered to pass from hence into *England*; so that it was absolutely impossible the Persons concern'd in this Law, should have had any knowledge of it before they were Condemned by it, to the loss of Life and Estate, beyond the power of the King to Pardon them. 4. King *James* and his Parliament knew perfectly well, that the Embargo was so strict on the other side, that if the Gentlemen could have had Information, yet it was impossible for them to have gotten out of *England*, to tender themselves to Justice, within the time wherein the Act required they should do it, on no less Penalty than the irrecoverable Forfeiture of Life and Estate: Which is a plain demonstration that the allowing time for the Attainted Persons to come in, and prove their Innocency, was a meer colour and had nothing of sincerity in it, since they themselves that made the Law

were

were fully informed and satisfied that this was an impossible condition.

5. Suppose it had been possible, yet it had been a very unwise part for such Protestants as were safe in *England*, to have left it, and to have come into *Ireland*, a ruinious Kingdom, the actual seat of a War, where all the goods and moveables they had left behind them, were Imbezell'd by Robbers, or by those that had seiz'd them for King *James*; and their real Estates given away to such as were Descendents of their Fathers Murtherers, or at least had been in that Rebellion; where they must abide a Tryal before Judges and Juries of profest Enemies, whether their Lives should be their own; and after all, if acquitted, could have no other prospect of supporting themselves, but Begging amongst a People that had reduced them to this condition. These considerations were of such weight with all People, that they who were absent, were so far from thinking of a return, that on the contrary, Men of the best Estates, who had stayed here, wished themselves away, and many were content to leave all, and venture their Lives in little Boats to the Mercy of the Seas, in the depth of Winter; reckoning any thing safer and easier, than to stay under a Government, which had effectually destroyed all the Measures of right and wrong, and Condemned so many Gentlemen to the loss of all, without allowing them either the favour of being Tryed, or so much as Heard.

4. I know it will be here objected that very few Protestants lost their Lives in *Ireland* under King *James*, notwithstanding all the severe Proclamations and Laws, and the apprehensions under which they lay of danger. But to this I answer; First, that when a full enquiry comes to be made concerning those that were Kill'd by the Soldiers, Murthered in their Houses, Executed by Martial Law, Starv'd and Famished in Jayls, and that Perished by other Violences, the number will not be so small as is imagined. 2. It is to be considered that the *Irish* Papists lay under the strictest Obligations not to begin Acts of Cruelty; for the Murthers they had committed in the last Rebellion, were chiefly objected against them; they were sensible they had gained nothing by them, and that the Cruelty exercised in them, was the thing that especially rendred them Odious, and lost them their Estates; and therefore they thought it the best way not to be too forward in the like practises, till they were sure not to be call'd to an after-reckoning. They further considered that many of their own Friends were Prisoners in the *North*, and that if they began with Examples of Cruelty on the Protestants who were in their Power, their Friends must expect the like from the Enemy in whose Hands they were. 'Twas this made them dismiss the Poor People they had resolv'd to starve before *Derry*. And they were made be-

lieve that not only the Priſoners would Suffer, but that the Cruelties they exerciſed on the Proteſtants, would be Revenged on all the Roman Catholicks in *England*. This was given out by ſome who underſtood King *James*'s true Intereſt, and that he depended on ſome Proteſtants in *England* for ſuccour and aſſiſtance, rather more than on the Roman Catholicks; now they knew very well that Murther is ſo hateful a thing, that if they once fell a Maſſacring, it would ſhock many of their Friends in *England* and *Scotland*, from whom they expected great Matters; and therefore they thought it their Intereſt to be as tender of Lives as they could; and even the Prieſts, when they encouraged them to Rob their Proteſtant Neighbours, charg'd them not to kill them, aſſuring them that every thing elſe would be forgiven them. 3. The Proteſtants were extremely cautious not to give the leaſt Offence; they walked ſo warily and prudently, that it was hardly poſſible to find any occaſion againſt them; and they were ſo true to one another, and converſed ſo little with any of King *James*'s Party, that it was as difficult to fix any thing on them, or to get any Information againſt them, though ſeveral deſigns were laid againſt them, and ſeveral falſe Witneſſes produc'd, as has been ſhewn; yet their Stories ſtill deſtroyed themſelves by their Improbabilities, inconſiſtency, and the notorious infamy of the Witneſſes. 4. We had no experiment of what would have been done with the attainted Abſentees; for none of them run the hazard of a Tryal, but we are ſure no good could have been done them, for they could neither have been pardoned for Eſtate nor Life, and the beſt they could have expected, was to have been ſent to ſome other Kingdom, as Sir *Thomas Southwell* was ſent to *Scotland*, for there could have been no living for them in *Ireland*. 5. When any Proteſtant found himſelf obnoxious to the Government, or but fancyed they had any thing to object againſt him, he got out of the Kingdom, or made his eſcape to the *North* as well as he could, and in the mean time abſconded; many eſcaped hanging by theſe means, which otherwiſe in all probability had been executed.

Laſtly, It was ſo much the Intereſt of King *James* in his Circumſtances, to have been kind to the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, that we might rather have expected to have been courted than ill uſed by him; the whole ſupport and maintenance of his Army in *Ireland* depended on them; they clothed, fed, armed, and quartered them, (which they could not avoid doing with any ſafety to themſelves, or indeed poſſibility of living,) and the Officers of the Army were ſo ſenſible of this, that when it was propos'd to turn all the Proteſtants out of the City of *Dublin*, one of them anſwered, that whenever they were turned out, the Army muſt go with them; for they could not be furniſhed with

what they wanted, by others. And as it was King *James*'s Interest to use them well upon the account of their being necessary to him in *Ireland*, so his Affairs in *England* and *Scotland* did more particularly require it; and he was forced to employ his Emissaries there to give it out that he did so. Sir *Daniel Mac-Daniel*, who came out of the Isles of *Scotland* to *Dublin* in Winter 1689. and several Gentlemen of the Highlands with him, declared that their Ministers in the Pulpit had assured them, that the Protestants in *Ireland* lived under King *James* in the greatest freedom, quiet, and security, both as to their Properties and Religion; and that if their Countrymen knew the truth of the matter, as they then found it here, they would never fight one stroak for him: And they seemed to stand amazed at what they saw, and could hardly believe their own Eyes. It is certain that King *James* had the like Instruments in *England*, as I have noted before, who forced down the World in Coffee-Houses and publick Places, that the Protestants in *Ireland* lived easie and happy under his Government; however, this shews how much it was really his Interest to have given his Protestant Subjects here no just cause of complaint; and that it must proceed from a strange eagerness to destroy them, that King *James* and his Party ventured in their Circumstances to go so far in it as they did: Their own immient danger dissuaded them from severity, and their Interest manifestly obliged them to mildness: And if notwithstanding these, they condemn near 3 Thousand of the most Eminent Gentlemen, Citizens, Clergymen, and Nobility of the Kingdom to Death, and loss of Estates; we may easily guess what they would have done when their fear and interest were removed, and they left to the swing of their own natural Inclinations, and the tendency of their Principles. Whosoever considers all Circumstances, will conclude, that no less was designed by them, than the execution of the third Chapter of the *Lateran* Council, the utter extirpation of the Hereticks of these Kingdoms.

SECT. XIV.

Ninthly, *Shewing King* James's *Methods for destroying the Protestant* Religion.

1. THE design against the Lives and Fortunes of the Protestants is so apparent from the excution thereof, especially by the Acts of the late pretended Parliament, that they themselves can hardly deny it; nay some were apt to glory in it: And to let us know that it was not

not a late Design, taken up since the revolt of *England* (as they call it) from King *James*, they thought fit to settle on the Duke of *Tyrconnel* above 20m. Pounds *per Annum* in value, out of the Estates of some Protestant Gentlemen attainted by them, as aforesaid, in consideration of his signal Service of Twenty Years, which he spent in contriving this Work, and bringing it to pass, as one of their most eminent Members expresst it in his Speech in Parliament, and the particular Act which vests this Estate in him shews.

See Appendix, N. 3, 4, 8, 17.

2. But it may be thought that King *James* was more tender in the matter of Religion; and that he who gloried so much in his resolution to settle *Liberty of Conscience wherever he had Power*, as he told his pretended Parliament, and set forth almost in every Proclamation, would never have made any other Invasion on the Consciences of his Protestant Subjects. But they found by experience that a Papist, whatever he professes, is but an ill Guardian of Liberty of Conscience! And that the same Religion that obliged the King of *Spain* to set up an Inquisition, could not long endure the King of *England* to maintain Liberty. If indeed King *James* had prevailed with *Italy* or *Spain* to have tolerated the open exercise of the Protestant Religion, it had been, I believe, a convincing Argument to *England* to have granted the Roman Catholicks Liberty in these Dominions; but whilst the Inquisition is kept up to the height in those Countries, and worse than an Inquisition in *France*, against the publick Edicts and Laws of the Kingdom, and against the solemn Oath and Faith of the King, it is too gross to go about to perswade us, that we might expect a free exercise of our Religion, any other way than the Protestants enjoy it in *France*, (that is under the Discipline of Dragoons,) after the Papists had gotten the Arms, the Offices, the Estates, and Courts of Judicature in their Hands.

3. The Protestant Religion and Clergy were established in *Ireland* by as firm Laws as the Properties of the Laity: The King by his Coronation Oath was obliged to maintain them: Their Tithes and Benefices were their Free-holds; and their Privileges and Jurisdiction were settled and confirmed to them by the known and current Laws of the Kingdom; according to which the King was obliged to govern them, and whereof he was the Guardian. The Clergy had beside all this, peculiar Obligations on him, and a Title to his Protection; for they had espous'd his Interest most cordially. Whilst Duke of *York*, they used their utmost diligence to perswade the People to submit to God's Providence, and be content with his Succession to the Crown, in case his Brother died before him: And they prest that Point so far, that many

many of their People were dissatisfied with them, and told them often with heat and concern, what reward they must expect for their pains if ever he came to the Throne: They saw their danger, but could not imagine any man would be so unpolitick and ungrateful as to destroy such as had brought him to the Throne, and could only keep him safe in it; and therefore they ventured all to serve him; and many of them by their Zeal for him, lost the Affections of their People, and their Interest with them. It was chiefly due to their diligence and care, that his Title, from the beginning, met not the least opposition in *Ireland*, tho the Army in it were intirely Protestant. Had they and the rest of the Protestants in this Kingdom been in any measure disloyally principled in the time of *Monmouth* and *Argyle*'s Rebellion, they might easily have made an Insurrection more dangerous than both those; and the least Mutiny or Revolt amongst them, could hardly have failed to have ruined King *James*'s Affairs at that critical time: But they were so far from attempting any such thing, that they were as ready and as zealous to assist him, as his very Guards at *Whitehall*; which he himself could not but acknowledge: How he rewarded them, I have already shewn; and how grateful he was to the Clergy that thus principled them, will appear by the Sequel.

4. First therefore when his Majesty came to the Crown he declared that he would protect the Church of *England* in her Government and Priviledges; under which we suppos'd the Church of *Ireland* to be concluded: And accordingly the Clergy and People of this Kingdom return'd his Majesty their Address of Thanks; though they very well knew that this was no more than was due to them by the Laws, and by the King's Coronation Oath in particular: But they were soon told by the *Roman* Catholicks, that his Majesty did not intend to include *Ireland* in that Declaration; and that it *must be a Catholick Kingdom*, as they term'd it. Every discerning Protestant soon found by the method they saw his Majesty take, that he in earnest intended to settle Popery in *England*, as well as *Ireland*; but he thought himself so sure of effecting it suddenly in *Ireland*, that his Instruments made no scruple to declare their Intentions; nay, they were so hasty to ruin our Religion, that they did not so much as consult their own Safety; but even before it was either seasonable or safe, in the opinion of the wiser sort amongst themselves, they began openly to apply all their Arts and Engines to effect it. 1. By hindring the Succession and Supplies of Clergy-men. 2. By taking away their maintenance. 3. By weakning, and then invading their Jurisdiction. 4. By seizing on their Churches, and hindring their Religious Assemblies. 5. By violence against their Persons.

And

And 6. By slandering and Misrepresenting them and their Principles.

SECT. XV.

1. *King* James *in order to destroy the Protestant Religion, hindred the Education and Succession of Clergy-men.*

1. THE Good and Support of Religion doth very much depend on the educating and principling Youth in Schools and Universities; and the Law had taken special care, that these should be in the hands of *English* men and Protestants; and the better to secure them, the Nomination of the Schoolmasters in every Diocess, except 4, is by a particular Act of Parliament lodged in the Lord Lieutenant, or Chief Governour for the time being. The Clergy of each Diocess, by the Act are obliged to maintain a Schoolmaster; and his Qualifications are described in the Act. But when the Earl of *Tyrconnel* came to the Government, he took no notice of those Laws; but when any School became void, he either left it unsupplyed, or put a Papist into it. And in the mean time great care was taken to discourage such Protestant Schoolmasters as remain'd, and to set up Popish Schools in opposition to them. Thus they dealt with the School of *Kilkenny*, founded and endowed by the charitable Piety of the late Duke of *Ormond*; they set up a Jesuits School in the Town, and procured them a Charter for a College there; they drove away the Protestant Schoolmaster, Doctor *Hinton*, who had officiated in it with great industry and success, and seiz'd on the School-house, commonly call'd the College, and converted it to an Hospital for their Soldiers. Thus in a few years they would not have left one publick School in the hands of a Protestant for the Education of their Youth.

12 Eliz. Chap. 1st.

2. There is but one University in *Ireland*, and there is a Clause in the Statutes thereof that gives the King Power to dispense with the said Statutes; it was founded by Queen *Elizabeth*; and certainly never designed by her, or her Successors, to be converted against the fundamental Design of its Institution, into a Seminary of Popery: Yet advantage was taken of this Clause (though we had reason to believe it would have been done if there had been no such Clause) to put in Popish Fellows, as soon as the Fellowships became vacant; one *Doyle* a Convert was the first who was named; a Person of so exceedingly lewd and vicious a Conversation, (as was fully prov'd before the Lord

Tyrconnel)

Tyrconnell) and of so little Sence or Learning, that it seemed impossible that any Government should have countenanc'd such a Man; yet this did not much weigh with his Excellency; and therefore the College insisted upon another Point; the Dispensation that *Doyle* had gotten, through his ignorance, was not for his purpose; for it required in express Terms, that he should take the Oath of a Fellow, and that Oath includes in it the Oath of Supremacy; the Provost tendered it to him, but he durst not take it, for fear of disobliging his own Party; upon this they refused to admit him; he insists on his Claim, and complains to the Lord Deputy. Upon a hearing, Justice *Nugent*, Baron *Rice*, and the Attorney General, supplyed the Place of Advocates for him; but the Case was so plain, that even Justice *Nugent* had not the confidence to deny the insufficiency of his Dispensation; and therefore they ordered him to get another. But to be even with the College for demurring on the King's Mandate, they stopt the Money due to it out of the Exchequer.

3. The Foundation consists of a Provost, Seven Senior, and Nine Junior Fellows, and Seventy two Scholars; these are partly maintain'd by a Pension out of the Exchequer of 388 *l. per Annum*; this Pension the Earl of *Tyrconnell* stopt from *Easter* 1688. and could not be prevail'd with by any intercession or intreaties to grant his Warrant after that time for it; by which means he in effect dissolv'd the Foundation, and stopt the Fountains of Learning and of Religion; this appeared to have been his design more plainly afterwards; for King *James* and his Party not content to take their maintenance from them, proceeded and turn'd out the Vice-Provost, Fellows and Scholars; seiz'd upon the Furniture, Books, and publick Library, together with the Chappel, Communion Plate, and all things belonging to the College, or to the private Fellows or Scholars; notwithstanding that when they waited on him upon his first arrival in *Dublin*, he promis'd, *That he would preserve them in their Liberties and Properties, and rather augment than diminish the Privileges and Immunities granted to them by his Predecessors.* In the House they placed a Popish Garrison, turn'd the Chappel into a Magazine, and many of the Chambers into Prisons for Protestants; the Garrison destroy'd the Doors, Wainscots, Closets and Floors, and damnified it in the Building and Furniture of private Rooms, to at least the value of 2000 *l.* One Doctor *Moore*, a Popish Priest was nominated Provost; one *Macarty* Library Keeper, and the whole designed for them and others of their Fraternity.

4. It is observable, that there was not the least Colour or Pretence of Law for this violence, nor could they give the least Reason in Law or Equity for their proceeding, except the necessity of destroying of the Protestant Seminaries of Learning, in order to destroy their Religion: This made them so eager against the Collegians, that they were not content to turn them, without Process or Colour of Law, out of their Free-holds, but they sent a Guard after them to seize and apprehend their Persons; and it cost the Bishop of *Meath*, their Vice-Chancellor, all his Cunning and Interest with the Governor *Lutrell*, to prevent their Imprisonment. With much ado he was prevailed on to let them enjoy their Liberties; but with this Condition, that on pain of Death no Three of them should meet together. So solicitous were they to prevent the Education of Protestants under Persons of the same Profession, and that there might be none to succeed the present Clergy.

5. With the same Design they hindred the succession of Bishops and inferiour Clergy-men, into the room of those that dyed or were removed; the Support of Religion (as is well known) depends very much on the choice and settling of able and fit Persons in Vacancies; and it so happened, that partly by the uncertainty of Estates, partly by frequent Forfeiture to the King, partly by the grasping of the Prerogative and other Accidents, most of the considerable Preferments and Benefices of the Church were in the disposal of the Crown; there are very few Livings in *Ireland* in the Presentation of Lay Patrons, but they either belong to the King, or the Bishops. The Bishopricks are all in the King; and all the Livings in the Bishops Patronage, are in the Vacancy of the Bishoprick, likewise the Kings. This is a great Trust, and the King is bound to dispose of it for the good of the Church: But King *James* plainly design'd, by means of his Trust, to destroy the Church that had intrusted him: For instead of giving the Preferments, as they fell, to good and able Men, who might preserve and maintain the Interest of their Religion, he seiz'd them into his own hand, had the Profits of them returned into the Exchequer, and let the Cures lye neglected. The Archbishoprick of *Cashell*, the Bishopricks of *Clogher*, of *Elphin*, and of *Clonfert*, were thus seiz'd, with many inferiour Livings, and the Money received out of them dispos'd to the maintenance of Popish Bishops and Priests, directy against the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom.

6. At this rate in a few Years all the Preferments and Livings of the Kingdom of any value must have fallen into the King's hands, and we must have expected to have seen them thus dispos'd of; for as many as fell after King *James*'s time were put to this use; and we were assured by

by the Popiſh Prieſts, that all the reſt as they became vacant were deſign'd to the ſame Purpoſe; and they were ſo unreaſonable, that though both Law and Juſtice allow a competency for ſerving the Cure, whilſt a Living upon any Account whatſoever is in the King's Hand, yet the Commiſſioners of the Revenue, and Barons of the Exchequer, would allow nothing; the Biſhop of *Meath* made an Experiment of this: Some Livings in his Dioceſs, upon the Death of one Mr. *Duddle* the Incumbent, were ſeiz'd by the Commiſſioners of the Revenue, being in the King's Preſentation; the Biſhop did what was in his Power towards ſupplying the Cure, and, according to his Duty, appointed a Curate, aſſigning him a Salary according to the Canons, but the Commiſſioners would not allow him any thing; and though the Biſhop endeavour'd it, and petition'd both the Commiſſioners and Barons of the Exchequer, yet he could never get any thing for the Curate. This was a Precedent, and the ſame was practis'd in all other Caſes: All the Abſentees Cures were in the ſame Condition, and though they yielded plentifully to King *James*, yet the Curates had no other maintenace, than the voluntary Contributions of the poor plunder'd Proteſtant Pariſhioners, who were forced to pay their Tythes either to King *James*'s Commiſſioners, or to Popiſh Prieſts, who had Grants of them.

See the Appendix, Molony's *Scheme in his Letter*, N. 17.

7. This was an effectual, though a ſlow way, of putting an end to the Miniſtry; at leaſt to deprive them of all legal Title to Preferments; for the Biſhops being moſt of them old, would ſoon have dropt off; and King *James* was reſolved to have named no more, and ſo the legal Succeſſion of Biſhops muſt in a ſhort time have ceas'd, and all the Livings depending on them, muſt likewiſe have gone in courſe to maintain Popiſh Prieſts; that is all the Deanries, Dignitaries, and moſt other Benefices.

8. The Papiſts upbraided us with our want of Power, and ſeem'd to laugh at the Snare into which we were fallen by means of our Popiſh King; not conſidering that this proceeded from a manifeſt breach of Truſt and Faith in him; and that the Caſe is the ſame in all Truſts, if the Truſtees prove faithleſs; and even in all Popiſh Countries the Kings have the nomination of Biſhops, as well as in *England*, and that the Succeſſion of Biſhops had almoſt lately failed in *Portugal*, upon ſome difference between the King and Pope; and the Advocate General of *France*, Mr. *Dennis Talon*, tells us in 1688. that Thirty five Biſhopricks (being about a third Part of the whole Number) were vacant in that

Kingdom on the same account: And 'tis like more are vacant since. It is true, the Church has power to nominate Bishops, without the consent of the Civil Magistrate; but then they must not expect the Temporalities, which are the Gifts or Grants of Kings, and such Bishops and Clergy must intirely depend on the voluntary Contributions of their People for their maintenance, and on their voluntary submission for their Jurisdiction. And here the Protestant Clergy had the greatest reason in the World to complain of King *James*; to set him on the Throne, the Clergy disobliged many of their People, and he in requital deprived them of all other Worldly Support or Power, besides what must depend on the free choice of those very People, whom for his sake they had not only disobliged, but likewise help'd to bring under many Inconveniencies.

See the Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris, *upon the Pope's Bull, Printed at* London, 1688. p. 5.

SECT. XVI.

King James *took away the maintenance of the present Protestant Clergy.*

1. BUT King *James* did not only endeavour to hinder the Education and Succession of the Protestant Clergy, but he likewise took away all their present maintenance. Immediately upon his coming to the Crown, their Popish Parishioners began to deny the payment of Book-monies, which is a considerable part of the Ecclesiastical Revenue of *Ireland*; a great part of the Tythes of *Ireland* are impropriate; in some Places the whole Tithes, in many, Two third Parts, and in most the one half; and there is little left for the Vicar that serves the Cure, except it be the Third part of the Tythes, or the small Fees due out of Burials, Marriages, or *Easter* Offerings; these Dues are call'd commonly Book-moneys; and though very inconsiderable in themselves, yet make a great part, and in some Places the whole, of what falls to the Vicar's portion; against these the Popish Judges declared in their Circuits; and by their encouragement most People, and the Papists universally deny'd to pay them.

2. The Priests began to declare that the Tythes belong'd to them, and forbad their People to pay them to the Protestant Clergy; with this the People complied willingly; and for Two Years before the late Revolution in *England*, hardly any Tythes were recovered by the Clergy

Clergy; or if any were recovered, it was with so much difficulty and cost, that they turn'd to very little account.

3. They put an Act in their pretended Parliament, whereby they took away all Tythes that were payable by Papists, and gave them to their own Popish Priests; and allow'd them to bring an Action for them at the Common Law, to make the recovery of them more easie; and yet denyed this to the Protestant Clergy; alledging that they allow'd them still their old means of recovering their Tythes; and therefore did them no injury. But this was as good as nothing; for they had so weaken'd the Ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction, that it was incapable of compelling the People to obedience; and it being necessary to sue out a Writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, in order to force such as were refractory, the Popish Chancellor either directly refused to grant the Writ, or else laid so many impediments and delays in the way, that it cost double the Value of the Tythes sued for, to take it out.

4. Though they rendered the Protestant Clergy uncapable of enjoying the Tythes of *Roman* Catholicks, yet the Popish Clergy were made capable of enjoying the Protestant Tythes: The Case then was thus; if a Protestant had a Bishoprick, Dignity, or other Living, by the new Act, he must not demand any Tythes or Ecclesiastical Dues from any *Roman* Catholick; and as soon as his Preferment became void by his death, cession, or ablence, a Popish Bishop, *&c.* was put into the Place; and by their Act, there needed no more to oblige all Men, *To repute, take, and deem, a Man to be a* Roman *Catholick Bishop or Dean of any Place, than the King's signifying him to be so, under his Privy Signet and Sign Manual*; a Power that the Protestants, how much soever they magnified the King's Authority, never trusted any King with, nor other Mortal Man whatsoever. But as soon as any one became thus Entitled to a Bishoprick, *&c.* immediately all the Tythes, as well of Protestants as of Papists, became due to him, with all the Glebes and Ecclesiastical Dues; and for the recovery of them he had an Action at Common Law.

5. Notwithstanding the Glebes and Protestants Tythes were not given to the Popish Clergy, during the incumbency of the present Protestant Incumbents, yet the Popish Priests by violence entered on the Glebes where there were any, pretending that the King had nothing to do with them, and that neither he or his Parliament could hinder the Church of her Rights; and this Pretence was so far countenanced, that no endeavours whatsoever could get any of these Priests out, when once he had gotten possession. The Truth is, hardly one Parish in ten in the Provinces of *Leinster*, *Munster*, or *Connaught*, have any Glebe left

left them; for either they were never endowed, or if they had been at any time endowed with Glebes, the many Confusions and new Dispositions of Lands have made them to be forgotten, or swallowed up in the Hands of some powerful Parishioners. The pretence therefore of the Parliament, that they had been kind to the Protestant Clergy, in leaving them the Glebes, was a meer piece of Hyprocrisie: Since they knew that generally Parishes had no Glebes; and that where they had Glebes, the Priests would make a shift to get into possession of them, without being given to them by the Parliament.

6. The same may be said of their leaving some of the Tythes belonging to Protestants, for the present, to their own Clergy. They had so robb'd and plundered the Protestants of the Country, that few liv'd or had any thing Tithable in it; being forced for their own safety to flee to the Towns, and leave their Farms wast; if any had Tythes, they might pay them if they pleas'd, or let it alone, for they had left the Protestant Clergy, as I shew'd before, no way of recovering their Dues. Many times the Priests came with a Company of the next quarter'd Dragoons, and took the Tythes away by force; and this past for a Possession of the Livings; and the Protestant Ministers must bring their Leases of Ejectment, if they would recover their Possessions, or pretend any more to Tythes in those Livings. There is a Custom in *Ireland* whereby some Farmers do agree with their Neighbours to plow their Lands for them, on Condition that they afford them a certain quantity of Corn, suppose an Half, one Third, or one Fourth, after it is reaped. Now Protestants that had Farms in the Country, being in no capacity to plow them after their Horses were taken away, and their Houses robb'd, agreed with their Popish Neighbours to plow their Lands for them, according to the Custom of the Country; this was enough to Entitle Priests to the Tythes of Lands so plowed; and accordingly they seiz'd upon them by force; though both the Land and Corn belong'd to Protestants; by these and other such Contrivances, from the year 1686. till King *James*'s Power was put to an end by the Victory at the *Boyn*, hardly any Protestant enjoy'd any Tythes in the Country, all which was represented to the Government, but to no purpose.

7. In Corporate Towns and Cities, there was a peculiar Provision made for Ministers by Act of Parliament, in King *Charles* the Second's time: by which Act, the Houses in those Places were to be valued by Commissioners at a moderate value; and the Lord Lieutenant or chief Governor, for the time being, did assign a certain Proportion for the Ministers maintenance, not greater than the Twentieth part of the yearly

yearly value, return'd by the Commissioners. That therefore the City Protestant Clergy might not be in a better condition than those in the Country, an Act was past in their pretended Parliament, to take away this altogether; the Clergy of *Dublin* desir'd to be heard concerning this Act at the Bar of the House of Lords before it past, and their Council were admitted to speak to it, who shew'd the unreasonableness and injustice of it so evidently, and insisted so boldly on King *James*'s Promise to the Protestant Clergy, at his first arrival in this Kingdom, when he gave them the greatest assurances of maintaining them in their Rights and Priviledges; and further, bid them, if agriev'd in any thing, to make their Complaints immediately to him, and engaged to see them redrest, that he seemed to be satisfied, and the House of Lords with him; yet the design to ruin them, was so fixt, that without offering any thing by way of Answer to the Reasons urged against it, the Act past; and thereby left the Clergy of the Cities and Corporate Towns, without any pretence to a maintenance, except they could get it from the voluntary Contributions of their People; nay, so malicious were they against the Protestant Clergy, that they cut off the Arrears due to them, as well as the growing Rent; having left no means to recover them, as appear'd upon Tryal at the Council-board afterward, when some of the Clergy petitioned for relief therein.

8. Upon the Plantation of *Ulster* 1625. there was a Table of Tythes agreed on by the King and Council; and the Planters, to whom the Grants were made by the King, obliged to pay Tythes according to that Table; the pretended Parliament took away this Table also; for no other Reason that we could learn, but because most of the Inhabitants of *Ulster* were Protestants, and consequently the Protestant Clergy would pretend to them.

9. The Livings of *Ireland* were valued by Commissions in *Henry* the Eight and Queen *Elizabeths* time; and paid First Fruits and Twentieth Parts, according to that valuation; other Livings were held in Farm from the Crown, and paid yearly a considerable reserved Rent, commonly call'd Crown Rents; others appertain'd to the Lord Lieutenant, and other Officers of State, and paid a certain rate of Corn for their use, commonly call'd *Port Corn*. Now all these Payments were exacted from the Protestant Clergy, notwithstanding the greatest part of their Tythes were taken from them: The remaining part, (where any remained) was seiz'd in many places, by the Commissioners of the Revenue, and a Custodiam granted of it for the King's use, for the payment of the Duties which accru'd out of the whole, and not one Farthing;

Farthing allow'd for the Incumbent, or the Curate: Nay, in some places, they seiz'd the Incumbent's Person, and laid him in Jail till he paid these Duties, though at the same time they had seiz'd his Livings, and found that they were not sufficient to answer what they exacted; and because the Clerk of the First Fruits, Lieutenant Colonel *Roger Moore*, being a Protestant himself, would not be severe with the Clergy, and seize their Livings and Persons, to force them to pay what he knew they were not in a Capacity to do, they found pretence to seize his person and sent him with Three Files of Musquetiers Prisoner to the Castle of *Dublin*, where he and two Gentlemen more lay in a cold nasty Garret for some Months. By these Contrivances, the few Benefices yet in the hands of the Protestants, instead of a support, became a Burthen to them; and they were forced to cast themselves for a maintenance on the Kindness of their People, who were themselves Undone and Beggar'd.

SECT. XVII.

3. *King* James *took away the Jurisdiction of the Church from Protestants.*

1. IT is impossible any Society should subsist without a Power of rewarding and punishing its Members; now Christ left no other power to his Church, but what is purely Spiritual; nor can the Governours of the Church any other way punish their Refractory Subjects, but by refusing them the Benefits of their Society, the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, and the other Spiritual Offices annexed by Christ to the Ministerial Function. But Kings and Estates have become Nursing Fathers to the Church, and lent their Temporal power to second her Spiritual Censures. The Jurisdiction therefore of the Clergy, so far as it has any Temporal effect on the Bodies or Estates of Men, is intirely derived from the Favour of States and Princes, and acknowledg'd to be so in the Oath of Supremacy. However this is now become a Right of the Clergy, by ancient Laws through all Christendom; and to take it away, after so long continuance, must needs be a great blow to Religion, and of worse Consequence than if the Church had never possessed it; yet this was actually done by King *James* to the Protestant Clergy; and is a plain Sign that he intended to destroy their Religion, when he depriv'd them of their Support.

2. For

2. For first he past an Act of Parliament, whereby he exempted all that dissented from our Church, from the Jurisdiction thereof: and a Man needed no more to free him from all punishment for his Misdemeanors, though only cognizable and punishable in the Ecclesiastical Courts, than to profess himself a Dissenter, or that it was against his Conscience to submit to the Jurisdiction of our Church: Nay, at the first, the Act was so drawn, and past the House of Commons, that no Protestant Bishop could pretend to any Jurisdiction even over his own Clergy; but that, and several other passages in the Commons Bills, were so little pleasing to some who understood the King's Interest, that Sir *Edward Herbert* was employ'd by King *James* to amend the Act for the House of Lords; which he did in the Form it is now in; nothing of the Commons Bill being left in it, but the Word, *Whereas*; thô after all it effectually destroy'd the Jurisdiction of the Church.

3. But second, in most places there was no Protestant Bishop left; and consequently the Popish Bishop was to succeed to the Jurisdiction; they being by another Act invested in Bishopricks, as soon as they could procure King *James*'s Certificate under his privy Signet, that they were Archbishops or Bishops; all incapacities, by reason of their Religion, by any Statute or Law whatsoever, being taken off. There were already vacant in *Ireland*, one Archbishoprick and three Bishopricks; they had Attainted Two of the surviving Archbishops, and Seven Bishops, so that they had already the Jurisdiction of Three Fourths of the Kingdom, by a Law of their own making, secured into the Hands of Papists; and the rest were quickly to follow.

4. But Third, where any shadow of Jurisdiction remain'd with the Protestant Clergy, they rendered it insignificant, by encouraging the most Obstinate and Perverse Sectaries, and by shewing them Favour according as they were most Opposite and Refractory to all Ecclesiastical Discipline, and paying their Dues to the Clergy: This may be supposed one reason of their peculiar Fondness of Quakers; and that it was upon this Account chiefly they made them Burgesses or Aldermen in their new Corporations, and reckon'd them as most useful Tools to pull down the Discipline of the Church; thô their Tythes were not given away to the Popish Priests, yet there was no way left for the Protestant Clergy to recover them; they being exempted from their Jurisdiction; and from the very beginning of King *James*'s Reign, they so ordered the matter, that Quakers were generally exempted from paying Tythes; which at last became a more sensible Loss to the Protestant Clergy, because these were the only People that call'd themselves Protestants, who had any thing left them out of which Tythes were due.

5. 'Twas on the same account that lewd and debaucht Converts were encouraged amongst them; and a Man need no more to escape the Censures and Punishments due to his Crimes, but to profess himself reconcil'd; upon which all proceedings against him must immediately cease. Thus many lewd Women turn'd Converts, and continued their Wickedness without fear of the Ecclesiastical Judge.

6. If at any time a Bishop went about to correct a Scandalous Clergy-man, the King's Courts immediately interpos'd and granted prohibitions, thô the matter did not bear one. They knew it must put the Bishop to much pains and costs to have it removed, and they were in hopes to weary him out before he could get a Consultation: And so zealous were the Popish Lawyers to protect a Scandalous Minister against his Bishop, that they would of their own accord, *gratis*, plead his Cause; they thought it Fee enough to weaken the Jurisdiction of a Protestant Bishop, and to do mischief to our Religion, by keeping in a wicked scandalous Clergy-man to be a reproach to it. One Mr. *Ross* was prosecuted by his Bishop for very lewd and notorious Crimes; but the King's Judges interpos'd, and Serjeant *Dillon*, then Prime Serjeant, pleaded his Cause *gratis* against the Bishop of *Killmore*, who prosecuted him. If any Clergy-man turn'd Papist, as we have reason to thank God that very few did, whatever his Motives of Conversion were, he was sure to keep his Livings by a Dispensation, and to be exempted from the Power of his Bishop.

7. King *James*, by an order under his Privy Signet, took on him to appoint Chancellors to exercise jurisdiction over Protestants. Thus he appointed one *Gordon*, who called himself Bishop of *Galloway* in *Scotland*, to be Chancellor in the Dioceſs of *Dublin*; this *Gordon* was a very ignorant lewd Man, and a profest Papist; yet he took on him by Vertue of King *James*'s Mandate, to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over the Protestants of the Dioceſs, to grant Licenses for Marriages, Administrations of Wills, and to Cite and Excommunicate whom he pleas'd. But the Clergy refus'd to submit to him, or to denounce his Excommunications; which obliged him to let that part of his Jurisdiction fall; but as to the other part that concern'd Wills, he made his advantage of it, he cited the Widow or Relation of any deceased Person; and if they refused to appear, he granted Administrations to some of his own Creatures, and they came by force and took away the Goods of the Defunct. It is incredible what wicked brutish things, he, with a parcel of ill Men he got to act with him, did on this pretence; and how he oppres'd and squeez'd the Widows and Orphans, the poor People not being strong enough to oppose him and the Crew he employed;

for

for force was all the Right he cou'd pretend; it being notorious that in the vacancy of the Archbiſhoprick, or in his Abſence, when he cannot have intercourſe with his Dioceſs, the Juriſdiction devolveth to the Dean and Chapter, as Guardians of the Spiritualities; and they, notwithſtanding the difficulty of the times, and danger they were in, choſe the Right Reverend the Biſhop of *Meath* to adminiſter the Juriſdiction; which he did with all the meekneſs, modeſty, and diligence that is peculiar to him; though he could not hinder the forementioned *Gordons* Encroachments, as to Adminiſtrations of Wills and Teſtaments. In ſhort, King *James*, by Vertue of his Supremacy, claim'd a deſpotick Power over the Church, and pretended that he might do what he pleas'd as to matter of Juriſdiction; tho' his Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy no more entitled him to encroach on the Liberties and Priviledges of the Church, than his Civil entitled him to diſpoſe of the Civil Rights of the Subjects of his Kingdoms. He had indeed taken away the Oath of Supremacy by an Act of his pretended Parliament; but yet he would not diſown the Power veſted in him by it; tho' the Papiſts would have had him renounce it expreſly; but he anſwered, that he did not claim any Eccleſiaſtical Authority over his *Roman* Catholick Subjects, nor pretended to be Supream in their Church in his Dominions, but only over the Proteſtants; the Myſtery of which was plainly this; he foreſaw that the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, which is ſettled by the Laws, and truſted in the Crown, as he could abuſe it, might be a means to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, and to hinder the exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and therefore was reſolved not to part with it; not conſidering that ſuch a manifeſt and deſigned abuſe of a Truſt, in direct oppoſition to, and deſtruction of the end for which it was granted to him, was a provoking Temptation to his People, on the firſt opportunity that offered, to think of transferring it to ſome other Perſon, that would adminiſter it with more faithfulneſs, according to the deſign for which it was granted.

8. I might add as a Fifth means of deſtroying the Proteſtant Religion, and ſlackening Diſcipline; the univerſal Corruption of Manners that was encouraged at Court; I do not charge King *James* with this in his own Perſon, nor will I inſinuate that he deſign'd it though he took no care to redreſs it; but it lookt like a deſign in ſome; and whether deſign'd or no, it ſerv'd the Ends of Popery more than eaſily can be imagined, and opened a wide Door for it; That Kingdom that is very corrupt in Morals and debaucht, is in a very fair way to embrace that Perſwaſion; and generally their Proſelites were ſuch as had renounced Chriſtianity in their Practice, before they renounced the

Principles thereof as taught in the Reformed Churches; and many *Roman* Catholicks declar'd, that they would rather have had us profeſs no Religion at all than the Proteſtant. In ſhort, whether it was from the looſeneſs of the Principles of their Religion, or from a deſign to gain on Proteſtants, Impiety, Prophaneſs and Libertiniſm were highly encouraged and favoured; and it was obſervable, that very few came with King *James* into *Ireland*, that were remarkable for any ſtrictneſs or ſeverity of Life; but rather on the other hand, they were generally ſignal for their viciouſneſs and looſeneſs of their Morals: Sir *Thomas Hacket* confeſs'd, that in the whole year 1688. wherein he was Mayor of *Dublin*, there was not one Proteſtant brought before him for Theft, and hardly one for any other immorality; whereas he was crouded with Popiſh Criminals of all ſorts: The Perjuries in the Courts, the Robberies in the Country; the lewd Practices in the Stews; the Oaths, Blaſphemies, and Curſes in the Armies and Streets; the drinking of Confuſions and Damnations in the Taverns, were all of them generally the acts of Papiſts, or of thoſe who own'd themſelves ready to become ſuch, if that Party continued upermoſt. But more peculiarly they were remarkable for their Swearing and Blaſpheming and Prophanation of the Lord's Day; if they had any ſignal Ball or Entertainment to make, any Journey or weighty Buſineſs to begin, they commonly choſe that day for it, and lookt on it as a kind of conqueſt over a Proteſtant, and a ſtep to his Converſion, if they could engage him to prophane it with them. This univerſal viciouſneſs made Diſcipline impoſſible; and whatever Proteſtants were infected with it, were intirely loſt to the Church and their Religion; for the ſtreſs of Salvation, according to the Principles of the Reformed Religion, depends on Vertue and Holineſs of Life, without which neither ſorrow for Sin nor Devotion will do a Man any Service; whereas he that hears Maſs daily in the *Roman* Church, kneels often before a Crucifix, and believes firmly that the *Roman* Church is the Catholick, and that all out of her Communion are damned, makes not the leaſt doubt of Salvation, though he be guilty of habitual Swearing, Drunkenneſs, and many other Vices; and the obſervation of this Indulgence gain'd them moſt of thoſe Proſelites that went over to them, of the Lewd Women and Corrupted Gentry; and many amongſt themſelves had ſo great a ſenſe of this advantage, that it made them very favourable to debauchery, and openly profeſs, that they had a much better opinion of the lewdeſt Perſons that dyed in their own Communion, than of the ſtricteſt and moſt devout Proteſtant; and they would often laugh at our ſcrupling a Sin, and our conſtancy at Prayers, ſince, as they would aſſure us with many Oaths, we muſt only be

be damned the deeper for our diligence; and they could not endure to find us go about to punish Vice in our own Members, since, said they, it is to no purpose to trouble your selves about Vice or Vertue, that are out of the Church, and will all be damned.

SECT. XVIII.

4. *King* James *and his Party, in order to destroy the Protestant Religion, took away the Protestants Churches, and hindred their Religious Assemblies.*

1. TOwards the beginning of these Troubles the Papists boasted much of their kindness to the Protestant Clergy, in leaving them their Churches. They thought us very unreasonable, to complain of our being robb'd or plunder'd, or of the loss of our Estates, whilst our Churches were left us; and they would not own that they had done any injury to our Ministers, whilst they had not turn'd them out of those. This was urged upon all Occasions, as an unanswerable Argument that King *James* intended in earnest to preserve inviolably that Liberty of Conscience he had promis'd; but this was, as all their other Promises, a meer pretence; the Priests told us from the beginning, that they would have our Churches, and that they would have Mass in *Christ*-Church, the chief Cathedral in *Dublin*, in a very little time; we knew well enough that this was intended, whatever King *James* and his Ministers averr'd to the contrary; for the same Act of Parliament that they had past to make their Priests and Bishops capable of Preferments and Benefices, did also give them a Legal Title to the Churches belonging to those Preferments; as they who drew the Act very well knew: In the mean time their Affairs were not in such a forward Posture, as to encourage them to seize on those Churches to which they could pretend no right, thô some had been seized before the Act passed.

2. But immediately upon the Passing of the Act, Duke *Schonberg*'s landing alarm'd them: and they were in so great fear of him, that they rather thought of running into *Munster*, or leaving the Kingdom, than of possessing Churches. And therefore they contented themselves with their former Methods for some time, which was to let the Rabble break into them and deface them, with barbarous and contumelious Circumstances, breaking the Windows, pulling up the Seats, and throwing down the Pulpit, Communion-Table, and Rails, and stealing what was portable out of them: an instance of this sort, and a remarkable Accident

cident upon it, of undoubted credit, I have put in the Ap-
Appendix. pendix. In some Churches in the Diocess of *Dublin*, they
N. 27. hung up a black Sheep in the Pulpit, and put some part of the Bible before it. In some Places the *Creaghts*, a sort of wild *Irish*, that chose to fly out of the *North* at Duke *Schonberg*'s landing, rather than stay to give an account of the Robberies and Insolencies that they had committed there, turn'd the Protestant Churches into lodging Places; defacing and burning whatever was combustible in them.

3. And in *Dublin* the Government ordered the Churches several times to be seiz'd: First the Earl of *Tyrconnel* fill'd them with Soldiers, *February* 24. 1688. in order to receive the Arms of Protestants; and they were kept, some for a longer, some for a shorter time upon this pretence: Then they ordered them to be seiz'd anew, *September* 6. 1689. pretending that the Protestants had hid their Arms in them; and I doubt not but that they had Affidavits, as they pretended, to this purpose, sufficient to induce them to search, but not to justifie their committing such rudeness and barbarity as they did in them; for the Soldiers not only broke open the Monuments and Graves, but likewise the Coffins of the dead, and tumbled out the dead Bodies, and so left them expos'd, till they were pleased to let the Protestants come into the Churches again to bury them; though after all they found no Arms, nor indeed were there any hid. Thus far they proceeded whilst their fear was upon them; resolving, since they could not hope to enjoy them themselves, that they would make them as useless as they could to Protestants: But when they found that Duke *Schonberg* stopt at *Dundalk*, and they understood the State of his Army, the Priests took Courage, and in the Months of *October* and *November*, they seized on most of the Churches in the Kingdom.

4. The manner of their doing it was thus: The Mayor, or Governor in the Towns, with the Priests, went to the Churches, sent for the Keys to the Sextons, and if they were found, forced them from them; if not, they broke open the Doors, pulled up the Seats and Reading Desk, and having said Mass in them lookt upon them as their own, and said the King himself had then nothing to do with them, being consecrated Places; and to alienate them, or give them back to Hereticks, was Sacriledge. In the Country, the Militia Captains, or Officers of the Army that chanced to be quartered in the several Places, performed the same part that the Mayors or Governors did in Corporations; thus *Christ*'s-Church in *Dublin* was seized by *Luttrell* the Governor, and about Twenty six Churches and Chappels in the Diocess of *Dublin*.

5. Of

5. Of this, Protestants complained to King *James* as a great violation of his own Act for Liberty of Conscience, in which it is expresly provided, that they shonld have Liberty *to meet in such Churches, Chappels, and other Places as they shall have for that Purpose*: They further represented to him, That all the Churches of *Ireland* were in a manner ruined in the late War in 1641. That it was with great difficulty and cost that the Protestants had new built or repaired them; That many were built by private Persons on their own Costs; and that the *Roman Catholicks* had no Pretence or Title to them: But his Majesty answered, That they were seiz'd in his absence at the Camp, without his knowledge or consent; That nevertheless he was so much obliged to his *Roman Catholick* Clergy, that he must not dispossess them; That they alledged a Title to theChurches that they had seiz'd; and if the Protestants thought their Title was better, they must bring their Action and endeavour to recover their Possession by Law.

6. This Answer was what the Attorney-General had suggested to him; and the Reader will perceive that the whole was a piece of deceit; that the pretence of the Churches being seiz'd whilst his Majesty was absent, was a meer collusion, and that there could not be a more false Suggestion, than that the Papists had any Right to the Churches, or a more unjust thing, than to put the Protestants on recovering a Possession, by a Suit at Law, which was gotten from them by so open violence; but this was the Justice we lookt for, and constantly met with from him; and therefore there being no Remedy to be expected, we were forced to acquiesce.

7. Only to colour the matter a little, and lest this should make too great a noise in *England* and *Scotland*, where King *James* at this time had very encouraging hopes, he issued out a Proclamation, *December* 13. 1689. in which he acknowledges, that the seizing of Churches was a violation of the Act for Liberty of Conscience, yet doth not order any restitution, only forbids them to seize any more. They had in many places notice of this Proclamation before it came out, and therefore were more diligent to get into the remaining Churches; for they look't on the Proclamation as a confirmation of their Possessions which they had before the publishing of it; and in some places the Popish Officers kept it from being published till they had done their Work; the Protestants not being allowed to go out of their Parishes, could not come by it, till it pleas'd their Popish Neighbours to produce it; and so it prov'd like other Proclamations of his Majesty in favour of his Protestant Subjects, it was not published till the inconveniency it pretended to prevent was brought upon them, and the mischief actually executed; and it made

their

their Enemies more haſty and diligent to do it, than otherwiſe they would have been, leſt they ſhould ſlip the time, and loſe the opportunity.

8. But after all, ſome were too late, and the Proteſtants got ſight of the Proclamation before their Churches were ſeiz'd; but here the Prieſts put off their Vizors, and acted bare-faced; they told the People, the King had nothing to do with them or their Churches; that they were immediately under the Pope, and that they would neither regard him nor his Proclamations or Laws made to the damage of Holy Church.

9. The Proteſtants had a mind to make an Experiment how far this would go, and whether the Prieſts or King would get the better; in order therefore to make the Tryal, they choſe out ſome Inſtances, in which the violence and injuſtice of turning them out of their Churches were moſt undenyable, and laid their Caſe before His Majeſty and his Council by their Petitions; and that the Petitions might not be laid aſide or loſt, as was the common Cuſtom to deal with Petitions and Affidavits, to which they were aſhamed to return a flat denial, they engaged ſome of the Privy Council to eſpouſe their Cauſe; and had the luck to gain ſeveral of the Popiſh Nobility to favour their Suits, eſpecially of ſuch as had Eſtates in *England*, and knew King *James*'s true Intereſt and their own.

10. The Petitions of *Waterford* and *Wexford* were the moſt favourably received in ſpite of all the oppoſition that the Attorney-General *Nagle*, or the Solicitor-General, one *Butler*, who concern'd himſelf with ſingular impudence againſt the Petitions, could make, they obtained an Order for reſtitution of theſe two Churches; the *Wexford* Petition ſets forth the Loyalty of the Miniſter, the Peaceableneſs of the People; their having contributed to the building of ſeveral Popiſh Chappels within and without the Walls of that Town, and that the *Roman Catholicks* had no occaſion for the Church; the reaſonableneſs of this Petition was ſo manifeſt, that King *James* and his Council made an Order for the reſtitution of the Church: But he now found how precariouſly he reign'd in *Ireland* (notwithſtanding their mighty profeſſions of Loyalty and abſolute Subjection on all occaſions, and more particularly in their Act of Recognition) for the Mayors and Officers refuſed to obey his Order.

See the Petizion in the Appendix *N.* 26.

11. Upon which he was importuned by the Proteſtants with new Complaints; but being aſhamed to own his want of power to make good his former Order, he referr'd the *Waterford* Petition to the then Governor of that place, the Earl of *Tyrone*, who reported that the Church of *Waterford* was a Place of ſtrength, and conſequently not fit

to

to be truſted into the Hands of Proteſtants; and ſo all they obtain'd by their Petition, Attendance and Charges, was to have their Church turn'd into a Garriſon, inſtead of a Maſs-houſe: This pretence could not be made for the Church of *Wexford*, it having no appearance of ſtrength; and therefore the Order for reſtoring it was renewed, and the diſobedient Mayor ſent for and turn'd out, for which the Popiſh Clergy made him ample ſatisfaction: But notwithſtanding that King *James* appear'd moſt zealous to have the Church reſtored, and expreſs'd himſelf with more paſſion than was uſual, that he would be obeyed; and though the Proteſtants concerned ſollicited it with the utmoſt eagerneſs and diligence, even to the hazard of their Lives, yet they could never procure the King and Councils Order, for the reſtitution of their Church, to be executed or obeyed; and ſo they continued out of it till His preſent Majeſties ſucceſs reſtor'd them and their fellow Proteſtants to their Churches, as well as to their other juſt Rights.

12. Now here we had a full demonſtration, what the Liberty of Conſcience would come to, with which King *James* thought to have amuſed Proteſtants, and of which he boaſted ſo unmeaſurably, if once Popery had gotten the upper hand. He and his Parliament might have made Acts for it, if they pleas'd, but we ſee here, that the Clergy would have told them, that they medled with what did not concern them, and that they had no power to make Acts about Religious Matters, or diſpoſe of the Rights of Holy Church; and we ſee from this Experiment who would have been obeyed. We found here upon tryal, that when King *James* would have kept his word to us, it was not in his power to do it; and that his frequently repeated Promiſes, and his Act of Parliament for Liberty of Conſcience, could not prevent the demoliſhing, defacing, or ſeizing Nine Churches in Ten through the Kingdom; and diſcovered to us, That the Act for Liberty of Conſcience was only deſign'd to deſtroy the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and not that Proteſtants ſhould have the Benefit of it.

13. Having taken away our Churches and publick Places of meeting, the next thing was to hinder our Religious Aſſemblies. It is obſervable, that the Act of their pretended Parliament for Liberty of Conſcience promiſes *full and free exerciſe of their reſpective Religions, to all that profeſs Chriſtianity within the Kingdom, without any moleſtation, loſs, or penalty whatſoever*; but aſſigns no puniſhment to ſuch as ſhall diſturb any in their Religious Exerciſes; and there was good reaſon for that omiſſion; for by this means they had left their Officers and Soldiers at liberty to diſturb the Religions Aſſemblies of Proteſtants, without fear of being call'd to any account.

14. By the Act, an open, free, and uninterrupted access was to be left into every Assembly; and they commonly had their Emissaries in every Church, to see if they could find any thing to object against the Preacher: But the Ministers did not fear any thing could be objected even by Malice on this account; and therefore when they found they were not like to make much of this, they let it fall; and the Officers and Soldiers came into the Churches in time of Divine Service, or in time of Sermons and made a noise; sometimes threatning the Ministers, sometimes cursing, sometimes swearing, and sometimes affronting or assaulting Women, and picking occasions of Quarrels with the Men, and committing many Disorders; it vex'd and grieved them to see the Churches full, contrary to their expectation; that neither their Liberty of Conscience, nor multiplying their Mass-Houses, nor their driving away several thousands of Protestants into *England*, had in the least emptied them; that their Liberty of Conscience, instead of dividing, had rather united Protestants; and that the zeal and frequency of Devotion, amongst those that remained, supplyed the absence of those that were gone, and crowded the Churches rather more than formerly; it grieved them much to see those things; and they on all Occasions vented their spleen against the Assemblies of Protestants.

15. In the Country, where Churches were taken from the Protestants, they met in private Houses; and where their Ministers were gone, and their maintenance seiz'd; others undertook the Cures either gratis, or were maintain'd by the voluntary Contributions of the People: So that there appear'd no probability, that Protestantism would be destroy'd without violence. The Papists saw this, and therefore watched an opportunity to begin it. On the Sixth of *Septemb.* 1689, upon pretence of a Case of Pistols and a Sword found in some out-part of *Christ-Church* in *Dublin*, they lockt it up for a Fortnight, and suffered no Service to be in it. On the Twenty seventh of *October* they took it to themselves, and hindred Protestants to officiate any more in it. On the Thirteenth of *September*, on pretence of some Ships seen in the Bay of *Dublin*, they forbad all Protestants to go to Church, or assemble in any Place for Divine Service. *July* 13. 1689. there issued out a Proclamation, forbidding Protestants to go out of their Parishes; one design of this was to hinder their Assemblies at Religious Duties; for in *Ireland* generally Two or Three Parishes have but one Church, and consequently by this, one half were confined from the Service of God through the Kingdom:

June 1690. Colonel *Luttrell*, Governor of *Dublin*, issued his Order, forbidding more than Five Protestants to meet together on pain of Death: He was askt whether this

See Appendix, *N.* 31.

was deſigned to hinder meeting at Churches, it was anſwered, that it was deſign'd to hinder their meeting there as well as in other Places; and in execution of this, all the Churches were ſhut up, and all Religious Aſſemblies through the Kingdom forbidden under pain of Death; and we were aſſured, that if King *James* had return'd Victorious from the *Boyn*, it was reſolved that they ſhould never have been opened any more for us; and the ſame excuſe would have ſerved for his permitting this that ſerv'd him the former Year, for not reſtoring the Churches taken away in his abſence at the former Camp, even that he muſt not diſoblige his *Roman Catholick* Clergy. Thus God gave them opportunity to ſhew what they intended againſt our Religion, even to take away all our Churches, and hinder all our Religious Aſſembies; and when they had brought their Liberty of Conſcience to this, and we had been obliged upon pain of Death to forbear all publick Worſhip for a Fortnight, then he ſent us deliverance, by means of his preſent Majeſty's Victory at the *Boyn*, which reſtor'd us the Liberty of worſhipping God together, as well as the uſe of our Churches.

SECT. XIX.

5. *The Violences uſed by King* James's *Party to make Converts, and to diſcourage the Proteſtant Miniſters.*

1. BUT all theſe methods of ruining the Proteſtant Religion ſeem'd tedious to the Prieſts; and therefore they could not be prevail'd with to abſtain from violence; wherever they had a fair opportunity to uſe it they applyed it with all diligence. Several Proteſtant Women were married to Papiſts; many of theſe uſed unmerciful Severities to their Wives, and endeavoured by hardſhips and unkindneſs to weary the poor Women out of their Religion; ſome ſtript them of their Cloathes, kept them ſome Days without Meat or Drink, beat them grievouſly, and at laſt, when they could not prevail, turn'd them out of their Houſes, and refus'd to let them live with them: Some ſold off all that they had, turn'd it into Money, and left their Wives and Children to beg, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they would not forſake their Religion; And this carriage was encouraged by the Prieſts, which came to be diſcovered on this occaſion: Some Women that were thus uſed, were adviſ'd by their Friends to make their Application to their Huſband's Confeſſors, and they imagined the Confeſſors would lay their commands on the Men to be more civil, and to do the Duty of Huſbands to their Wives. But the Prieſts told the Women that it was

their own faults that their Husbands uſed them ill, that they deſerved it, and muſt expect no better whilſt they continued diſobedient to them, and refuſed to comply in the matter of Religion; and when the poor Women replied that in Conſcience they could not change their Religion, being perſwaded of the truth of it, the Prieſts railed at them and abuſed them almoſt as much as their own Husbands. Servants were uſed the ſame way by their Popiſh Maſters, and Tenants by their Landlords; every Office of Profit, or Truſt was made a Temptation; and a Man, whatever his circumſtances were, muſt either part with it or his Religion. We were told that the King would have all that did eat his Bread, of his own Religion; the meaning of which was, that he expected that all who were employ'd by him ſhould turn Papiſts.

2. I reckon all the Robberies and Plunderings committed on the Country Gentlemen to be on the ſame account; a Man might have ſaved his Horſes, his Cows, his Sheep, and Houſhold Goods, if he would have changed his Religion; if not, he muſt expect to be ruined by Thieves and Robbers, ſet on by the Prieſts, and encouraged by his Popiſh Neighbours; which was no way to be prevented, but by going to Maſs: ſome few were ſo weak as to do it, and eſcaped; thô the Generality rather choſe to beg, than to ſave their Fortunes by ſo baſe a Complyance.

3. When it fared thus with the Laity, we may imagine the Clergy were in ill Circumſtances: whoever eſcap'd, they were ſure to be Robbed and Plundered; they were often affronted and aſſaulted. The very Proteſtant Biſhops could not eſcape Violence: The Biſhop of *Laughlin*'s Houſe was broke open and Plundered before he left the Kingdom: The Biſhop of *Waterford*'s Houſe was rifled, and the Biſhop an Old Man about Fourſcore years of Age, deſperately wounded in his Bed. Several of the Inferior Clergy were beaten and abuſed, way-laid as they travelled the High-way, ſhot at and wounded, and with difficulty eſcaped with their Lives; ſome were ſo beaten that they died upon it; ſome had their Houſes ſet on Fire; and in general the Proteſtant Pariſhioners were ſo apprehenſive of the Danger in which many of their Miniſters were, that they beſought them to withdraw themſelves out of it; they had threatning Meſſages often ſent to them; the Robbers of the Country would ſend them word, that at ſuch a Time or at ſuch a Night, they would be with them, and ſometime they would be very punctual to their aſſignation, and ſtrip the Poor Men and their Families of their very Cloaths.

4. Thoſe that ſtaid amongſt their Pariſhioners in the Country, were forced to walk from Houſe to Houſe to perform their Offices; their

Horſes

Horſes being all taken from them: At laſt they were generally put into Priſon with the other Gentlemen of the Country, and ſome kept in for Twelve or Thirteen Months, not being releaſed till the General deliverance; ſome were tried for their Lives, and ſome condemned to Death, even in the City of *Dublin*, under the Eye of the Government; hardly one eſcaped affronts and abuſes, or could walk the Streets with quiet; the Soldiers, eſpecially the *French*, rail'd at them, calling them, *Diables de ſminiſtres Heretiques*, *un Proteſtant*, *un Diable*, with many other contumelious expreſſions.

5. It were infinite to reckon up all the Violences they ſuffer'd; Doctor *King*, Doctor *Foy*, Mr. *Bunbury*, Mr. *King*, Mr. *Delany*, Mr. *Fitz Simons*, Mr. *Read*, Mr. *Carolane*, Mr. *Roſſelle*, Mr. *Tucker*, Mr. *Buckhurſt*, and many others were Impriſoned: Dr. *Foy*, and Mr. *More* were aſſaulted by Soldiers whilſt performing their Office at a Burial in the Church-yard; the ſame Dr. *Foy* was hindred from Preaching ſeveral Sundays, by the Menaces of ſome of King *James*'s Guard; who ſurrounded the Church with their Fuſees, and ſwore they would ſhoot him if he went into the Pulpit; and this only becauſe he had taken notice the *Sunday* before, that one *Hall* in a Sermon preached before King *James* in *Chriſt-Church*, and Printed afterwards, had corrupted his Text, *Acts* 17. 30. by rendring it inſtead of Repent, *Repent and do Pennance*. Dr. *King* was aſſaulted in the Street, and a Muſquet with a light Match levelled at him; the publick Service in his Church was diſturbed ſeveral times, particularly on *Candlemas* Day 1689, by ſeven Officers, who ſwore aloud they would cut his Throat; Dean *Glendy* was knockt down, and wounded in the Street; Mr. *Delany* aſſaulted and puſht at with a naked Sword ſeveral times, and carried, after they had ſufficiently abus'd him, to Jail; Mr. *Knight* was abuſed in his Church yard by , commonly known by the Name of the Mayor of *Scarborough*, who threatned to beat him; Mr. *Sergeant* was cudgelled through the Streets and carryed to Priſon: Mr. *Price* had a Muſquet twice ſnapt at him, and with great Difficulty got to his Houſe: Mr. *Burridge* was aſſaulted by Three or Four on the High-way, and wounded in Four places: Theſe were but a few of their Sufferings; they went every Moment in hazard of their Lives; and had it not been that King *James* flattered himſelf, that a ſtrong Party of the Clergy in *England* eſpouſed his Intereſt, it had been impoſſible for the Clergy of *Ireland* to have ſubſiſted.

6. Nevertheleſs great hardſhips were daily put upon them, and new Arts invented to defame and vex them: in ſome places a new invented Oath was offered to them, for which there was no pretence or Law:

They

They answered that they had taken the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance at their Institution, and that they were not oblig'd to take any other Oath; but that excuse would not serve, and on their refusal they were sent to Jail; the Priests were very busie about sick Protestants; they with great impudence thrust into their Rooms, and if they were past speaking, they gave out that they were Converts: If the infirm Person had any Popish Relations, they besieged the House, and hindred the Protestant Clergy from coming to their Parishioners; the Priests pretended that they had King *James*'s Command to visit the sick, and attempt their Conversion, and therefore would not be hindred nor be perswaded to withdraw, thô frequently desired by the sick Men: The Protestant Clergy were often affronted and threatned on this account, and the ill will they procured on particular occasions of this nature, was the ground of some of their Confinement afterwards; for the Priest that lost his Prey (as they reckon'd every sick Man) by the vigorous opposition and diligence of a Minister, was sure to contrive a Revenge one way or other: As Dr. *Foy* found for his having received one *Smith* (who had for some Years lived a Papist) again into our Communion at his Death; and that with such remarkable circumstances of Repentance and Sorrow, that King *James* heard of it, and blam'd his Physician Dr. *Constable* for his neglect in not giving Notice to the Priest.

7. They endeavoured to bring the Ministers of *Dublin* under all the Contempt they could; and at last put on them the Drudgery that belonged to the Office of Constables and Deputy Aldermen; it belonged to those Officers on all Occasions to return the Names of the several Inhabitants and Inmates of their Wards: The Government desired to know the Names of Protestants in each Parish and their Numbers, and they took them several times; but Colonel *Luttrell* the Governour of *Dublin*, would not be satisfied till the Ministers went about in Person and returned every Man his respective Parishioners Names: It was in vain for them to plead the unreasonableness of this Imposition; they alledged the pains, the charges, and the meanness of the thing, which was done more effectually already than could be done by them by the proper Officers; but all in vain, they must comply or go to Jail. This Return made by the Ministers was of no real use to the Government, for they had an exact Account given about a Fortnight before by their own Officers, and took another about a week after; the Design therefore was either to lay a Snare for the Ministers, or else to render them contemptible to their People; but instead of doing that, it only incensed the People against their unreasonable Governours, who thus affronted their Clergy.

See Appendix, N. 30.

SECT.

SECT. XX.

6. *King* James *and his Party endeavoured to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, by miſrepreſenting the Perſons and Principles of Proteſtants.*

1. THe violence uſed to out us of our Churches, and to diſcourage our Clergy, had no great ſucceſs in making Converts; but there was another way ſet on foot, which did ſeduce ſome; and it was by making a Monſter of the Proteſtant Religion and Proteſtants; inſomuch that Young People who liv'd remote from Converſation, and had not opportunity to inform themſelves of the Truth, conceiv'd ſtrange Ideas of both, by the inſinuation of the Prieſts.

2. It was one of the firſt ſteps of the Reformation to renounce the uſurped power of the Pope, and to reſtore to the Crown the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, which originally belongs to the Civil Magiſtrate; that is, the power of puniſhing Offenders with the Temporal Sword, whatever their Crime be, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil: Now the Prieſts repreſented this Doctrine after a ſtrange manner; they perſwaded thoſe that would lend them their attention, that the Proteſtants believed all Spiritual power to be in the King; that he could Conſecrate whom he pleas'd Biſhops; ſet up what Religion he had a mind to, and oblige all his Subjects to be of his Faith; and they railed moſt grievouſly at the Proteſtants for not turning Papiſts, in complyance to their King; calling them Traitors and perjur'd Perſons from their own Principles.

3. 'Twas another Principle amongſt Proteſtants, that private Men ſhould not take up the Sword, or reſiſt the King upon any pretence, ſuch reſiſtance being againſt Law; by which no more was underſtood, than that Subjects ſhould, according to the Laws and Goſpel, behave themſelves peaceably and ſubmiſſively towards their Superiors, and not upon any pretence of private injury or wrong done to them in particular, enter into Conſpiracies and Combinations againſt their Governors; but by it was never intended to give up the Conſtitution of the Government, or to part with the Liberties and Privileges of the Kingdom; yet the Prieſts would needs perſwade the World that by this Principle, the Proteſtants were obliged to part with all at the King's command; that he might uſe them if he pleaſed, as the Grand Signior or the French King uſe their Subjects, and their Lives, their Liberties and Eſtates, were all at his Mercy, and they *Devils, and Traitors, and perjur'd Villains*

(I use their words) if they demur'd at his Command: There was hardly any Principle peculiar to the reform'd Religion, but they thus misrepresented it.

4. Nor did the Persons of Protestants escape better than their Principles. They loaded them with the most odious Calumnies and Misrepresentations; they alledged that the Protestants had no Religion at all; that they only pretended to it, but were Atheists and Traitors in their Hearts: They were more especially malicious against the Clergy; King *James* himself contributing to it, as appear'd on this occasion; two young Gentlemen, Brothers to the Earl of *Salisbury*, followed King *James* out of *France*; they profest themselves Protestants and associated with such; the Bishops of *Meath* and *Limerick* had an Eye on the Gentlemen, and endeavoured to secure them against any attempts which might be made to pervert them; but King *James* called the young Men to him, forbad them the company of Protestants; nay even of one Mr. *Cham*, a Gentleman that came over with them; but above all he forbad them conversing with the Bishops and Clergy-men; for said he, they are all false to me, and will pervert you to disloyalty and Treason; this was the common saying of them all, even of the Chancellor on the Bench; and thô they would on occasion magnifie the loyalty of some of the Protestant Clergy in *England* and *Scotland*, yet at other times they would profess that they believed them all treacherous, and would never trust any of them.

5. In order to abuse the Protestants, and especially the Clergy, they set up one *Talden* a Convert, Councellor at Law, to write a weekly Paper, which he called an *Abhorrence*, in which he endeavoured to rake together all the little Stories that might reflect on Protestants, and all the arguments his Wit could furnish him with for his Cause; he made it his business to invent false stories and lies concerning the Clergy, and began with Dr. *King* and Dr. *Foy*. He had published a Collection of passages out of the Bishop of *Ely*'s Sermon, and some Sixteen others for Passive Obedience; whether this was his own Work, or only, as I have been inform'd, a piece compos'd by some others which he assumed to himself, I cannot say, but it met with very slender reception in *Ireland*, and lay on the Booksellers hand. To vent it therefore, as some thought, or rather to abuse the Clergy, he published an Advertisement in his *Abhorrence*, declaring that Dr. *King* and Dr. *Foy* had approv'd this Book, by their Certificate under their hand; by this he thought to intrap them: For either they (as he imagined) must have let this pass; and then the Protestants must think them, if not ill, at least very imprudent Men; or else they must

See Appendix, *N.* 29.

muſt diſown it; and then he knew how to improve their refuting his calumny ſo as to render them odious to the Government: And the Papiſts did a little pleaſe themſelves with the contrivance: But Dr. *Foy* and Dr. *King* found means without concerning themſelves much in the matter, to let all *Dublin* know that they never read Mr. *Yalden*'s Collection; that no body ever askt their opinion of it, much leſs had they given any Certificate concerning it, and that they could give no Cenſure of it, having neither read it, or the Sermons out of which it is pretended to be taken. This diſcovery would have daſht any other out of Countenance; but Mr. *Yalden* went on his way, and became every Day more and more abuſive till he and his *Abhorrence* were routed together. His Work was to magnifie the Party that adhered to King *James* in *England*, to repreſent their preſent Majeſty's Intereſt as ſinking, to blacken and abuſe all Proteſtants, and to vent his Spite in a more peculiar manner againſt the Clergy, whom he endeavoured to ridicule and make odious to the Government, and if poſſible, to ſow Diſſention between them and their People. We have reaſon to thank God that he had no ſucceſs: but yet the Countenance he and his Papers met with from the Government, his *Abhorrences* being Licenſed either by Sir *Richard Nagle* or *Albeville*, Secretaries of State, plainly diſcover what inclinations they had towards the Proteſtant Religion and Clergy.

6. And now upon the whole I ſuppoſe it is manifeſt, by what has been ſaid in this and the former Section, that King *James* not only deſigned to deſtroy us, but alſo made a conſiderable progreſs in it, and 'twould have been inexcuſable ingratitude to God and to their preſent Majeſties if we ſhould have refuſed to cloſe heartily with a Government that reſcued us from ſo great miſery and apparent danger; nor can any reaſonable Man blame thoſe among us that deſired or aſſiſted in this deliverance, and to their utmoſt power laboured to procure it.

7. If a Chriſtian Army ſhould go at this time into *Greece* to redeem the Chriſtians there from the Slavery of the Turks, I would enquire of any indifferent Caſuiſt, whether it were lawful for the Oppreſſed *Grecians* to accept of that deliverance, and to joyn heartily with and recognize their Redeemers; and I am well aſſured there is not one argument could be produced to juſtifie ſuch a defection in them, but it may be urged with greater force in our Vindication. The uſage we have met with being full as inhumane as any thing they ſuffer, and with this aggravation, that every Act of Violence exerciſed againſt us, is likewiſe againſt the Laws, and againſt the Nature and Conſtitution of our Government; whereas their Laws veſt their Emperor with an abſolute

power, and they have no other Title to any thing but his Will; every Act therefore of Oppreſſion from our King, was ſo much more intolerable and provoking to us, than the like from the Grand Signior is to his Subjects, as an illegal Violence is more inſupportable than a legal.

CHAP. IV.

That there remained no other Proſpect, or humane Poſſibility, of avoiding this Slavery and Deſtruction deſigned againſt the Kingdom and Proteſtants of Ireland, *but by accepting of the Protection, and ſubimitting to the Government of their preſent Majeſties.*

1. BY the foregoing part of this Diſcourſe it appears, that we had nothing left us to oppoſe to the Invaſions made on our Liberties, Properties, Lives and and Religion; That neither the Laws, nor King's Protections and Articles, or Declarations in our favour; That neither particular Services and Merits towards the Royal Intereſt, nor King *James*'s natural Compaſſion and merciful Diſpoſition; nor laſtly, his own Intereſt in protecting and preſerving us, could ſecure us; but that notwithſtanding all theſe, we were brought to the very brink of Deſtruction. There remain'd therefore no other proſpect or poſſibility for us to avoid this Deſtruction, but his preſent Majeſties interpoſing on our behalf, as he had done for *England*: A Providence of which we ſo little dreamt, and which was ſo ſtrange, ſo unexpected, and ſo effectual, that we cannot but believe ſomething extraordinary in it; and that he was rais'd up by God to be a Deliverer to us and the Proteſtant Cauſe.

2. An unreaſonable requeſt it had been now to the Proteſtants of this Nation, in this condition to which they were brought, to have deſir'd them to have ſat ſtill, and not made uſe of that opportunity which God Put into their Hands, to reſcue themſelves and their Country from Slavery and Ruin. And yet this is it our Adverſaries would have had us declin'd, been contented with what they had brought upon us, and expected ſome new Miracle in our Deliverance.

3. For when the Proteſtants here complain'd of the Preſſures under which they lay, their Popiſh Acquaintance uſed to tell them, that they ought to be patient; that Chriſt had endur'd more whilſt on Earth, and that

that they ought not to trouble themſelves about their Sufferings or Deliverance, but leave all to Providence, and ſee what God would do for them; and took it very ill, that they, or thoſe whom they had driven from hence, ſhould endeavour to do any thing for themſelves. It is true, Sermons of Patience and Submiſſion to the Will of God, were very proper and neceſſary in our Circumſtances; but then they were moſt improper in the Mouths of our Enemies, who brought and continu'd thoſe Injuries and Sufferings on us, contrary to Law and Juſtice, under which they endeavoured to perſwade us to be patient, and from which they would not allow us to ſeek relief; and whilſt they continu'd their Oppreſſions, their adviſing us to depend ſolely on a new Providence for our Deliverance, was the ſame reproach and ſcoff that the Apoſtate *Julian* put on the Primitive Chriſtians, whoſe Petitions for Juſtice he put off, by telling them, *Their Maſter advis'd them to be patient, and pronounc'd them bleſſed when perſecuted.* And yet we did exactly follow this advice, though given in railery, and did not make the leaſt ſtep to right our ſelves by force, till God's Providence appear'd ſignally for theſe Kingdoms, in raiſing them up a Deliverer, and putting the Crown on their Majeſty's Heads.

4. And now what Reaſon have we thankfully to embrace, and to bleſs God for the kind Offers of a Prince, who out of a publick Spirit, generouſly ventured himſelf and all that he had, to ſave the Proteſtant Religion, the Intereſt of Europe, and theſe Kingdoms in particular, from the united Deſigns of *France* and King *James*, to enſlave and ruin them. It is true God could have wrought a Miracle for us, when nothing elſe would have ſaved us, but we ſhould have had little reaſon to expect it, if we had rejected this contrivance of Providence that ſeem'd next to miraculous. I am ſure ſome things are recorded in Hiſtory as Miracles, which were not accompanied with ſuch extraordinary Circumſtances as our Delivery. We neither had nor have in our utmoſt view another chance, beſides this, to preſerve us from Slavery, Miſery and Ruine; and our Enemies would have had more reaſon to applaud their Wit than the World allows them, if they could have perſwaded us to reject this, and to truſt to a new Miracle. We had only in our proſpect this one thing, to ſave our Lives, to take us out of Jail, to reſtore our Laws, our Employments, the free exerciſe of our Religion, our Fortunes and Eſtates, when we were unjuſtly depriv'd of them, and 'twas a very modeſt expectation in them, and anſwerable to their other meaſures of Politicks, to think a People harraſs'd and ſtript, and plundered and condemned by them, to loſe their Lives and Eſtates, which was the Caſe of all thoſe who fled from hence to *England*, and in

great meaſure, of moſt of thoſe that ſtaid here, ſhould in the height of their ſmart and ſufferings, reject the kind offers of a Deliverer, to depend on a Miracle; yet they pretend, this is what we ought to have done, and becauſe we did it not, they rail at us in the moſt bitter Terms; they call us Rebels and Traitors, Villains and Atheiſts, and load us with all the approbrious Names their Malice and Revenge can ſuggeſt.

But we cannot blame them to be angry, the hungry Wolf, if he could ſpeak, would curſe and rail as heartily at the Shepherd, that reſcues the Lamb out of his Paws, as they do at us or our Deliverer; they had devour'd us in their Imaginations; they had got the Civil and Military Sword into their Hands, and engroſt all Places of Truſt and Profit: Theſe, with the Legiſlative Power in the hands of our ancient and moſt malicious Enemies, were more than enough to have deſtroy'd us; but juſt when they ſhould have divided the Spoil and concluded the fatal Tragedy, the Prince of *Orange*, his preſent Majeſty, interpoſeth, and reſcueth us; this diſappointment mads them beyond all bounds of patience, and caſts them into ſtrange fits of railing and curſing; Hell, Damnation, Confuſion to him and his Royal Conſort, were continually in the Mouths of their Men, Women, and Children; with theſe they uſed to entertain one another at their Tables and Debauches, and endeavoured to force them by way of Healths on Proteſtants. In ſhort, they ſpare no ill Name or Execration, that impotent Rage could vent, or invenom'd Rancour could ſuggeſt; but when all is done, in their quiet Intervals, their Conſciences cannot but acquit us, and many of them made no ſcruple to confeſs, That there was no medium, but that either we or they muſt be undone, and when that was the unavoidable choice, that they, according to their own confeſſion, had put on us, I aſſure my ſelf the World will not only excuſe us, but will think it was our Duty to have done what we did, ſince they had left us no other viſible way but this, to avoid certain and apparent Deſtruction.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

A ſhort Account of thoſe Proteſtants who left the Kingdom, and of thoſe that ſtaid and ſubmitted to King James.

SECT. I.

Concerning thoſe who went away.

1. THE former Diſcourſe, I ſuppoſe, is ſufficient to juſtifie the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, as to their ſubmiſſion to the Government of their preſent Majeſties; and to ſhew the Reaſons for their earneſt deſiring, and thankfully accepting of that Deliverance, which Providence offered us, by their means. It remains only to ſpeak a few words in particular of thoſe that left the Kingdom, and of thoſe that ſtaid and ſubmitted to King *James*, that they may underſtand the truth of each others Circumſtances, and not either of them unjuſtly cenſure the other.

2. As to thoſe that abſented themſelves out of the Kingdom, it is certain that they offended againſt no Law in doing ſo; it being lawful for any Subject to tranſport himſelf out of one part of the Dominions of *England* into another; it is true, that there is a Law or Cuſtom, that requires ſuch as hold Offices from the King, to take a Licence from the Chief Governor; but the Penalty of this is no more than the forfeiture of their Offices; and I find it diſputed among the Lawyers whether it reach ſo far: Now few of thoſe that went away, compar'd with the whole number of them, were Officers; thoſe that were, generally took Licences of abſence; and at worſt, it was at their own Peril, and it had been a great ſeverity to have taken the forfeiture; which was the ſence of the whole Parliament of *England* in making an Act to exempt ſuch from incurring any loſs.

3. But Secondly, they had great reaſon to go out of the Kingdom, becauſe they foreſaw that it would be the ſeat of War; they ſaw 40 or 50m Men put into Arms without any fund to maintain them; they knew theſe to be their bitter and ſworn Enemies; they ſaw the courſe of Juſtice ſtopt againſt them, and their Stocks and Cattle taken away before their faces; ſeveral Gentlemen of the Country loſt to the value of ſome 1000 *l.* before they ſtirr'd; and to what purpoſe ſhould they

ſtay

ſtay in a place where they certainly knew that all they had would be taken from them, and their Lives expos'd to the fury of their Enemies.

Thirdly, They had no reaſon to ſtay becauſe they could not expect to do any good by their ſtaying, or to ſave the Kingdom; the Papiſts had all the Forts and Magazines of the Kingdom in their Hands; they had all the Arms and publick Revenues; they were in number Four or Five to one Proteſtant; and they had the face of Authority on their ſide; and then what could a ſcatter'd Multitude without Arms, without Leaders, and without Authority, hope to do in their own defence; by going into *England* they reckon'd themſelves not only ſafe, but likewiſe in a way of ſerving their Country: 'Twas from thence they expected Arms, Ammunition, and Commiſſions, by the help of which they might put themſelves in ſome capacity of reſcuing their Eſtates and Friends they left behind, which they lookt on as much better Service than to ſtay and periſh with them.

4. Fourthly, The memory of the cruel uſage and difficult times thoſe met with who ſtaid in *Ireland* in 1641. did frighten and terrifie all that reflected on them; the number of thoſe that were then maſſacred and ſtarv'd was incredible, and thoſe that eſcap'd got away with ſuch circumſtances, that the memory of what they had ſuffered was as ill as Death: If any one will be but at the pains of reading over Sir *John Temples* account of the firſt half Year of the War, or rather Maſſacre, he will be ſatisfied that it was no unreaſonable fear made ſo many Proteſtants withdraw out of the reach of ſuch Barbarities; the ſame Men or their Sons that committed all thoſe bloody murders and inhumanities were again arm'd in a much more formidable manner than they ever had been before; and yet at that time they were able to maintain a War for Twelve Years, and live by ſpoil and robbery; and then what were the Children of thoſe, whoſe Parents had been murthered by them, to expect but the ſame fate, or at beſt a miſerable Life in a deſolate and ſpoil'd Country, in which no wiſe Man would chooſe to live if he could help it; indeed they could not expect to live long after all was taken from them, but muſt in a little time have unavoidably ſtarv'd: A Tradeſ-man might expect to live by his Induſtry, a Gentleman on his Credit in a peaceable Country, or in War, by liſting themſelves in any Army. But in *Ireland* where Men neither were ſuffered to uſe their Induſtry, nor betake themſelves to Arms, where they could neither enjoy the means of gaining a livelihood in Peace or War, to what purpoſe ſhould they ſtay, to live at the beſt, in Poverty, Contempt, and Slavery.

5. As.

5. As to the Clergy that left the Kingdom, it is to be conſidered that moſt of thoſe in the Country were robb'd and plunder'd, and nothing left them to ſupport themſelves and Families, before they went away: Many were deſerted by their People, their Pariſhioners leaving them and getting to *England* or *Scotland* before them: Some Pariſhioners were ſo kind to their Miniſters that they begg'd and entreated them to be gone; which they were mov'd to do, becauſe they ſaw the ſpite and malice of their Enemies was more peculiarly bent againſt the Clergy, and they imagined that their removing would a little allay the heat of thoſe ſpiteful Men, and that the Robbers would not ſo often viſit the Neighbourhood when the Miniſter was gone; which in many places had the effect intended; for the Robbers would come a great way to rob a Gentleman or Clergyman, and would be ſure to viſit the poor Peoples Houſes in their Paſſages: But when theſe were remov'd the obſcurity of the meaner People did protect them from many Violences. Laſtly, Many Clergymen were forc'd to remove, becauſe they had nothing left to live on, their Pariſhioners were as poor as themſelves, and utterly unable to help them; I do confeſs that there was no reaſon to complain of the Peoples backwardneſs to maintain the Clergy; on the contrary they contributed to the utmoſt of their power, and beyond it, and made no Diſtinction of Sects; many Diſſenters of all ſorts (except Quakers) contributing liberally to to this good end, which ought to be remembred to their honour: But after all, in many Places, a whole Pariſh what with the ruin and deſolation brought on the Kingdom, and what with the removal of the Proteſtant Pariſhioners, was not able to contribute 20 *s.* to maintain their Miniſter; and meer neceſſity forced away theſe Miniſters. Againſt ſome others the Government had peculiar piques and exceptions; thoſe were in manifeſt hazard of their Lives and in fear every day of being ſeiz'd and brought to a Tryal, on ſome feign'd Crime: And ſeveral both of the Clergy and Laity were forc'd to fly on this account for their ſafety. All theſe I look on to be juſtifiable reaſons of Mens withdrawing. If any went away on any other Principles, who were not in theſe or the like circumſtances, I ſhall leave them to the cenſure of the World; but I believe very few will be found for whom either their publick or private circumſtances may not juſtly Apologize.

6. It is not to be ſuppos'd that Men would have left their plentiful Eſtates and Settlements, their well furniſht Houſes and comfortable ways of living, as moſt of theſe who went away did, had they not been under the greateſt fears and preſſures. Wives would not have left their Husbands, nor Parents their Children, Men of Eſtates and Fortunes would

would not have ventured their Lives in little Wherries and Boats to pass Seas famous for their Shipwracks, if they could with any comfort or safety have stayed at home. I know King *James* took care to have it suggested in *England*, that all these left *Ireland* not out of any real fear or necessity, but only with a design to make him and his Government odious; but sure they must think the Protestants of *Ireland* were very fond of a Collection in *England*, that can imagine so many thousand People of all sorts and sexes should conspire together to ruin themselves, and throw away all that they had in the World, out of malice, and only to bring an Odium on a Party that had done them no harm.

2. Neither was it, as some suggest, a vain and panick fear that possessed them that went away; for that could not continue for a Year or two; but those that had lived under King *James* a Year and half, were as earnest to get away as those that went at first; and the longer they liv'd under him their fear and apprehensions increas'd the more on them; being already ruined in their Fortunes, and their Lives in daily and apparent hazard, from military and illegal proceedings. They liv'd amongst a People that daily robb'd, plundered, and affronted them, that assaulted their Persons and threatned their Lives, and wanted only the word to cut their Throats; and sure 'twas then time to withdraw from the danger at any rate; and I am confident I speak the sence of the generality of those that stayed, that if the Seas had been left open some few Months before his Majesty appear'd in the Field in *Ireland*, far the greatest part (I may venture to say almost all) of those that stayed till then, would have gone away with their Lives only, rather than have continued here longer. Whoever knows the cruelty and malice of those with whom we had to deal, will own these fears to be reasonable. Yet for this we were condemned to death and forfeiture; and the very Children barr'd of their rights, against the known Laws and Customs of the Kingdom.

SECT. II.

A Justification of those Protestants who staid in Ireland, *and lived in submission to King* James's *Government.*

1. NOtwithstanding the great number of Protestants that fled to *England*, yet many stay'd behind: perhaps some may accuse their Prudence in venturing to stay under such circumstances, but otherwise I think little can be objected against them; however lest any should entertain

tertain any ſiniſter thoughts of them, 'twill be neceſſary to ſay ſomething in their behalf. They were of four ſorts. 1. The meaner People. 2. Gentry of Eſtates. 3. Such as had Employments, and 4. the Clergy.

2. Firſt, As to the meaner People, 'tis to be conſidered that it was no eaſy thing to get away; the freight of Ships and Licences were at very high Rates; and ſometimes not to be purchaſed at all. Many of the Country People could not get to the Sea Ports; they had little Money, their Riches were in their Stocks; and theſe being plundered, they were not able to raiſe ſo much Money as would Tranſport them and their Families; and they generally came too late to the Ports. A ſtrict Embargo being laid on all Ships before they could get to the Sea ſide; many of the Citizens of *Dublin* and other Sea Ports got off, but were forc'd to leave their Shops and Concerns behind in the hands of their Relations and Dependents, who were obliged to ſtay to take Care of them. Others thought it unreaſonable to leave all they had to go to beg in a ſtrange Country, and having no body to truſt with their Concerns, reſolv'd to hazard themſelves together with them. If theſe things be conſidered, 'twill rather ſeem a wonder that ſo many got off, than that ſome ſtaid behind.

3. Secondly, As to the Gentlemen; though ſome of them had plentiful Eſtates and Fortunes, yet they had but little ready Money; 'tis not thought prudent in *Ireland*, where money is at 10 *per Cent.* for any one to keep much Caſh by him; and perhaps he that hath 1000 *l. per Annum* clear, hath often not 100 *l.* in Caſh. Now ſome Gentlemen that had conſiderable Families and little Money, thought it unreaſonable for them to leave their plentiful Eſtates and go into *England* to beg or ſtarve; and the very thoughts of either was more terrible to them than Death: And therefore they choſe rather to venture all with their Eſtates. Others were tied by ſuch particular obligations, that it was impoſſible for them to ſtir without the greateſt damage to their Concerns, and Inhumanity to their Relations.

4. Others thought it neceſſary to ſtay meerly for a Tryal, that they might not be ſaid to have thrown themſelves out of all, before they were forced; and that they might ſee how far King *James* would proceed in his deſign of ruining Proteſtants and ſettling Popery.

5. Others had either Relations by Kindred or ſome private intereſt or Obligation on ſome leading Papiſts; and fancied by their ſtaying they might be able to ſave ſomething for themſelves and Tenants; others thô they had no ſuch intereſt or particular Obligations, yet their Families and influence in their Countries, had made them reſpected,

even by their Enemies; and they hoped by their prudence and management to obtain better Quarters for their poor People that depended on them; whom they could not find in their hearts to leave deſtitute of all ſhelter and conduct, and it muſt be acknowledged that though theſe could not do as much good as they might reaſonably have expected, yet they did a great deal; and it muſt be owned as a ſingular providence of God that ſome ſuch Gentlemen ſtaid; for they uſed all their Authority, Intereſt, and Credit to ſerve the Poor, and notwithſtanding the Malice and Power of their Enemies they did them many good Offices: They directed them what to do, and how to behave themſelves in their applications for Relief, when oppreſſed; they managed and ſolicited their Petitions; they took all opportunities to remonſtrate to King *James* the Grievances and Oppreſſions of the poor People; they took the moſt favourable Inſtances, and managed them in the beſt manner to make him ſenſible; they took advantage of the little feuds that were between the Courtiers, and made their Piques uſeful to procure redreſs to ſuch Proteſtants as had been ſignally injured by the oppoſite Party; and ſometimes by Addreſs, and other times by meer Importunities and bold Repreſentations of the barbarouſneſs and inhumanity of the Proceedings againſt Proteſtants, they ſhamed the Government into a better Temper; ſometimes procuring ſome moderation; ſometimes redreſs of exorbitant Grievances; and at other times did prevent moſt ſignal Miſchief deſign'd againſt us, at leaſt by gaining time, which was a great conveniency to us.

6. Theſe Gentlemen that ſtaid were uſeful, not only by employing their Credit, their Friends and Intereſt with the Government, but they farther did contribute to the preſerving and ſupporting of a great many poor and impriſoned People, that otherwiſe would have ſtarved: Near Five hundred Priſoners were ſupported by the Charity of *Dublin*, and every thing put into ſuch a method, that amongſt the numerous poor ruined Proteſtants, not one was loſt or ſtarved for want of Meat or Cloathes, that we could hear of; which we muſt look on as an extraordinary Providence, and renders all thoſe inexcuſable who changed their Religion, on pretence that otherwiſe they muſt have ſtarved; an excuſe they did not offer then, and which being falſe, ought not to be pretended, much leſs allow'd now.

7. We found our ſelves in many ſtraits how to behave our ſelves under ſome difficulties that fell on us about Fees for Impriſonment, concealing of Arms or Abſentees Goods, and matters of Oaths, either to the Government or on private Occaſions; the Gentlemen and Perſons of Credit that ſtaid, advis'd the poor People in all theſe Caſes, and kept them

them in ſuch a ſteady, unanimous and regular Courſe, that no advantage could be taken againſt them, and yet they avoided all Swearing or betraying themſelves or Friends; and whereas there are ſeveral Diſſenters in *Dublin*, the Matter was carried with ſo much Prudence, that we lived in perfect Amity, Peace and Charity together, and all contributed and aſſiſted one another towards their common ſafety. Dr. *Dopping*, Biſhop of *Meath*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Note, ſignaliz'd themſelves upon theſe occaſions, and behaved themſelves with ſo much Prudence, Induſtry, Reſolution and Tenderneſs to the Afflicted, that they always will be looked on by thoſe who ſtaid in *Dublin*, as peculiar Inſtruments of their preſervation.

8. Thirdly, As to thoſe Proteſtants who had Employments, and ſtaid on account of them, it was conſidered and debated by the moſt Prudent and Judicious Proteſtants of *Dublin*, whether they ſhould continue to act in them; and they univerſally judg'd it adviſeable, that every Proteſtant who could either get or keep any Civil Employment by fair and honeſt Means, ſhould do it; moſt of the Civil Offices were held by Patent, and either the Patentees or their Deputies were on the Place, and executed them: Now for theſe to have gone away, was to have given them up voluntarily into the Hands of Papiſts, and to entitle King *James* to the diſpoſal of them, without any imputation of Injuſtice: We therefore thought all ſuch as had any Employment or Civil Office, obliged to ſtay in their Employments, till removed by force; and when they were removed by Act of Parliament, that voided their Offices, and new Officers were appointed, it was ſtill judged convenient that the former Deputies ſhould act in them; and if the new Patentees ſhould refuſe to employ them as Deputies, they ſhould nevertheleſs endeavour to ſtay in them as Clerks. 1. Becauſe we were in hopes of recovering them in a ſhort time, by the aſſiſtance of their preſent Majeſties, and in the mean time we knew not what havock and ſpoil might be made of Records and Books by Popiſh Deputies, whereas if the Proteſtants kept in the Offices they might preſerve them, or at leaſt be Witneſſes of the injury that ſhould be done them, and this Contrivance had the effect deſign'd, the Papiſts were ſo much ſtrangers to the Offices, that they were forc'd to depend on Proteſtant Clerks or Deputies, and theſe kept their Maſters in all the ignorance they could, and either put out of the way, or would not find ſuch Records or Papers, that they ſuppoſed were deſigned to be deſtroyed; inſomuch that very little injury was done to the Offices; the very Outlawries of the Rebels and Murtherers in 1641. being preſerv'd, though ordered by their pretended Parliament to be deſtroyed, and 500 *l.* Fine impos'd on any Officer that ſhould conceal any of them.

9. Secondly, It was not safe for any Officer, that was not forcibly turn'd out, to refuse to act, if he had either voluntarily resign'd his Place, or refused to Officiate in it, he must have expected to be treated with more severe usage than other People, as one peculiarly disaffected. Some therefore were forc'd to keep even in the Army in their own Defence; but these were so few, that there need not much to be said for them: I do not remember above Three that had Commissions in the Army, who were desirous to leave it; and those were kept in only for a pretence of Impartiality; and for such as acted as Justices of Peace, they were often serviceable to Protestants, in freeing them from Oppressions and Injuries. Those few Protestants that took Commissions of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, did it on a publick Account, and always acted for the benefit of Protestants.

3. Protestants by keeping in Employments, though never so insignificant found means and opportunities of serving their distressed and oppressed Friends; and they seldom fail'd to improve these means to the best advantage: The poor People that stay'd in *Ireland* were sensible of this, and often wish'd that more had stay'd on this Account; and truely if they had, by the advantage of their Address and Understanding above the Papists, who generally were ignorant of business, they might probably have done much good, and have gained farther time for the poor People from their Destruction.

10. However I do not intend to justify all that was done by Protestant Officers; if any of them advanced, abetted, or concurr'd in an ill thing, let them suffer for it; but I humbly conceive the Protestants of *Ireland* that staid here, and saw and observed every Man's behaviour, and were the only sufferers by the ill management of any Officer, whatever his Station was, may be safely trusted to give a Character of each; I own that it is not reasonable that a Certificate under a few hands should be accepted, as a Vindication of any Man; for an Officer might have serv'd and oblig'd a few, who cannot in Gratitude refuse to certifie for him, and yet have done mischief enough to others; but on the other hand, it is reasonable, that secret whispers or surmises, especially of such as were absent and strangers to their Behaviour, should undo or misrepresent any Man? And therefore I think, if any dispute should arise concerning such Matters, a fair and legal Hearing in publick were the most equal way, and is all the favour that generally any Protestant Gentleman, who staid and officiated under King *James*, needs desire: They are so few, that this would not be any great trouble, and their Honesty and Prudence generally so notorious, that it would not be any blemish to them; nor were they guilty of any servile or mean Compliances,

ances, or paid any other deference than what was due to a Government, under whose Power God's Providence had placed them, and which by unseasonable Opposition, they would only have exasperated to their own Destruction.

11. Fourthly, As to the Clergy that staid, it were an Injustice to them to make any Apology for them, they staid in pure sense and conscience of their Duty, and minded it so effectually, that their Labours were acceptable and useful to their People in many respects, and I doubt not but will be approv'd by all good Men; they foresaw what use Papists would make of empty Churches and deserted Congregations, and that the Priests would not be wanting to perswade the People, that they were no true Pastors that deserted them in time of Danger; they were acquainted with the Artifices us'd to draw Protestants from their Religion, and that the present juncture would afford new Temptations, which the Seducers would not fail to press with all possible advantage: it required therefore all their Skill and Industry, to arm their People against these Instruments of Seduction, and keep them steady to their Principles under such mighty Temptations; and we owe it to the Prudence, Industry and Courage of the Clergy that remain'd, next to God's goodness, that so few were prevail'd with to change their Religion, notwithstanding that they saw they must be ruined if they stood firm; whereas if they comply'd, they would not be only safe, but sharers likewise in the Booty: 'Tis true, many of them suffer'd by their staying, and lay under great Difficulties, but it pleas'd God to support and deliver them; and if they had perished, it had been with this comfort, that it was in their Office, and in their Master's Work.

The Conclusion.

1. AND here I do solemnly protest, that no private Dissatisfaction, that no ill will to King *James*'s Person, nor prejudice against any Body, has mov'd me to say what I have said; but that I might vindicate our selves by speaking Truth in a matter that so nearly concern'd us both in our Temporal and Eternal Interest. And I must likewise protest before God, who will judge between us and our Enemies in this point, that I have not aggravated the Calamities we have suffered, nor misrepresented the Proceedings against us, out of favour

or

or affection to a Party, but have rather told things nakedly and in general, than inſiſted on ſuch Particulars as might ſeem to ſerve no other purpoſe, but to make our Adverſaries odious.

2. It were much to be wiſhed, and in due time it is hoped, that Commiſſions may be iſſued by the proper Authority, into the ſeveral Counties, to enquire of the Treatment the Proteſtants underwent, and the Damages they ſuffered; and I am well aſſured, that if this be done, and an account be taken on Oath from the Eye-witneſſes and ſufferers, the matter will appear with a much worſe Face than it is here repreſented; and where one Story may happen undeſignedly to be aggravated, twenty worſe will be to be added to ſupply it: There is not a more neceſſary or effectual means can be taken, for clearing the Proteſtants of this Kingdom, or juſtifying the State in their proceeding againſt the *Iriſh*; and we are ready and willing to ſtand or fall in the Cenſure of the World by this Plea, according as on proof of particulars by ſufficient Evidence the Truth ſhall appear.

3. Upon the whole, the *Iriſh* may juſtly blame themſelves and their Idol, the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, as King *James* may them both; for whatever they have, or ſhall ſuffer in the iſſue of this Matter, ſince it is apparent that the neceſſity was brought about by them, that either they or we muſt be ruin'd. King *James* (if the Earl of *Tyrconnel* may be believed) chang'd his Religion on *His* Sollicitations, (for he often brag'd that he was the King's Converter.) He preferr'd the gratifying this Favourites Ambition, to the Affections of his Proteſtant Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*. He left *England* and came into *Ireland* on his Invitation; and he brought Ruin and Deſolation on the Kingdom, eſpecially on his Proteſtant Subjects, in proſecution of the Meaſures laid down by him; yet ſo far was he in love with this Miniſter, that he frequently, both in his Proclamations and Acts of Parliament, aſcribes the ſaving of *Ireland* to him; and aſſigned him above the value of 20m. Pounds *per Annum*, to ſupport his new Title of Duke, out of the Forfeited Eſtates of Proteſtants, moſt of them Condemn'd unheard, on publick Fame only. This Perſon therefore was the true Enemy of King *James*; he drove his Maſter out of his Kingdoms, he deſtroyed him by his pernicious Councils, and the Kingdom of *Ireland* by his exorbitant and illegal Management; and therefore he and ſuch other wicked Councellors and Miniſters, are only anſwerable for all the Miſchiefs that have follow'd; and it is much more reaſonable the Deſtruction ſhould fall on them who were the Authors, than on the Proteſtants againſt whom they deſigned it.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

AN ACT

For the Attainder of divers Rebels, and for preſerving the Intereſt of Loyal Subjects.

HUMBLY beſeech your Majeſty, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, That whereas a moſt horrid Invaſion was made by your unnatural Enemy the Prince of *Orange*, invited thereunto and aſſiſted by many of your Majeſty's rebellious and traiterous Subjects of your Majeſty's Dominions; and ſuch their inviting and aſſiſting made manifeſt by their perfidious deſerting your Majeſty's Service, in which, by your many Princely Obligations, beſides their natural Duties, they were bounden; and having likewiſe to obtain their wicked Ends, raiſed, and levied open Rebellion and War in ſeveral places in this Kingdom, and entered into Aſſociations, and met in Conventions in order to call in and ſet up the ſaid Prince of *Orange*, as well in *Ulſter* and *Connaught*, as in the other Provinces of *Munſter* and *Leinſter*: To quell which, your Sacred Majeſty's late Deputy in this Kingdom, *Richard*, then Earl, and now Duke of *Tyrconnel*, before your Majeſty's happy Arrival in this Kingdom; and your Sacred Majeſty ſince your Arrival here, have been neceſſitated to raiſe an Army to your Majeſty's great Charge and Expence, And though the ſaid Rebels and Traitors, after their having the impudence to declare for the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* againſt your Sacred Majeſty, were with all mildneſs and humanity called in to their Allegiance, by Proclamations, and Promiſes of Pardon for their paſt Offences, and Protection for the future:

future: And though ſome of the ſaid Proclamations aſſured Pardon to all ſuch as ſhould ſubmit themſelves; and that no Perſons were excepted in the laſt Proclamation beſides very few, not exceeding Ten in number, and few or none of any Note came in, in obedience thereto; and that very many of the Perſons who came in upon Protections, and took the Oath of Allegiance to your Majeſty, were afterwards found amongſt the Rebels in open Arms and Hoſtility, when taken Priſoners or killed, ſuch Protections being found with them. (So villanous were they by adding Perjury to their former Crimes, THAT IT MAY BE ENACTED, AND BE IT ENACTED by your moſt Excellent Majeſty, by, and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, that the Perſons hereafter named, being Perſons who have notoriouſly joyned in the ſaid Rebellion and Invaſion, and ſome of which are upon Indictments condemned, ſome executed for High Treaſon, and the reſt ran away, or abſcond, or are now in the actual Service of the Prince of *Orange* againſt your Majeſty, and others kill'd in open Rebellion, (*viz.*) *Francis Marſh* Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *James Butler* Duke of *Ormonde*, *Richard Boyle* Earl of *Cork*, *Cary Dillon* Earl of *Roſcommon*, *William* Earl of *Strafford*, *Edward Brabazon* Earl of *Meath*, *John* Earl of *Mulgrave*, *Vaughan* Earl of *Carberry*, *William O Bryan* Earl of *Inchiquin*, *Charles Coote* Earl of *Mountrath*, *Henry Moore* Earl of *Drogheda*, *Charles Talbot* Earl of *Waterford* and *Wexford*, *Hugh Mountgomery* Earl of *Mountalexander*, *Richard* Earl of *Ranelagh*, *Sidney* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Villers* Viſcount *Grandiſon*, *James Anneſly* Viſcount *Valentia* and Earl of *Angleſey*, *George* Viſcount *Caſtleton*, *Scudamore* Viſcount *Scudamore* of *Sligoe*, *Lumbly* Viſcount *Lumbly* of *Waterford*, *Wenman* Viſcount *Wenman* of *Tuam*, *Buckley* Viſcount *Buckley* of *Caſhel*, *Francis Boyle* Viſcount *Shannon*, *John Skevington* Viſcount *Maſſareene*, *Cholmundy* Viſcount *Cholmundy* of *Kells*, *Richard Boyle* Viſcount *Dungarvan*, *alias* Lord *Clifford*, *Maurice Berkeley* Viſcount *Fitz-Harding* of *Beerehaven*, *William Caulfield* Viſcount *Charlemount*, *Morrough Boyle* Viſcount *Bleſſington*, *James Lane* Viſcount *Lanesborough*, *Dawney* Viſcount *Down*, *William Stewart* Viſcount *Mount-joy*, *Adam Loftus* Lord *Liſburn*, *Ezekiel Hopkins* Lord Biſhop of *Derry*, *William Sheridan* Lord Biſhop of *Killmore*, *William Digby* Lord *Digby* of *Geaſhell*, *Henry* Lord *Blaney* of *Monaghan*, *Henry* Lord *Herbert* of *Caſtle-Iſland* *Sherrard* Lord *Sherrard* of *Leytrim*, Lord *Wharton*, *Robert King* Lord Baron of *Kingſton*, *Richard Coote* Lord Baron of *Coloony*, *Charles Petty* Lord *Shelborne*, *Henr*

O Bryan

O Bryan commonly called Lord *Ibrickan*, *Robert Dillon* commonly called Lord *Kilkenny-West*, *William O Bryan* commonly called Lord *O Bryan*, Son to the Earl of *Inchiquin*, *Robert* Lord *Lucas*, Sir *Arthur Royden* of *Moyra* Baronet, Sir *Arthur Cole* of *Newland* Baronet, Sir *Robert Reading* of *Brareil* Baronet, Sir *William Temple* Baronet, late Maſter of the Rolls, Sir *Francis Blundell* of *Edenderry* Baronet, Sir *Laurence Parſons* of *Bir* Baronet, Sir *Richard Reynells* of *Dublin* Baronet, Sir *Chriſtopher Wandesford* of *Caſtle-Comber* Baronet, Sir *Thomas Southwell* of *Caſtlematres* Baronet, Sir *Simon Eaton* of *Dunmoylen* Baronet, Sir *Emanuel Moore* of *Roſs* Baronet, Sir *Robert Southwell* of *Kinſale* Baronet, Sir *John Osborne* of Baronet, Sir *Robert Staples* of *Liſſane* Baronet, Sir *James Caldwell* of *Bellick* Baronet, Sir *John Humes* of *Caſtle-Humes* Baronet, Sir *Francis Hamilton* of *Caſtle-Hamilton* Baronet, Sir *Arthur Longford* of *Summer-Hill* Baronet, Sir *William Franklin* of *Belfaſt* Baronet, Sir *Oliver St. George* of *Headford* Baronet, Sir *Robert King* of *Rockingham* Baronet, Sir *William Gore* of *Manner-Hamilton* Baronet, Sir *William Courtney* of *New-Caſtle* Baronet, Sir *William Tichburn* of *Bewly* Baronet, Sir *Samuel Barnadiſton* Baronet, Sir *Robert Cottrill* of *New-town* Knight, Sir *Joſhua Allen* of *Dublin* Knight, Sir *Matthew Bridges* of the ſame Knight, Sir *Phillips Coote* of *Killoſter* Knight, Sir *John Temple* of *Palmerſtown* Knight, Sir *Charles Meredith* of *Green-Hills* Knight, Sir *Richard Ryves* of *Dublin* Knight, Sir *Richard Steven* late of *Dublin* Knight, Sir *John Edgeworth* of *Liſſane* Knight, Sir *Robert Clayton* Knight, Sir *Richard Buckley* of *Dunlavan* Baronet, Sir *Henry Fane* of *Loghgurr* Knight, Sir *Robert Holmes* of *Ardagh* Knight, Sir *Richard Hull* of *Leamcon* Knight, Sir *Matthew Dean* of *Cork* Knight, Sir *Henry Ingoldesby* of *Dangen* Knight, Sir *John Topham* Knight, Sir *Francis Brewſter* of *Brewſterfield* Knight, Sir *Albert Cunningham* of *Mount-Charles* Knight, Sir *Triſtrum Beresford* of *Ballykelly* Baronet, Sir *John Magill* of *Gill-Hall* Knight, Sir *Nicholas Atcheſon* of *Mullaghbrack* Knight, Sir *George St. George* of *Dunmore* Knight, *Thomas Coote* of the City of *Dublin* Eſq; *Richard Foſter* Eſq; *William Worth* Eſq; lately one of the Barons of the Exchequer, *John Eaton* Eſq; Counſellor at Law, Lieutenant *Joſeph Stopford*, Enſign *Thomas Stanly*, Captain *Oliver Long*, Captain *Thomas Flower*, Lieutenant *Buckridge*, Lieutenant *Robert Pointz*, Lieutenant *John Povey*, *John Gueſt* Gent. *Henry Briſcoe* Gent. *Samuel Morriſon* Gent. Enſign *George Withers*, *William Connelly* Gent. *Robert Lowry* Gent. *Hugh Hamilton* Gent. *Samuel Walton* Merchant, *James Barloe* Taylor, *Richard Mills* Bricklayer, *Matthew French* Sen. Merchant, *Joſias Patterſon* Chyrurgeon, Lieutenant *Edward Wolfe*, *William Knox* Gent. Captain *David Parry*, *John Desboroe* Wire-Drawer, *William Knox* Gent. Brother to

Sir *John Knox*; *William Crow* Esq; *John Warburton* Esq; *Robert Doyne* Esq; *William Keating* Gent. *John Lyndon* Senior Esq; Lieutenant *William Berry*, *Philip Savage* Esq; *William Moore* Esq; *Denny Musshehamp* Esq; *Luke King* Gent. late Deputy Muster-Master: ALL late of the CITY and COUNTY of the CITY of DUBLIN. *Robert Ware* of *Dublin* Esq; *Robert Mouldsworth* of *Breckingstown* Esq; *Joseph Wilkinson* of *Palmerstown* Clerk, *John Weave* Junior of *Glassnevan* Gent. *John Finglass* of *Barnenagiragh* Gent. *Francis Marsh* of *St. Patrick's-Close* Gent. *Jeremy Marsh* of the same Gent. ALL in the COUNTY of DUBLIN. *Henry Warren* of *Grangebegg* in the County of *Kildare* Gent. *George Mervin* of *Tobereggane* Gent. *John Sankey* of *Reban* Gent. *Wentworth Harman* of *Castlenoe* Gent. Dean *Theophilus Harrison* of *Osberstowne*, *John Margetson* of *Bishops-Court* Esq; *Edward Bayly* of *Corbally* Gent. and *William Fransham* of *Lucan* Esq; All in the County of KILDARE. *John Dunbar* of *Catherlogh* in the County of CATHERLOGH Gent. and Captain *Chidley Coote* of *Shierwood-Park* in the said County, *Francis Flood* of *Kill-Clonfert* in the *Kings-County* Gent. *John Baldwin* Junior of *Gurrughlouty* Esq; *Samuel Moss* of *Eglish* Gent. *William Adare* of *Littur* Gent. *Jonathan Darby* of *Leape* Gent. *John Gray* of *Castletown* Gent. *George Howsher* of *Killogally* Clerk, Captain *Newcomen Atkinson* of Lieutenant *James Hamilton* of *Bark*, *Andrew Hamilton* of the same Gent. *Philip Armstrong* of *Scotstown* Gent. *Charles Armstrong* of the same Gent. *Edmond Armstrong* of the same Clerk, *John Armstrong* of *Endrim* Gent. *William Parsons* Esq; Son to Sir *Laurence Parsons*, Lieut. *William Parsons* Brother to Sir *Laurence Parsons*, *Will. Parsons* of *Ballintemple* Gent. *Evan Lloyd* of *Tunagh* Gent. and *Richard Warburton* of *Garrinth* Esq; All late of the KINGS-COUNTY. Colonel *John Fitz Patrick* of *Castletown* in the *Queen's-County*, *Samuel Matthews* of *Ballykeally* Esq; *Thomas Piggot* of *Bannagherry* Gent. *Thomas Owens* of *Rathmoyle* Esq; *William Beard* of *Colt* Gent. Captain *Tobias Caulfield*, *Thomas Piggot* of *Grangebegg* Esq; *Hapton Harris* of *Mountmellick* Gent. Colonel *Thomas Coote*, *John Deacon* of *Dromeene* Gent. *Henry West* of *Corballis* Gent. *Thomas Kitchin* Junior of *Slaty* Gent. *Isaac Haslam* of *Marryborrow* Gent. *St. Leger Gilbert* of the same Gent. *Adam Kidder* of *Aghbo* Gent. *John Baly* of *Corbally* Gent. and *Thomas Starkey* of *Montrath*: All late of the QUEEN'S COUNTY. Captain *Robert Choppin* of *Newcastle* in the County of *Longford*, *Anthony Sheppard* of the same Gent. Captain *Francis Edgeworth* of *Cranelogh*, *Ambrose Edgeworth* of *Lissard* Gent. *Arthur Bush* of *Longford* Esq; *John Wallis* of the same Esq; *John Dean* of the same Gent. *Samuel Forth* of the same Gent. *Archibald Hamilton* of the same Gent.

Robert

Robert Hamilton of the ſame Gent. *John Green* of the ſame Gent. *Robert Dunbarr* of the ſame Gent. *Robert Smith* of *Aghatuappagh* Gent. *Thomas Weſt* of *Cranalagh* Gent. *John Leſly* of *Tully* Gent. *George Trimble*, *Walter Trimble*, *John Trimble* Gentleman, Quarter-maſter *John Aghumly* of *Newton Carſon* Clerk, *John Stern* Gent. *Hugh Morgan* of *Newcaſtle* Eſq; Captain *Henry Croſton* of *Moyhill*, and *Catharin* Vice-Counteſs-Dowager of *Ranelagh*: All late of the COUNTY of LONGFORD. *Thomas Blyth* of *Rathmore* in the County of *Meath* Eſq; *Samuel Bull* of *Greenanſtowne* Eſq; *James Tandy* of *Drueſtowne* Gent. *John Owens* of *Ballynadrumney* Gent. *Joſeph Deane* Junior of *Kingſtowne* Eſq; *Stafford Lightburne* of *Newhaggard* Gent. *Charles Meredith* of *Newtowne* Eſq; *Arthur Meredith* of *Dollardſtowne* Eſq; *John Ford* of *Ardſallagh* Eſq; *William Williams* of *Knockglaſs* Gent. *John Woods* Junior of *Gartlony* Gent. *Joſeph Woodward* of *Drumbarragh* Gent. *Simon Roe* of *Warringſtowne* Gent. and *Ezekiel Webb* of *Dunſaghlin* Clerk, *Robert Thornhill* Junior of *Little-Blackhall* Gent. Captain *Matthew Aylmer* of *Balrath*, Captain *George Aylmer* of the ſame, *James Napper*, alias *Tandy Napper* of *Drinſtowne* Eſq; *John Osborne* of *Stackallen* Eſq; *Joſeph Stophard* Eſq; and *Robert Thornhill* Senior of *Little-Blackhall* Gent. All late of the COUNTY of MEATH. *Robert Smith* Vicar of *Ballyloghloe* in the County of *Weſt-Meath*, *Benjamin Fletcher* of *Lowbaskin* Gent. *Richard Meares* of *Carpenterſs-town* Gent. *William Cambel* of *Tubber-Cormuck* Gent. *George Jones* of *Rathconrath* Gent. *Lewis Barloe* of *Balnaferagh* Gent. *John Tipping* of *Dromore*, *Robert Rochford* Eſq; *Alexander Murry* of *Ballynaſide* Gent. *John Forbes* of *Broadſtowne* Clerk, Captain *Thomas Whittney* of *Derrydowne*, *Dillon Pollard* of *Caſtle-Pollard* Gent. *Francis Leigh* Son to Sir *James Leigh*, Captain *John Phillips* of *Killpatrick*, *Robert Packenham* of *Bracklin* Eſq; *Hugh Bowen* of *Ledwithſtowne* Gent. *Lewis Meares* Junior of *Meares Court* Gent. and *Thomas Tipping* of *Dromore* Gent. All late of the County of WEST-MEATH. *Anthony Horſy* of *Kilcrony* in the County of *Killkenny*, Capt. *Richard Coote* of *Tullymaine*, Captain *James Hamilton* of *Three Caſtles*, Capt. *Thomas Newburgh* of *Killbreckane*, Lieutenant *Edward Woods* of *Loghnyes*, *George Villers* of *Dunamangan* Gent. *Henry Johnſon* of *Upper Claragh* Gent. *Joſeph Fennel* late of *Windſhouſe* Gent. Capt. *Samuel Matthews* of *Boneſtowne*, Capt. *Thomas Flower* of *Dorrow*, *John Tubman* of *Buncheſtown* Gent. *Jonathan Dann* of *Killkenny* Gent. *William Jones* of *Mullin-Brohy* Gent. Lieut. *Hugh Deane* late of *Outrath*, *William Baxter* late of *Killkenny*, Lieut. *James Butler* of *Brambleſtown*, and *Iſaac Mukins* of *Killkenny* Merc. All late of the County of *Killkenny*, Col. *Solomon Richards* of *Wexford* in the County of *Wexford*, *Bartholemew Vicars* of *Wexford* Clerk, *John Chicheſter* of *Proſpect* Eſq; *Sam. Barrington* of *Colnehorny* Gent. *Barrakias*

Wallis of *Dunganstowne* Gent. *John Radford* Esq; eldest Son of Captain *Radford*, *Charles O Harra*, *alias Harroe* of *Killdoody* Gent. and *Henry Wallop* of *Enescorthy* Esq; All late of the County of *Wexford*. *Thomas Burrows* of *Mounthuske* in the County of *Wicklow* Gent. *Hugh Magill* of *Baltrasney* Gent. and *James Moore* of *Glanely* in the County of *Wicklow*, *Edward Perkinson* of *Atherdee* in the County of *Downh* Clerk, *John Bankes* of the same Gent. *Timothy Bankes* of the same Gent. *John Ruxton* Junior of the same Gent. *Henry Allen* of the same Merchant, *Matthew Ruxton* of the same Gent. *Charles Ruxton* of the same Clerk, *James Sallary* of the same Gent. *Daniel Poe* of *Drumsgoolestowne* Gent. *Henry Baker* of *Dumaghan* Esq; *John Smith* of *Dundalke* Gent. *Jerome Smith* of the same Gent. *Edward Snell* of the same Merchant, *William Shuel* of the same Merchant, *Christopher Dalton* of the same Gent. *Philip Dalton* of the same Merc. *Joseph Toomes* of the same Gent. *Thomas Lambert* of the same Gent. *Henry Ponsonby* of *Pepperstowne*, *James Brabazon* of *Carrstowne* Gent. *William Young* of *Atherdee* Gent. *William Disney* Junior of *Stabannon* Gent. *Cornelius Devlin* of *Mayne* Gent. *Hugh Mitchel* of *Atherdee* Gent. *Christopher Fortesque* of *Dromiskin* Esq; *Edward Edwards* of *Philipstowne* Esq; *John Winne* of *Rahesker* Gent. *Simon Gooding* of *Breganstowne* Gent. *James Herne* of *Sucarmore* Gent. *Henry Warren* of *Atherdee* Gent. *Richard Sandome* of the same Gent. *Gregory Bolton* of *Dundalke* Gent. *James Creaton* Junior of the same Gent. *Robert Blackwell* of *Atherdee* Gent. Quarter-Master *Thomas Parker* of the same, *Ardel Coultrane* of *Dundalke* Gent. *David Glavier* of the same Gent. *Thomas Hudson* of the same Gent. *Richard Dawson* of the same Esq; *Walter Smith* of the same Gent. *William Mason* of the same Gent. Serjeant *Booth* of *Carlingford*: All late of the County of LOWTH. *Thomas Greenoge* of the Town of *Drogheda* Gent. *John Heeny* of the same Inn-keeper, *Nehemiah Elwood* of the same, Lieutenant *John Newton* of the same: All of the Town of DROGHEDA. *Bartholomew Gibbons* of *Covinger* Gent. *Stephen Palmes* of *Corgraige* Gent. *Jonathan Bowles* of *Newcastle* Gent. *William Ralph* of the same Gent. *John Chinnery* of *Cragean* Gent. *Richard Chinnery* of the same Gent. *Nicholas Chinnery* of the same Gent. *Thomas Ponsonby* of *Bally-Cullenbegg* Gent. *John Ponsonby* of *Fanstowne* Gent. *Thomas Creede* of *Garrynaderkey* Gent. *Oliver Walsh* of *Ballymullane* Gent. *James Howard* of *Limerick* Gent. *William Southwell* of *Castlematres* Gent. *Thomas Moore* of the same Gent. *George Bryan* of *Shanagolden*, *John Flinn* of *Castlematres*, *Ralph Emerson* of the same, *Robert Moore* of *Limerick*, *John Swayne* of *Cloghomshey*, *John Whitacre* of *Lisseneshecly*, *Robert Pheaby* of *Rathkeale*, *Robert Pope* of the same, *Robert Robinson* of

of the ſame, *John Treth* of the ſame, *John Crow* of the ſame, *John Green* of *Cloghnarral*, *William Clarke* of the ſame, *James Huggin* of the ſame, *William Walker* of the ſame, *Michael Daly* of *Clashane*, *Henry Berry* of *Limerick* Yeoman, *Richard Cooper* Son to *Cooper* of *Knocklong*, *William Palmes* of *Corgraige* Gent. *Francis Courtney* Eſq; *James Courtney* Eſq; and *Richard Courtney* Eſq; Sons to Sir *William Courtney*, *John Ormsby*, and *Arthur Ormsby* Sons to Captain *Arthur Ormsby*, *Chidley Coote*, *Fitz Charles* of *Ballyſhane* Eſq; *John Dowdall* of *Cappagh* Gent. *Henry Palmes* of *Corgraige* Gent. *Henry Holmes* of *Kilmallock* Gent. *John Southwell* of *Caſtlematres* Gent. *William Jephſon* Prebend of *Donoghmore*, Captain *Chicheſter Phillips*, *Richard Ingoldesby* of *Ballybrickeene* Eſq; *Charles Odle* of *Caſtlemackeniry*, Gent. *Miles Jackſon* of *Ballyvulloge* Gent. *Nicholas Monuckton* of *Ballynefranky* Gent. *Samuel Cox* of *Ballyne* Gent. *Charles Oliver* of *Chloghanotuhey* Eſq; *Richard Coote* of Eſq; *George Croſts* Junior of *Cloghill* Gent. *Samuel Foxon* Junior of *Limerick* Eſq; *Thomas Trenchard* of *Corgraige* Eſq; *Henry Trenchard* of the ſame Eſq; and *Hugh Maſſey* Junior of *Dooutreyleig* Gent. All late of the County of LIMERICK. *Henry Tent* of *Ballycrenane* in the County of *Cork* Eſq; *Thomas Aderly* of *Iniſhonane* Eſq; *Edward Boyle* of *Shannon Park* Eſq; *Randall Roberts* of *Mountlong* Gent. *Charles Fenwick* of *Glancreeni* Gent. *Cuthbert Wilkinſon* of *Killpatrick* Gent. *Francis Strange* of *Shangraige* Gent. *John Hodder* of *Ballyea* Gent. *Edward Phillips* of the ſame Gent. *Richard Cox* of *Clognakilly* Eſq; *Richard Pyne* of *Water Park* Eſq; *Allen Broderick* Eſq; *Robert White* of *Brynee* Gent. Captain *Henry Boyle* of *Ballymartir*, *Arthur St. Leger* of *Doneralye*, *James Law* of *Courte* Gent. *Henry Low* of the ſame Gent. *John Courthrop* of *Little Iſland* Eſq; *John Walton* of *Kinure* Gent. *Henry Daly* of *Ballydahin* Gent. Captain *Boyle Aldworth* of *Newmarket*, *Laurence Clayton* of *Moyallow* Eſq; *William Hodder* of *Ballyea* Gent. *Samuel Hodder* of the ſame Gent. *Richard Covett* of *Ballygarran* Gent. *Anthony Butler* of *Barnahulla* Gent. *Joſhua Mitchell* of *Cork* Merchant, *John Watkins* Sen. of *Ballymee* Gent. *Arthur Dillon* of *Qr --town* Eſq; *William Jephſon* of *Mallow* Eſq; *Thomas Purdon* of *Ballyclogh* Eſq; *Bartholomew Purdon* of the ſame Eſq; *Adam Purdon* of *Moyallolodge* Eſq; *Richard Coudran* of *Weſtown* Gent. *Thomas Badham* of *Ballymakie* Gent. *Francis Roberts* of *Britfieldſtown* Eſq; *Thomas Knowles* of *Kiellhey* Gent. *John Roberts* of *Britfield's-town* Gent. *Barry Love* of *Rynerone* Clerk, *William Dyer* Senior of *Roberts-town* Gent. *William Dyer* Junior of *Labacon* Gent. *Sweeteing Walton* of *Kinure* Gent. *Anoſepherus Houghton* of *Ballyngarry* Gent. *Robert Littler* of *Ballindeſigg* Gent. *Gabriel Low* of *Gortagrenane* Gent. *Samuel Whiſtlen*

of

County of Cork Loyal Gentlemen to ye Wm 3d Rex

of *Island Funchin* Gent. *John Napper* Gent. *Edward Riggs* of *Island Funchin* Gent. *Bryan Townesend* of *Castletown* Gent. *Francis Townesend* of the same Gent. *Kingston Townesend* of the same Gent. *Robert Cookin* of *Killooleman* Gent. *Thomas Ware* of *Newcestown* Gentleman, *William Ware* of the same Gentleman, *Henry Jones* of *Bandon* Gentleman, *John Sullivan* of the same Gentleman, *Ralph Charters* of the same Gentleman, *Alexander Barrington* of *Castletown* Gentleman, *Vincent Barington* of the same Gentleman, *Ralph Cleer* of the same Gentleman, *Arnold Gookin* of *Killnutane* Gentleman, Doctor *John Harding* of *Garranachoonig*, *Thomas Dennis* of *Bandon* Gentleman, *Philip White* of *Brenny* Gentleman, Lieutenant *Robert Blackney* of *Castlemartre*, *Thomas Coakly* of the same Clerk, *Rowland Davys* of *Burdinstowne* Dean of *Ross*, *James Spencer* of *Castlemarter* Clerk, *John Jephson* of *Moyallow* Esq; *Richard Farmer* of *Ardrergh* Gentleman, *Edmond Bately* Gentleman, *Edmond Bishop* of *Ladies-Bridge* Gentleman, *William Reason* Sen. of the same Gent. *William Reason* Junior of the same Gentleman, *John Reason* of the same Gentleman, *John Field* Gentleman, *Richard Field* Gentleman, *Richard Bettisford* of *Middleton* Gentleman, *Richard Crooke* of *Inchyrahilly* Gentleman, *Francis Barnard* Junior of *Castlemahon* Esq; *Francis Harvey* of *Cork* Gentleman, *Arthur Barnard* of *Castlemahon Gentleman*, *Herbert Baldwin* Junior of *Cloghinah* Gentleman, *Hayes Crosse* of *Ballygillane* Gentleman, *Henry Rice* of *Kinsale* *George Herick* of *Polenelong* Gentleman, *Robert Faulkes* Junior of *Curraghcheusy* Gentleman, *Thomas Lane* of *Ballynfeunator* Gentleman, *John Borne* of *Cloucallagh* Gentleman, *Thomas Adderly* of *Castle-town* Gentleman, *Sampson Twogood* of *Bandon* Esq; *John Evans* of *Ballyphillips* Esq; *Piercy Freak* of *Rathbarry* Esq; *Thomas Broderick* of *Ballyannon* Esq; *Richard Newman* Junior of *Ballymagnolly* Esq; *Anthony Raymond* of *Mstchells-town* Esq; *George Widenham* of *Castletown* Gentleman, *Thomas Cooke* of *Cork* Merchant: All late of the County of CORK. *Charles Boyle* Esq; Son to the Lord *Dungarvan* alias *Clifford* in the County of *Waterford*, Colonel *Edward Fitz-Gerald* alias *Villers* of *Drumana*, Captain *Stepthen Stanly* of *Curtiswood*, *Cornelius Bolton* of *Fatleck*, Son to Captain *Bolton*, *Richard Francklin* of *Temple Mitchell* Gentleman, *John Spencer* of *Youghall* Gentleman, *John Napper* of the same Gentleman, *John Stanly* of *Curtiswood* Gentleman, Captain *Francis Foulkes*, and *Samuel Maynard*, Son and Heir apparent of Sir *Boyle Maynard*: All late of the County of WATERFORD. *Henry Hickman* of *Dunaguroge* in the County of CLARE Gentleman. *Thomas Hawkins* of *Killalow* Gentleman, *Connor O Bryen* of *Drumore* Gentleman, *James Hamilton* Esq; Son to *William Hamilton*, and *Francis Burton* of

of *Buncraggii* Esq; All late of the County of CLARE. *Robert Blenerhassett* of *Killorglain* alias *Castle-Conway* Gentleman, *John Blenerhassett* and *Robert Blenerhassett*, Sons to the said *Robert*; *John Blenerhassett* of *Ballysidy* Gentleman, *Samuel Morris* Junior of *Ballybeggan* Gentleman, *Jasper Morris* of *Ballyengowne* Gentleman, *William Gun* of *Rathoe* Esq; *Richard Gun* Son and Heir to the said *William*, *Richard Orpin* of *Gortkinlinny* Gentleman, *Robert Tophin* of *Gortaglass* Gentleman, *Joseph Taylor* of *Killowen* Gentleman, *John Ponsonby* of *Stackstown* Gentleman, *Thomas Ponsonby* of the same Gentleman, *Thomas Collis* of *Taylagh* Gentleman, *Thomas Palmer* of *Gortaglass* Clerk, *Arthur Dillon* of *Ardtully* *Theophilus Morris* of *Ballybeggan* Gentleman, *Samuel Raymond* of *Ballyloghrane* Esq; *William Nicholson* of *Tralee* Inn-keeper, *Barry Denny* of *Barro* Gentleman, *Pierce Crosby*, Son and Heir apparent of *Patrick Crosby*; *William Stanton* of *Ratoath* Gentleman, *Walter Thomas* of *Killeene* Gentleman, and *Samuel Wilson* Clerk: All late of the County of KERRY: Captain *Henry Fox* of *Ladkymore* in the County of TIPERARY, *Stephen Moore* of *Hoare-Abbey* Esq; Captain *Chidley Coote* of *Ardmayle*, *Andrew Coulter* of *Clonmell* Gentleman, *Michael Parker* of *Kilfosalla* Gentleman, *Edward Legg* of *Ballinderry* Gentleman, *Theophilus Legg* of the same Gentleman, *Arthur Taylor* of *Noare* Gentleman, *Robert Foulkes* of *Baptists-Grange* Gentleman, Lieutenant *Bradston* of *James Harrison* of *Clogh-Jordan* Esq; and *George Lehunt* of *Ballymore* Esq; All late of the County of TIPPERARY. *Henry Cunningham* of *Mount-Charles* Gentleman, *William Wray* of *Castlereu* Esq; *Michael Sampson* of *Fanoe* Esq; *John Hamilton* of *Murragh* Esq; *George Vaughan* of *Buncranagh* Esq; *John Forward* of *Coolemackirtane* Esq; *Henry Hart* of *Muffe* Esq; *Francis Cary* of *Redcastle* Esq. *George Hart* of *Muffe* Esq; *Hugh Hamill* of *Lifford* Esq; *John Mountgomery* of *Croghane* Esq; *John Nisbitt* of *Tully-Idonnell* Esq; *James Nisbitt* of the same Esq; *William Groves* of *Castle-Shannaghan* Esq; *Kilmer Braizier* of *Rath* Esq; *Matthew Cockaines* of *Raphoe* Esq; *Samuel Norman* of *Londonderry* Esq; Major *Gustavus Hamilton* of *Rusogile*, *Andrew Knox* Junior of *Carheuenavannanagh* Gentleman, *Matthew Babington* of *Castledoe* Gentleman, *Ralph Mansfield* of *Killigordan* Gentleman, *James Greham* Senior of *Ballarhule* Gentleman, *James Greham* Junior of the same Gentleman, *James Young* of the same, *Matthew Scot* of *Kinvre* Gentleman, *William Knox* of *Raphoe* Gentleman, *John Knox* of the same Gentleman, *John Wigton* of the same Gentleman, *Robert Cowen* of *St. Johnstown* Gentleman, *John Cowen* of the same Gent. *John Stewart* of *Dunduffe* Gent. *Stewart* of *Ballyleave* Gentleman, *Patrick Connelly* of *Belashannon* Gentleman,

Gentleman, *Patrick Spence* of *Donnegall* Gentleman, *Robert Spence* of the same Gentleman, *Matthew Spence* of the same Gentleman, *George Spence* of the same Gentleman, *Charles Calhoone* of *Letterkenney* Gentleman, *William Cunningham* of *Ballydavys* Gentleman, *Alexander Nisbitt* of *Tully Idonnell* Gentleman, *Andrew Lindsey* of *Castlemurry* Gentleman, *Charles Lessley* of *Termonmagrath* Clerk, *Tristrum Sweetenam* of *Bartt* Gentleman, *George Sweetenam* of the same Gentleman, *William Cary* of *Redcastle* Gentleman, *George Byers* of *Loghlycarrylan* Gentleman, *John Orr* of *Letterkenny* Gentleman, *James Orr* of the same Gentleman, *William Brice* of the same Gentleman, *Alexander Hogg* of *Loghtaike* Gentleman, *James Sinkler* of *Ramalan* Gentleman, *Henry Paton* of the same Gentleman, *William Farrald* of *Baugherbegg* Gentleman, *Hugh Caldwell* of *Donnegall* Gentleman, *John Crafford* of the same Gentleman, *Matthew Strong* of *Cloulee* Gentleman, *James Strong* of the same Gentleman, *George Everis* of *Donnegall* Gentleman, *Andrew Hamilton* of Gentleman, *Thomas Folliot* of *Bellashannon* Gentleman, *Francis Earles* of the same Gentleman, *Francis Jennings* of the same Gentleman, *William Walker* of *Donnegall* Gentleman, *Ralph Gore* of *Magharabegg* Esq; *Bazill Benson* of *Stravorlan* Gentleman, *James Fisher* of *Derry* Gentleman, *John Folliot* of *Bellashannon* Esq; *Charles Hamilton* of *Cavan* Esq; and Captain *Jervis Squire* of *Donaghmore*: All late of the COUNTY of DONNEGALL and LONDONDERRY. Lieutenant Colonel *Joseph Gordon* of the County of *Tyrone*, *Robert Kerr* of *Omagh* Gentleman, *Thomas Kerr* of the same Gentleman, *John Hamilton* of *Callidon* Esq; *Robert Huston* of *Castlestewart* Esq; *Alexander Sanderson* of *Tullylagan* Esq; *Francis White* of *Ballymagrane* Gentleman, *William Goodlett* of *Derry Gally* Gentleman, *William Cunningham* of *Cuagh* Esq; *John Cornwall* of *Mullaghmargaret* Gentleman, *James Moore* of *Garvy* Esq; Son to *William Moore*; *James Moore* of *Tully* Gentleman, *James Moore* of *Derryoretty* Gentleman, *Thomas Kerr* Senior of *Dunnaghmore* Gentleman, *John Morris* of *Gortnaglagh* Clerk, *Henry Maxwell* of *Glenarb* Gentleman, *James Maxwell* of the same Gentleman, *Alexander Woods* of *Kinard* Gentleman, *John Lowry* of *Aghiennis* Gentleman, *Robert Lowry* of the same Gentleman, *John Lowry* Junior of the same Gentleman, *Thomas Leech* of *Belloragh* Gentleman, *William Leech* of the same Gentleman, *William Moore* of *Anaghloghan* Gentleman, *David Kearnes* of *Askragh* Esq; *Charles Eccles* of *Fentonagh* Gentleman, *Samuel Eccles* of the same Gentleman, *John Graron* of *Aghir* Gentleman, *James Nisbitt* of *Killegreene* Gentleman, *Adam Tate* of *Ballygally* Gentleman, *Charles Hamilton* of the same Gentleman, Captain *Archibald Hamilton* of *Stantowny*, *Henry Mervyn* of *Omagh* Esq; *Audley Mervyn* of *Trelick* Gentleman,

William

William Gurvan of *Derry* Gentleman, *Francis Delapp* of *Moylagh* Gentleman, *Andrew Mac Cauſland* of *Claraghmore* Gentleman, *George Hamilton* of *May* Gentleman, *James Hamilton* of *Downlong* Eſq; *Robert Hamilton* of *Killiloony* Gentleman, *James Hamilton* of *Ardnobliſg* Merchant, *William Hamilton* of *Ballyſharane* Gentleman, *Matthew Babington* of *Urney* Gentleman, *George Walker* of *Dunaghmore* Clerk, *John Leſley* Junior of *Tirkernaghan* Gentleman, *William Stewart* of *Killemoon* Gentleman, and *Oliver Mac Cauſland* of *Reſh* Eſq; All late of the COUNTY of TYRONE. *Charles Caldwell* of *Bellick* in the County of *Fermannagh* Eſq; Son and Heir apparent of Sir *James Caldwell*, Captain *Abraham Creighton* of *Crum*, *David Ryna* of *Derryoland* Eſq; *William Wiſhart* of *Cluntaffrin* Eſq; *Guſtavus Hamilton* of *Moyntea* Eſq; *William Ervyn* of *Ballydullagh* Eſq; *Chriſtopher Ervyn* of the ſame Eſq; his Son, *Walter Johnſton* of *Millick* Eſq; *George Buchanon* of *Enniskilling* Eſq; *Francis Johnſton* of *Derrycholaght* Gentleman, *William Barton* of *Ror Iſland* Gentleman, *Robert Johnſton* of *Aghanure* Eſq; Lieutenant Coloner *Hugh Montgomery* of *Corrard*, *Robert Montgomery* of *Derrybrooke* Gentleman, *James Creighton* of *Crum* Gentleman, *James Aghinleck* of *Bellaghinlick*, Gentleman, *Andrew Forſter* of *Drungoon* Gentleman, *Hugh Roſſe* of *Roſſdagagh* Gentleman, *Chriſtopher Carleton* of *Bohne* Gentleman, *John Maffett* of *Letterboy*, Gentleman, *Adam Berry* of *Carne* Gentleman, *Rowland Berry* of *Arduerny* Gentleman, *John Berry* of the ſame Gentleman, *John Craizier* of *Cavan* Gentleman, *Lawrence Crafford* of *Cavancarragh* Gentleman, *Jaſon Haſſart* Senior of *Mullinesker* Gentleman, *Jaſon Haſſart* Junior of *Killnemaddue* Gentleman, Lieutenant *William Eſſet* of *Staraghan*, *Robert Catcarth* of *Creaghmore* Gentleman, *Archibald Hamilton* of *Drummarry* Gentleman, *Gabriel Shore* of *Magherboy* Gentleman, *Edward Morton* of *Mullenegough* Gentleman, Lieutenant *William Smith* of *Greenſh*, *Thomas Winſlow* of *Derryvore* Gentleman, *John Folliot* of *Fillenn* Gentleman, *William Green* of *Killeter* Clerk, *John Leonard* of *Magwyorsbridge* Gent. *Patrick Breadan* of *Derryboy* Gent. *Thomas Eſſet* of *Galoone* Gent. Doctor *John Leſley* of *Derryvoland* Pariſh, *Allen Cathcart* of *Enniskilling* Gent. *William Cottington* of the ſame Gent. *Thomas Dunbarr* of the ſame Gent. *William Smith* of *Clouniſh* Clerk, *John Andrews* of *Kinobir* Clerk, *John Forſter* of *Carnemackasker* Gent. *Thomas Bird* of *Liſſanaskea* Gent. *William Browning* of *Beallanamallagh* Gent. *George Caſhell* of *Dromine* Gent. *Robert Clarke* of *Enniskilling* Merchant, *James Delapp* Senior of the ſame Gent. *James Delapp* Junior of the ſame Gent. *Alexander Forker* of the ſame Gent. *Thomas Shore* of the ſame Gent. *Matthew Webſter* of the ſame Gent. *William Frith* of the ſame Gent. *William Mac Cormock* of the ſame Gent. *John Hall* of the ſame Gent. *William Cole* of *Colehill* Gent.

Bartholomew Drope of *Carrowrasky* Gent. *James Johnston* of *Magheryboy* Gent. *Richard Evett* of *Maghereſtephenagh* Gent. *Merick* of the ſame Gent. *Thomas Humphery* of *Aughvenuhue* Gent. *William Humphery* of *Drumaad* Gent. *John Croizier* of *Crockneale* Gent. *James Calhowne* of *Crevenish* Gent. *Charles Bingham* of the ſame Gent. *Alexander Johnſton* of *Mullaghſillogagh* Gent. *Hugh Mountgomery* of *Carhue* Eſq; *Thomas Roſgrave* of *Glordonothoe* Gent. *Ezekiel Webb* of *Enniskillin* Clerk, *George Humes* of *Cullencrunaht* Clerk, Cornet *John Maddiſon* of *Cloonygally*, *John Meanes* of *Stramreagh* Gent. *John Humphery* of *Mounterſadaghane* Gent. *Edward Pockridge* of *Gortnadridge* Gent. *Henry Walton* of *Laghnagalgreene* Gent. *William Walton* of the ſame Gent. *John Booreman* of *Coolebegg* Gent. *John Abercromby* of *Drumoroe* Gent. *Robert Galbraith* of *Drumadoon* Gent. *George Ellet* of *Tully* Gent. *Alexander Wyre* of *Managhan* Gent. *Thomas Chittoge* of *Caſh* Gent. *William Little* of *Drumenagh* Gent. *John Humes* of *Aghrim* Gent. *William Little* of *Ardumſin* Gent. *James Dundas* Gent. *Hugh Cathcart* of *Tullyſhanlan* Gent. *Alexander Catheart* of *Enniſway* Gent. *James Cathcart* of the ſame Gent. *Andrew Johnſton* of *Drumbeggan* Gent. *James Hamilton* of *Tullycreevy* Gent. *John Keer* of *Drumſilagh* Gent. *Robert Johnſton* of *Ginnavan* Gent. *Thomas Hinſton* of *Killerny* Gent. *Henry Robinſon* of *Roſſerolbane* Gent. *James Elliot* of *Storthin* Gent. *Robert Elliot* of the ſame Gent. *Thomas Elliot* of *Gallune* Gent. *Daniel Armſtrong* of *Chive* Gent. *Robert Armſtrong* of the ſame Gent. Captain *James Corry* of *Caſtlecoole*, *John Creighton* of *Aughaloane* Eſq; *Charles Belfore* of *Liſneskea* Eſq; *William Belfore* of the ſame Eſq; Captain *Hugh Magill*, Captain *Edward Davys* of *Knockballimore*, and *James Humes*, Son and Heir apparent of Sir *John Humes*: All late of the County of FERMANAGH. *William Brody* of *Cavan* *Andrew Bell* of *Agcubrive* Gent. *John Bell* of the ſame Gent. *Ambroſe Bedell* of *Curudallan* Gent. *Robert Booth* of *Drumcorbane* Yeoman, *William Cunningham* of *Killeſandra* Clerk, *Thomas Coach* of *Cabragh* Eſq; *Alexander Charter* of *Aughucony* Gent. *Arnold Cosby* of *Drumury* Gent. *Thomas Coote* of *Coote-Hall* Eſq; Doctor *Cooke* of Clerk, *James Coulding* of *Bealaheaſe* Clerk, *David Campbell* of *Bonnough* Yeoman, *Arthur Culme* of *Liſſnemeane* Eſq; *Edward Dixie* Dean of *Kilmore*, *Charles Mac Fadden* Junior of *Quilcagh* Gent. *Edward Mac Fadden* of the ſame Gent. *William Gun* of *Drummury* Gent. Captain *Meredith Gwyllin* of *Belaconnele*, *Henry Hamilton* of *Ballyborea* Eſq; *Thomas Heny* of *Aghcrive* Yeoman, *Richard Heny* of the ſame Yeoman, *Thomas Hart* of *Cumlin* Gent. *Daniel Hudſon* of the Mannor of *Skeogh* Gent. *Michael Leeds* of *Clunigunily* Gent. *Richard Lewis* of *Liſmore* Gent. *Patrick Laughy* of *Aughkillmore* Yeoman, *John Laughy* of the ſame Yeoman,

James

James Moore of *Tullivin* Gent. *John Maxwel* of *Farename* Gent. *Robert Maxwel* of the ſame Gent. *Thomas Newborogh* of *Belahayes* Eſq; *Broghell Newborogh* of the ſame Gent. *Joſeph Robinſon* of *Barrony* Gent. *Mark Robinſon* of the ſame Gent. *Robert Sanderſon of Caſtle-ſanderſon* Eſq; *William Stevens* of *Courteuſangan* Gent. *John Strong* of *Tanlagh* Yeoman, *James Strong* of the ſame Yeoman, *Oliver Stevens* Senior of *Gorteueſangan* Gentleman, *Oliver Steevens* of the ſame Gentleman, *Thomas Steevens* of the ſame Gentleman, *Samuel Townely* of *Moynehall* Eſq; *Francis White* of *Redhill* Eſq; *William Ward* of *Torroburt* Gent. *James Young* of *Coolebane* Gent. *Joſeph Tate* late of *Kiacanon* Yeoman, *James Hill* of *Killiter* Gent. *John Mee* of *Botler's-Bridge* Gent. *Matthew French* Senior of *Belturbet* Merchant, *Daniel French* of the ſame Merchant, *Thomas Netters* of the ſame Yeoman, *William Chaplein* of the ſame Yeoman, *William Cunningham* Miniſter of *Carrickallin*, *Conn Parett* of *Bealaheas* Gent. *Chriſtopher Harmon* of *Belanacarrig* Gentleman, *Henry Waldrom* of *Cavan* Eq; *James Anderſon* of *Killeſandra* Gentleman, *Thomas Mac Vice* of *Coolebane* Gentleman, *John Ballard* of *Cavan* Inn-keeper, *John Price* of the ſame Yeom. *John Holland* of the ſame Yeom. *Robert Cregg* of *Anghubane* Yeom. *Thomas White* of *Redhill* Gent. *George Ruſſel* of *Belturbet* Inn-keeper, *John Richard* of the ſame Yeom. *Abraham Kottnan* of the ſame Yeom. *William Wardell* of the ſame Yeom. *Bryan Waſſe* of the ſame Yeom. *William Coplin* Sen. of the ſame Yeom. *William Coplin* Jun. of the ſame Yeom. *Richard Keepe* of the ſame Yeoman, *Peter Enkuby* of the ſame Yeom. *Thomas Bagnall* of the ſame Yeom. *John Termand* of the ſame Yeom. *Henry Gwyllims* of *Dublin* Gent. *Thomas Humes* of *Killeſandra* Gent. *Henry Edgeworth* Eſq; and *Thomas Newborough* Jun. of *Bow Iſland* Gent. All late of the County of CAVAN. *Hugh Mountgomery* of *Carrow* in the County of *Monoghan* Eſq; *Blany Owens* of *Monoghan-Duffe* Eſq; *Thomas Cole* of *Ballyleck* Eſq; *Richard Pockridge* of *Aghanamallagh* Eſq; *William Smith* of *Corhallin* Eſq; *John Forſter* of *Toton* Clerk, *Henry Richardſon* of *Ballyclyan* Gent. *John Wildman* of *Skea* Gent. *Thomas Wildman* of the ſame Gent. *Henry James* of *Skearvan* Gent. *John Fiſher* of *Cornbarran* Gent. *John Weſt* of the ſame Gent. *John Scoutes* of *Dromick* Gent. Serjeant *John Oyſher* of *Gortmore*, *Roger Smith* of *Knock*, *Francis Roſſe* of *Anaghine* Gent. *John Forſter* of *Dromreske* Gent. *David Farguſon* of *Raconnel* Gent. *John Mountgomery* of *Raſinane* Gent. *James Mountgomery* of the ſame Gent. *John Ginn* of *Tidamit* Gent. *Robert Mountgomery* of *Mullaghtimore* Gent. *William Robinſon* of *Cappock* Gent. Serjeant *John Wright* of *Clunt*, *John Lachkin* of *Cugullagh* Yeom. *James Write* of *Scardoan* Gent. *Abraham Dancy* of *Aghaboy* Gent. *John Mac Nab* of *Glaſlogh* Gent. *Andrew Mac Nab* of the ſame Gent. *Thomas Johnſton* of the ſame Gent.

Oliver Anckell of *Anckell's-Grove* Gent. *Richard Anckell* of the same Gent. *Matthew Anckell* of the same Gent. *Roger Holland* of *Drumbanchor* Gent. *James Holland* of the same Gent. Captain *Richard Dawson* of *Killeroe*, *William Dawson* of the same Gent. *Lancelot Dawson* of the same Gent. *James Wright* of *Anaghagh* Gent. *John Slack* of *Tyraneril* Gent. *Richard Wright* of *Tulchan* Gent. *George Scot* of *Bogh* Gent. *John Breedy* of *Eorvas* Gent. *Robert Thomas* of *Aghaboy* Gent. *John Forster* of *Clunvely* Gent. *James Moore* of *Buttry* Gent. Captain *Samuel Stiles* of *Carrudaragh*, *George Robinson* of *Kilcoran* Gent. *George Robinson* Jun. of the same Gent. *John Nelson* of *Mullroy* Gent. *John Knox* of *Glasloch* Gent. Captain *Joseph Johnston* of *Cranvale*, Lieutenant *Colen Johnston* of the same, *James Mac Gerhey* of *Roscorban* Gent. *William Browne* of *Balldunbengry* Gent. Lieutenant *Henry Owens* of *Monaghduffe*, *Edward Owens* of the same Gent. *John Sparks* of *Convecheesia* Gent. *John Dawson* of *Kilcroe* Gent. *Isaac Dawson* of *Dromlary* Gent. *David Karnaghan* of *Ballanageeragh* Gent. *Joseph Walsh* of *Drumrinagh* Gent. *Thomas Pardy* of *Killeneck* Gent. *Fulke Elinton* of *Skrunageeragh* Gent. Lieutenant *John Graham* of *Glasnogh*, *Henry Walton* of *Loghnagulgreene* Gent. *Henry Robinson* of the same Gent. *William Robinson* of the same Gent. Cornet *John Maddison* of *Amy*, Ensign *Edward Maddison* of the same, *James Christy* of *Monoghan* Clerk, *William Wallock* of *Dromhillagh* Gent. Captain *John Ryden* of *Ballamara*, Serjeant *Thomas Walsh* of *Desty*, *James Cooper* of *Drumbarragh* Gent. *Alexander Cooper* of the same Gent. Capt. *Thomas Coote* of *Kilnew*, *John Cossens* of *Corrively* Gent. *John Cossens* Jun. of the same Gent. *Walter Carry* of *Clan* Gent. *John Atkinson* of *Dromore* Gent. *Thomas Portys* of *Clundevory* Gent. *Francis Johnston* of *Crosbane* Gent. *Dacre Barret* of *Clonnish* Gent. Capt. *William Wishard* of *Clantewrin*, Capt. *Walter Dawson* of *Rush*, *William Smith* of *Clonnish* Clerk, *William Warren* of *Monoghan* Clerk, *John Knox* of *Glasslogh* Clerk, *Thomas Fitz-Symons* of *Tullyconbot* Clerk, *Michael Gipson* of *Monoghan* Clerk, *William Maxwel* of *Farkland* Gent. *John Bradshaw* of *Lysollinch* Gent. *Charles Corson* of *Clovaule* Gent. Ensign *Christopher Crow* of the same, *George Frizel* of *Cumer* Gent. *William Johnston* of *Clonnish*, *George Gibb* of the same Gent. *George Hamersly* of the same Gent. Capt. *Francis Forster* of *Castle-Caulfield*, *William Johnston* of *Tyhallon* Gent. *John Gilmore* of *Monoghan* Gent. *Hugh Gilmore* of the same Gent. *Thomas Ellis* of the same Gent. *Thomas Burgis* of the same Gent. *Thomas Younge* of the same Gent. *William Keiran* of the same Gent. *David Meads* of the same Gent. *John Sharp* of the same Gent. *John Togher* of *Castle-shane* Gent. *George Knight* of the same Gent. *Abraham Knight* of the same Gent. *John Mills* of the same Gent. *William Torrer* of the same Gent. *James Burdin* of the same Gent. *Robert Scott* of the same Gent. *William Scott* of the same Gent. *Robert*

bert Scott of *Anaghanle* Gent. Capt. *Bazil Brooke* of *Tullaghgallan*, *John Dobb* of *Carick* Gent. Capt. *Bernard Ward* of the ſame, *Bryan Ward* of *Ballymure* Gent. Capt. *Arthur Baſhford* of the ſame, *Edward Clarke* of the ſame Gent. Serjeant *William Fox* of the ſame, *Andrew Mountgomery* of the ſame Clerk, Serjeant *John Oyſter* of *Enniskillin*, *John Webſter* of *Monoghan* Gent. *James Parr* of the ſame Gent. *Richard Parr* of the ſame Gent. *William Smith* of *Kilmore* Gent. *Thomas Clugſton* of *Monoghan* Gent. *Thomas Holmes* of the ſame Gent. Col. *Richard Cole* of *Ballyleck*, Lieutenant *Francis Cole* of the ſame, *Ralph Barlow* of *Anaghmallagh* Clerk, Capt. *James Corry* of *Bally Clanard*, Lieutenant *Edward Dixie* of *Ballyruſh*, *William Robinſon* of the ſame Gent. *Joſeph Thornton* of *Coragore* Gent. *George Thornton* of the ſame Gent. *William Thornton* of the ſame Gent. *Thomas Thornton* of the ſame Gent. *Samuel Corry* of *Glaan* Gent. *Nathaniel Corry* of the ſame Gent. and *Iſaiah Corry* of the ſame Gent. All late of the County of MONOGHAN. *Popham Conway* alias *Seymore* Eſq; *Clothworthy Sheffington* of *Antrim* in the County of *Antrim* Eſq; Col. *Robert Adaire* of *Ballymenagh*, Capt. *Edward Harriſon* of *Killulagh*, Capt. *Archibald Edmonſon* of *Ballygarry*, *Arthur Upton* of *Temple-Patrick* Eſq; Capt. *Richard Dobb* Jun. of *Ballynure* Lieutenant Col. *William Sham* of *Gemeway*, Lieutenant Col. *Charles Stewart* of *Ballintoy*, Capt. *William Stewart* of *Grigary*, *Andrew Rowan* of *Oldſtowne* Clerk, Capt. *William Rowan* of the ſame, Capt. *William Shaw* of *Baſh*, Capt. *Patrick Sham* of *Ballygally*, Capt. *James Shaw* of *Belfaſt*, *Henry Shaw* of *Ballyvoy* Gent. Capt. *George Macartney* of *Belfaſt*, Capt. *Hugh Mac Neale* of *Clare*, Lieut. Col. *Robert Hueſton* of *Cregg*, *Francis Hueſton* of the ſame Gent. Capt. *William Adare* of *Ballymenagh*, Capt. *Michael Galland* of *Vowes*, *Benjamin Galland* of the ſame Gent. Capt. *John Hamilton* of *Cloghmits*, *James Hamilton* of the ſame Gent. *William Hamilton* of the ſame Gent. Capt. *William Eaton* of *Dunſane*, Capt. *John Biggerſtaffe* of *Roſſegiſte*, Capt. *John Lyndon* Jun. of *Carrickfergus*, Capt. *John Harper* of *Ballymenagh*, *James Mac Clure* of *Kilmackevet* Gent. *Joſeph Cunningham* of the ſame Gent. *Forriſt Shortrix* of *Antrim* Gent. *John MacCay* of *Mults* Gent. *George Buttle* of *Glenarme* Gent. *John Donelſon* of the ſame Gent. *Patrick Agnew* of *Killanter* Gent. *William Cragg* of *Glenarme* Gent. *George Johnſton* of *Glins* Gent. *John Crumy* of *Ballymuny* Gent. *James Stewart* of *Ballyluske* Gent. *William Mac Fetrisk* of *Carneglaſs* Gent. *Robert Clugſton* of *Belfaſt* Gent. *John Mac Neale* of *Billy* Gent. . . . *Harvyes* of *Ballymuny* Clerk, *Alexander Boyde* of *Carranmore* Gent. *John Fullerton* of *Ballagh* Gent. Capt. *Ralph Smith* Junior, Capt. *Hercules Davis*, *John Davys* Eſq; Son to *Heroules Davys*, and *Clothworthy Upton* Eſq; All late of the County of ANTRIM. *John Hawkins* of *Rathfryland* in the County of DOWN Eſq; *James Hamilton* of *Tullymore* Eſq; *James Hamilton* of *Bangor* Eſq; *James*

Hamilton

Hamilton of *Carricknaſire* Eſq; *Charles Ward* of *Killaugh* Eſq; *Bernard Ward* of *Caſtleward* Eſq; *George Maxwell* of *Killaleugh* Eſq; Son to Sir *Robert Maxwell*, *John Mac Neal* Dean of *Down*, *Daniel Mac Neal* of *Dundrum* Gent. *William Breete* of *Nappers-Town* Eſq; *John Hamilton* of *Erenagh* Eſq; *Jaſper Brent* of *Nappers-Town* Gent. *Bernard Brent* of the ſame, Gent. *Richard Turke* late of *Downe* Gent. *Hugh Browne* of the ſame Gent. *Rowland Browne* of the ſame Gent. *William Palmer* of *Caſtleskrine* Gent. *Marks Hodges* late of *Downe* Gent. *George Johnſton* of *Kilcleef* Gent. *Anthony Lock* of *Downe* Gent. *John Haddock* of *Cornabane* Gent. *William Redmond* of *Clontough* Gent. *Robert Ecclin* late of *Killough* Gent. *John Ward* of *Caſtleward* Eſq; *John Smart* of *Cookes-Town* Gent. *John Blackwood* Jun. of *Bangor* Gent. *Henry Weſt* of *Ballydugane* Eſq; *William Pringle* of *Laghnebaper* Gent. *David White* of *Reliagh* Gent. *John Ringland* of *Kilmore* Gent. *George Maxwell* of *Derryboy* Gent. *James Erwyne* of *Killeleagh* Gent. Lieutenant *James Butler* of *Rincady*, *Alexander Stewart* of *Ringduffrant* Gent, *James Pattent* of *Magherknock* Gent. *Hugh Wallace* of *Revera* Gent. *Patrick Hamilton* of *Granſagh* Gent. *Arthur Maxwell* of *Drumbridge* Gent. *James Mac Gill* Jun. Son to Captain *James Mac Gill*, *John Mac Gill* of *Munallon* Gent. *Matthew Beates* of *Ballyvinchan* Gent. *Edward Jackſon* of the ſame Gent. *John Ealine* of *Erquine* Eſq; *William Mac Cormuck* of the ſame Gent. *William Mountgomery* of *Roſmond* Eſq; *Hugh Maxwell* of *Ballyquinline*, *James Mountgomery*, Son to the aforeſaid *William*, *James Bailey* of *Eninſorkey* Eſq; *Hugh Mac Gill* late of *Kirſtown* Eſq; *Archibald Mac Neal* Clerk, *Hugh Mountgomery* of *Ballymagowne* Eſq; *John Mountgomory* of *Carrickboy* Gent. *James Roſſe* of *Portefore* Eſq; *William Hogg* of *Barrady* Gent. *John Stenſon* near *Bangar* Gent. *John Blackwood* of *Bangor* Gent. *James Barkeley* of *Ballyſallagh* Gent. *John Sanders* of *Newtown* Gent. *David Campbel* of *Cumber* Eſq; *Hugh Mountgomery* of *Ballymalady* Gent. *Gowin Hamiltom* of *Liſſwine* Gent. *William Hamilton* his Brother, *James Moore* Senior of *Ballybregagh* Gent. *James Moore* Junior of *Corruckmainu* Gent. *John Wallas* of *Revera* Gent. *Hugh Farely* of *Boordmil* Gent. *Francis Aneſly* of *Cloghmaghericat* Gent. *Hugh Johnſton* of *Readamon* Gentleman, *Lenmel Matthews* Arch-Deacon of *Downe*, *Alexander Bally* of *Reindefferant* Gent. *Thomas Wardlow* late of *Mourne* Gent. *William Shaw* of *Raſindy* Gent. *Robert Gibſon* of *Dromeragh* Pariſh Gent. *Alexander Stewart* late of *Ardmullin* Gent. *Roger Hall* of *Lagan* Eſq; *John Norris* of *New-caſtle* Eſq; *John Robinſon* of *Tullimore* Gent. *Henry Monrow* of *Drominskagh* Eſq; *James Waddel* of *Iſhan Derry* Gent. *Hugh Waddle* of the ſame Gent. *Alexander Waddle* of the ſame Gent. *William Haltridge* of *Dromore* Gent. *Robert Swift* of *Liſſnereward* Gent. *Robert Campbel* of *Laghans* Gent. *William Campbel* of *Tollyeare* Gent.

Jeremy

Jeremy Muſſindine of *Hilsborough* Gent. *Thomas Johnſton* late of *Gilhall* Gent. *William Manſon* of *Ballynaleary* Gent. *Charles Caſslet* of *Laghinlan* Gent. *John Boyle* of *Dromnovady* Gent. *Nicholas Bagnal* of *Newry* Eſq; *Nicholas Price* Eſq; *John Law* of *Mangerlin* Gent. *James Slone* of *Dublin* Eſq; Cornet *William Mountgomery* of *Granſagh*, *Richard Warren* of *Clonconnel* Gent. *Thomas Waring* of the ſame, and *Robert Roſſe* of *Rathfryland* Gent. All late of the County of DOWNE. *Downeham Cope* of *Dromely* Eſq; *James Maxwel* Jun. of *Mullaghiteny* Eſq; *James Gillaſpy* of *Anaghrope* Gent. *John Erwin* of *Tynan* Gent. *William Heardman* of *Dartan*, *Francis Hamilton* of *Tullybrock* Gent. *Hugh Rowley* of *Tubbermore* Eſq; *Francis Obery* of *Clantylne* Gent. *William Richardſon* of *Legecurry* Eſq; *George Blacker* Jun. of *Knockbridge* Gent. *Henry Hunter* of *Ballymeally* Gent. *Jonathan Powel* of *Ballybroly* Gent. *Daniel Maddin* of of *Toneregge* Gent. *William Denny* of *Clonbrazile* Gent. *John Dawſon* of *Ardmagh* Gent. *Walter Dawſon* Sen. of the ſame Gent. *Walter Dawſon* Jun. of the ſame Gent. *Ralph Trueman* Sen. of *Braccagh* Gent. *Meredith Workeman* of *Meagh* Gent. Captain *John Johnſton* of *Dromconnel*, *Robert Fenly* of *Humilton's-Bawne* Gent. *Thomas Ball* of *Glaſſedromi* Eſq; *Charles Pointz* of the ſame Gent. Major *Joſeph Strowde* of *Lisburne*, and *Joſeph Strowde* Gent. All late in the County of ARDMAGH. *Alexander Stewart* Eſquire, Son to the Lord *Mountjoy*, *Warham Jemett* Collector, Captain *Alexander Lacky*, Captain *Samuel Norman*, Captain *Matthew Cockini*, Captain *Alexander Tompkins*, Captain *John Tompkins*, Captain *Thomas Moncreiffe*, Captain *James Lenox*, Captain *Horan Kenedy*, Lieutenant *William Crookeſhankes*, Lieutenant *James Boyde*, Lieutenant *James Spicke*, Lieutenant *Daniel Sherrard*, Lieutenant *Edward Brookes*, Lieutenant *William Wallace*, Lieutenant *Henry Long*, Lieutenant *William Macky*, Lieutenant *Robert Morriſon*, Lieutenant *William Newton*, Lieutenant *Henry Campſy*, Lieutenant *Henry Thompſon*, Colonel *George Philips* of *Newtownlemevaddy*, Captain *William Smith*, Captain *Andrew Alexander*, Captain *Thomas Philips*, Junior, Lieutenant-Col. *Edward Cary* of *Dungiven*, Captain *Alexander Skipton*, Captain *Stephen Heard*, Captain *James Strong*, Captain *Thomas Aſh*, Captain *James Howey* of *Muſſe*, Captain *Samuel Hobſon*, Capt. *George Skipton* of *Foughanveale*, Capt. *John Gage* of *Moygillan* Capt. *Hallineare* of *Ballycaſtle*, Capt. *Abraham Hilhouſe* of the ſame, Col. *George Canning* of *Garvagly*, Capt. *Nicholas Edwards* of *Kilreah*, Capt. *William Church*, Capt. *Miller*, Capt. *Adam Downing* of *Ballaghy*, Capt. *Matthew MacLoran* of *Dawſonsbridge*, Capt. *Hugh Reamy* Lieut. Col. *William Cunningham* of *Ballydrum*, Capt. *James Rea*, Capt. *Sam. Wright*, Lieut. Col. *Robert Lundy*, and *David Roſſe* of *Londonderry* Gent. All late of the County of *Londonderry*.

Captain

Captain *John Forward* of *Coolmackeiltrean*, Capt. *John Cowan* of *S. Johnſton*, Capt. *Francis Cary* of *Redcaſtle*, Capt. *George Vaughan* of *Buntrannagh*, Capt. *Henry Hart* of *Muffe* in *Enniſhone*, Capt. *Robert Cary* of *Whitecaſtle*, Captain *William Latham* of *Ballymagrorty*, Lieutenant *William Cary* of *Ballyeany*, alias *Brideſtown*, *Thomas Blaire* of *Aghadny* Gent. *Henry Gorge* of *Somerſet*, Son of Col. *Gorge*, and *Patrick Jordan* of *Caſtleroe* Gent. All late of the Counties of DONNEGAL or DERRY. *Oliver St. George*, Jun. of *Headford* Eſq; ſecond Son to Sir *Oliver St. George*, *Richard St. George* of *Dunmore* Eſq; *George St. George* of the ſame Eſq; *John Blackny* of *Gallagh* Eſq; *Robert Corlewes* of *Dunmere* Gent. *John Eyres* of *Eyres Court* Eſq; and *Samuel Eyres* of the ſame. All late of the County of GALWAY. *Daniel Hutſon* of *St. John's* Eſq; Capt. *Chidley Coote* of *Voughterhire*, *John Drury* of *Callow* Gent. *Edward Nickleſon* of *Caſtlereagh* Clerk, *Edward Hawkes* of *Roſcommon* Clerk, *Thomas Floyd* of *Croghane* Eſq; *Toby Molloy* of *Knocviccar* Gent. *Edward Sandford* of *Caſtlereagh* Gent. *John Yeadon* of *Boyle* Yeom. *George Croſton* of *Kilbridge* Gent. *John Nickleſon* of *Caſtlereagh* Clerk, *Henry Irwing* of *Boyanagh* Yeom. *William Lambert* of *Moyheiden* Gent. *Richard Glaſſe* of *Clooneawne* Gent. *Jacob Jaques* of *Athlone* Inkeeper, *Anthony Cope* Dean of *Elphin*, *Henry Yeadon* of *Boyle* Clerk, *Gilbert Ormsby* of *Tobervaddy* Eſq; and *John Croſton* of *Kilbride* Gent. All late of the County of ROSCOMMON. *Anthur Cooper* of *Marker* Gent. *Richard Cooper* of the ſame Gent. *William Ormsby* of *Court* Gent. *Francis King* of *Ballindune* Gent. *Charles Dodd* of *Tyrillel* Gent. *Robert Foliot* of *Dromdony* Gent. *Henry Hughs* and *Thomas Hughs* of *Crahane* Barony Gent. *VVilliam Harlow* of *Rathmullin* . . . . . *Thomas Hart* of *Ballinſpor*, *George Cooper of Tyrillel* Gent. *Morgan Hart* of *Ballinſpor* Gent. *Rober Hart* of the ſame Gent. *James Nipper* of *Tobberaghoirne* Gent. *Richard Brookes* of *Tullybeg* Gent. Doctor *John Leſly* of *Ballytogher* Clerk, *Stephen Ormsby* of *Caſtleloghdarregin* Gent. *Roger Smith* of *Knocknaſamer* Gent. *Henry Nickleſon* of *Ballanagargine* Gent. *Roger Nickleſon* of the ſame Gent. *Adam Ormsby* of *Comine* Gent. *Francis Ormsby* of *Careneerow* Gent. *Richard Smith* of *Coolany* Gent. *Francis Gore* and *VVilliam Gore* of *Sligoe* Gent. *Coote Ormsby* of *Sligoe* Clerk, *Peirce Geathing* of the ſame Eſq; *Philip Cox* of the ſame Gent. *Humphery Booth* of the ſame Eſq; *Humphry Booth* Junior of the ſame Gent. *Anthony Colly* of *Moyhgara* Gent. *Richard Philips* of *Sligoe* Gent. *James Soden* of *Grange* Gent. *Jeremy Jones* of *Arduaglaſs* Eſq; *Lewis Jones* of the ſame Eſq; *John Urwing* of *Tonregoe* Gent. *Alexander Urwing* of the ſame Gent. *Thomas Griffith* of *Ballingchara* Eſq; *Thomas Griffith* Jun. of the ſame Gent. *William Griffith* of *Sligoe* Gent. *Richard Neſſon* of *Grange* Gent. Enſign *William Story* of *Roſſe*, *Thomas Osborne* near *Sligoe* Gent. *Henry Osborne* of the ſame Gent. *Henry Griffin* of *Sligoe* Gent. *William Nickleſon* of *Ardtairmane* Gent.

Charles

Charles Nicleſon of *Larraſs*, Gent. *Edward Hunter* of *Ballyelly*, Gent. *Rich. Wood* of *Laccan*, Eſq; *Edward Wood* of *Court*, Eſq; *Stephen Wagget* of *Cooluny*, yeom. *Thomas Crocar* of the ſame, yeom. *Sam. Nicleſon* of *Caſtle-Canure*, Gent. *Roger Walton* of the ſame Tanner: *Michael Jones* of *Leghane*, Clerk: *William Mortimer* of *Tyrellel*, Gent. *William Mortimer* Jun. of the ſame, Gent. *Thomas Caſhoe* of *Ballyſadara*, Gent. *Thomas Burne* of *Caſtle-Canure*, Tanner: *Arthur Gore* of *Sligoe*, Gent. *John Palmer* of *Knockmullin*, Gent. and *Thomas Ormsby* of *Comin*, Gent. All late of the County of SLIGOE. *Arthur Gore* of the County of *Mayo*, Gent. Son and Heir to Sir *Arthur Gore*: Major *Owen Vaughan* of *Carrowmore*: *Charles Bingham* of *Foxford*, Gent. Capt. *Thomas Brent* of *Ballinrobe*: *James Moore* of *Killala*, Gent. *Claud Watts* of *Tyrally*, Gent. *John Robinſon* of *Rathreagh*, Gent. *Lawrence Mackin* of *Rathduffe*, Gent. *Benjamin Long* of *Mayne*, Gent. *Lewis Winn* of *Ballyvighan*, Eſq; *John Bingham* Sen. of *Foxford*, Eſq; All late of the County of MAYO. *William Lowther*, Eſq; *James Nisbitt*, Eſq; *Robert Galbraith*, Gent. *Robert Collys*: *William Nichols*: *Guſtavus Nichols*: *William Parſons*: Lieutenant *Robert Elliot*: . . . . . *Waagh*: *Thomas Floyd*, Eſq; Capt. *Hugh Mountgomery*: Capt. *Edward Nicholſon*: *Robert Craige*: *William Charleton*: Capt. . . . . *Manſley*: *Lancelot Lowther*: *William Elliot*: . . . *Graham*: *John Anderſon*: *Thomas Vernloe*: *Francis Gore*: *James Maxwel*, Clerk: *William Cunningham*, Clerk: *Robert Roſſe*, Clerk: *Henry Palmer*, Clerk: and *James Wynn* of *Lorgan-Boy*, Eſq; All late of the County of LEITRIM: Whether Dead or Alive, or Kill'd in Open Rebellion, or now in Arms againſt your Majeſty, or otherwiſe: And every of them ſhall be deemed, taken and reputed, and are hereby declared and adjudged Traytors, convicted and attainted of High Treaſon, and ſhall ſuffer ſuch Pains of Death, Penalties and Forfeitures reſpectively, as in Caſes of High Treaſon are accuſtomed. PROVIDED, that in caſe it happen that any of the Perſons hereby Attainted, or to be Attainted, do now abide or dwell in this Kingdom, and are amenable to the Law, that then and in ſuch caſe, if ſuch Perſon and Perſons do by the Tenth day of *Auguſt*, 1689, without compulſion, of his own accord come in and deliver himſelf to the Lord Chief Juſtice of your Majeſties Court of King's-Bench in *Ireland*, or to any other of the Judges of the ſaid Court, or of any other of your Majeſties Four Courts in *Dublin*, or to any Judge of Aſſize in their Circuits, to be charged with any Treaſon, to be charged or imputed to him or them, that then and in ſuch caſe, ſuch Perſon and Perſons (if after acquitted by the Laws of this Land, or diſcharged by Proclamation) ſhall be freed, diſcharged, and acquitted from all Pains, Puniſhments, and Forfeitures by this Act incurred laid or impoſed; any thing in this Act to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. AND Whereas

the ſeveral Perſons hereafter named (*viz.*) *John Veazey*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Tuam*: *Arthur Chicheſter*, Earl of *Donnegal*: *Folliot Wingfield*, Viſcount *Powers-Court*: *William Morton*, Lord Biſhop of *Kildare*: *William Smith*, Lord Biſhop of *Raphoe*: *Narciſſus Marſh*, Lord Biſhop of *Fernes* and *Laughlin*: *Edward Jones*, Lord Biſhop of *Cloyne*: *Capel Wiſeman*, Lord Biſhop of *Dromore*: Sir *John Peyton*, Baronet: Sir *Thomas Domvile* of *Temple-oge*, Baronet: Sir *Arthur Jones* of *Osberſtown*, Baronet: Sir *John Morgan*, Baronet: Sir *Edward Croſton* of *Moſe*, Baronet: Sir *Henry Bingham* of *Caſtlebarr*, Baronet: Sir *William Evans*, Baronet: Sir *Abel Ram*, Knight, Sir *John Coghil* of *Drumconragh*, Knight: Sir *William Wentworth* of *Dublin*, Knight: Sir *Henry Ponſonby*, Knight: Sir *William Lemon* of *Knockanelewer*, Knight: Sir *John Dillon* of *Liſmullin*, Knight: Sir *Robert Cole* of *Balleymackey*, Knight: Sir *Toby Poynes* of *Brecknock*, Knight: *Bartholomew Vanhumrigh* of the City of *Dublin*, Merchant: *Philip Crofts*, Gent. *Stephen Ludlow*, Eſq; *Anderſon Sanders*, Eſq; *Robert Pooley*, Gent. *Luke Lowther* late Alderman: *Abraham Yarner*, Eſq; *Edward Harris*, Gent. *Robert Bridges*, Eſq; *William Swift*, Gent. Dr. *Ralph Howard*: *John Linegar* late of *Dunbree*: *Henry Aſhton*, Glover: *Edward Feyly*, Gent. *Adam Swift*, Gent. *Thomas Putland*, Merch. *John Carr*, Gent. *Matthew French* Jun. *Samuel Jackſon*, Gent. *Henry Salmon*, Merch. *Charles Carter*, Sadler: *Henry Ecclin*, Eſq; late one of his Majeſties Sergeants at Law: *Nehemiah Donneland*, Eſq; Counſellor at Law: *Peter Weſtenra*, Eſq; *Henry Monk*, Eſq; *William Maule*, Eſq; *Murtagh Dowling*, Eſq; *Iſaac Dobſon*, Eſq; *Robert Stopford*, Eſq; *Robert Peppard*, Eſq; *John Gowrney*, Eſq; *Thomas Tilſon*, Eſq; *Joſeph Deane*, Eſq; late Seneſchal of St. *Pulchers* Liberties: *James Grace* Eſq; late Seneſchal of *Chriſt-Church* Liberties: *Robert Sanders*, Eſq; *Robert Alloway*, Eſq; late one of the Officers of the Ordnance: Doctor . . . . *Miller*: *John Thompſon*, late Agent for the Commiſſioners: *Thomas Spranger*, late Examinator of the High Court of Chancery: Captain *James Gardner* of *Pimlicoe*: Capt. *Thomas Cooke* of St. *James's-Street*: Capt. *John Rawlins* of *Strand-Street*: *William Ralpſon*, Gent. *William Scott*, Gent. *Temple Briſcoe*, Gent. *William Ormsby*, Gent. *Anthony Nixon*, Gent. *John Bate*, Gent. *Richard Thompſon*, Gent. *Bejamin Chitwood*: *Thomas Osborne*, Gent. *John Gardner*, Gent. *John Theacker*, Gent. *Giles Spencer*, Gent. *Jacob Peppard*, Gent. *Michael Harborne*, Gent. *Andrew Lloyd*, Gent. *Iſaac Ambroſe*, Gent. *Jeremiah Roſcoe*, Gent. *Philip Harris*, Gent. *Richard Flemming*, Gent. *Will. Tiſdall*, Gent. *Chriſtop. Caldwell*, Gent. *Thomas Carter*, Gent. *Charles Grolier*, Gent. *Fauſtine Cuppage*, Gent. *Richard Hacket*, Gent. *Charles King*, Gent. *John Rotten*, Gent. *Henry Reeves*, Gent. *Zachary Foxal*, Gent. *Thomas Fiſher*, Gent, *Gilbert Holmes*, Gent. *Thomas Siſſon*, Scrivener: *John Gay* the younger:

Charles

Charles Campbell, Gent. *Thomas Twigg*, Gent. *Daniel Cooke*, Gent. *Edmond Reynel*, Gent. *Samuel Frith*, Gent. *George Osborne*, Gent. *John Edge*, Gent. *John Hill*, Gent. *Robert Curtis*, Gent. *John Curtis*, Gent. *Henry Whitfield*, and . . . *Whitfield* Sons to Councellor *Whitfield*: *Mordecay Abbot*, Gent. *Tobyas Creamer* of *St. Thomas-Street*, Gent. *Charles Wallis* of the ſame, Gent. *William Berry*, Gent. *William Wybrants*, Gent. *Benjamin Burton*, Banker: *Edward Lloyd*, Merchant: *John Abbot*, late Steward of the Inns: *John Cuthbert* of *Skinner-Row*, Goldſmith: *John Pierſon* of *St. Thomas Street*, Brewer: *Samuel Bell* of the ſame, Gent. *Abraham Maw* of *Caſtle-Street*, Merchant, *John Aſhhurſt* of *St. Nicholas-Street*, Merch. *Henry Steevens* of *High-Street*, Merch. *Charles Batty* of *Corn-Market*, Upholdſterer: *Robert Briddock* of *Skinner-Row*, Merchant: *Edward Brookes* of *St. Warbourgh-Street*, Merchant: *John Lovet* of the *Blind-key*, Merchant: *William Stowel* of *High-ſtreet*, Ironmonger: *Simon Sherlock* of *Back-lane*, Brazier: *William Covett* of *Cornmarket*, Hozier: *Henry Smith* of *Skinner-Row*, Haberdaſher: *Henry Rogers* of *High-ſtreet*, Merchant-Taylor: *Arthur Fiſher* of the ſame, Plate-maker: *Vincent Bradſton* of *St. Patrick-Street*, Pewterer: *Walter Harris* of *Smithfield*, Merch. *Samuel Price* of *Pottle*, Ironmonger: *John Hadſon*, Maulſter: *Francis Prichard*, Gent. *Jonathan Taylor*, Chandler: *Samuel Care* of *High-ſtreet*, Merchant: *Thomas Doran* of the *Glib*, Vintner: *Philip Green* of the ſame, Chandler: *Dennis Caſh* of *High-ſtreet*, Merch. *Thomas Bodely* of the ſame, Merch. *Caleb Thomas* of the ſame, Merch. *John Boosby* of the ſame, Taylor: *Thomas Maſon* of the ſame, Merchant: *Robert Yeats* of *St. James-Street*, Skinner: *Henry Salmon* of *Meath-ſtreet*, Clothier: *Richard Booſe* of the ſame, Clothier: *Joſeph James* of *High-ſtreet*, Merch. *Robert Roper* of the *Combe*, Clothier: *Barnet Wells* of the ſame, Clothier: *William Lemon* of *St. Francis-ſtreet*, Baker: *Joſias Smith* of *Cavan-ſtreet*, Brewer: *George Duxberry* of the *Combe*, Clothier: *Patrick Campbell*, Stationer: *Eliphel Dobſon* of *Caſtle-ſtreet*, Stationer: *William Norman* of *Dames-ſtreet*, Stationer: *Charles Carter* of *Skinner-Row* Merch. *Francis Stoyt* of *Copper-Alley*, Merch. *Richard Tygh* of *Smithfield*, Merch. *John Green* of *Ormonds-key*, Carpenter: *James Cottingham* of *Skinner-Row*, Goldſmith: *Charles Thompſon* of *Cork-Hill*, Chyrurgeon: *Samuel Trevers* of *St. Marys-Abby*, Merch. *John Shelly* of *Skinner-Row*, Goldſmith: *Thomas Elliot* of the ſame, Cook: *John Quin*, Son to Alderman *Quin*: *Will. Hill* of *St. Patrick-ſtreet*, Merch. . . . . *Eaſtwood* of *College-Green*, Clothier: *James Hartly* of *Church-ſtreet*, Merch. *Walter Hitchcock*, Queriſter: Dean *John Pooly*: *John Allen*, Eſq; Son to Sir *Joſhua Allen*: *Will. Clerk* of *High-ſtreet*, Merchant-Taylor: *John Hetherington*, Peruke-maker, *Henry Kowlandſon* of *Skinner-row*, Merch. *William Founds* of *Temple-Bar*, Merch. *Thom. Taylor*, Gent. *Samuel Care* of *High-ſtreet*, Merchant-Taylor,

John Haſlack, Tanner: Doctor *John Maddin*: *Francis Roberts* and *Kender Roberts*, Brothers to the Earl of *Radnor*: *John Wallis* of *St. Thomas-ſtreet*, Gent. and *William Flood* of *College-green*, Gent. All late of the City of DUBLIN. *John Beatham* of *Killeck* in the County of *Dublin*, Eſq; *Edward Dean* of *Tyrenure*, Eſq; *Samuel Folio*, Chancellor of *St. Patricks*: *Robert Meade* of *Fobleſtown*, Gent. *Martin Baſil* of *Drumcarny*, Gent. *Francis Spring* of *Colledruth*, Gent. *William Wybrants* of *Grange*: *Bally Boyle*, Gent. *Iſaac Dobſon* of *Dundrum*, Gent. *Joſias Smith* of *St. Patricks-Cloſe*, Gent. *John Rawlins* of *New ſtreet*, Gent. *Thomas Baily* of *St. Patricks-Cloſe*, Gent. *John Waſtock* of *Newry*, Tanner: *Thomas Shaw* of *Crookedſtaff*, Tanner: *Philip Parker* of *St. Patricks-ſtreet*, Tanner: *John Ridgeway* of *Oldbawne*, Gent. *John Williamſon* of *Clondalcun*, Gent. *James Roberts* of *Newmarket*, Gent. *William Lemon* of *Kevan-ſtreet*, Gent. *William Nuans* of *Dunlavan*, Tanner: *Ralph Rule*, Prebend of *Kilmatalway*: *Edward Hind* of *Tallow*: *Thomas Theacker* of *Rathcoole*, Clerk: ... *Williamſon* of *Newcaſtle*, Clerk: *Henry Ryder*, Prebend of *Malehedurt*: Archdeacon *William Williamſon*: *William Fownes*: *Edward Swan* of *Kilriske*, Eſq; *Edward Keiley* the Attorney: *John Stearne* of *Ballagh*, Gent. *Thomas Springham* of *Finglaſs*, Gent. and *Peter Weſtenra* of *Blanchers-Town* Eſq; All late of the County, or City of DUBLIN. *Gilbert Holmes* of *Ovidſtown* in the County of *Kildare*, Gent. *Thomas Twigg* of *Blackrath*, Gent. *Duke Gifford* of *Caſtle Jordan*, Eſq; *John Davys* of *Littleburton*, Eſq; *Joſeph Damer* of *Filberry*, Gent. *William Warren* of *Grangebeg*, Gent. and *George Mervin* of *Tipperogan*, Gent. All late of the County of KILDARE. *John Tench* of *Stapleſtown* in the County of *Catherlogh*, Eſq; *Richard Warren*, Eſq; *Francis Bradſtown* of *Morterſtown*, Gent. *Thomas Bernard* of *Cloghuae*, Gent. *John Lucas* of *Rathdaniel*, Yeom. *Edmond Jones* of *Tullagh*, Eſq; *Cadwallader Wyn* of *Killelongford*, Gent. *Roger Piers*, Gent. *Joſeph Ivy* of *Grangeford*, Gent. *Urban Vigor* of *Old Leighlin*, Gent. ... *Cocks* of *Ballydartane*, Clerk: *Robert Stopford* of *Ballybrack*, Eſq; *Charles Wilcocks* of *Shierwood Park*, Gent. and ... *Elliot* of *Stapleſtown*, Clerk. All late of the County of CATHERLOGH. *John Baldwyn* Sen. of *Curraghlanty* in the Kings County, Eſq; *Edward Croſton* of *Redwood*, Gent. *Anthony Dobſon* of *Polekeiry*, Gent. *Meadhope Lloyd* of *Tumagh*, Gent. *John Jerome* of the ſame Gent. *Brigoe Henry* of *Ballynecrot*, Gent. *William Gun* of *Ballynrackin*, Gent. ...: *Winter* of *Caſtle-town*: *George Blundel* of *Kilcluncorkery*, Gent. *John Woods* of *Ballymorane*, Gent. *Thomas Green* of *Ballyengallagh*, Gent. ... *Wilkinſon* of *Fyntre*, Gent. ... *Parker* of .... All late of the King's-County. *Edw. Stubbers* of *Clarane* in the *Queens-County*, Eſq; *Maurice Cuffe* of *Ballygehy*, Gent. *Sam. Preſton* of *Junnoe*, Eſq; *J. Baily* of *Corballis*, Gent. *Nath. Keirin* of *Esker*, Gent. *Capt. T. Howard*

of

of *Clankelly*, *John Starkey* of *Lyſſeene* Gent. *Daniel Green* of *Abby Leix* Gent. *Jonathan Allard* of *Tobberboe* Eſq; Capt. *Thomas Denny* of *Clonruske*, *Samuel Gale* of *Crottentegle* Gent. *Nathaniel Nicholas* of *Marybarrogh* Gent. *Francis Wheeler* of *Garronconly* Gent. *John Aſhurt* of *Booly* Gent. *Robert Maxwell* of *Stradbally* Eſq; *Robert Pigot* eldeſt Son to *Thomas Pigot* of *Diſert*, *Robert Sanders* of *Ballynegar* Eſq; *Lancelot Sands* of *Killevan*. All late of the QUEEN's COUNTY. *Henry Ellis* of *Clanmillan* in the County of *Longford* Gent. *Alexander Dyer* Gent. *John Sankey* of *Tenelick* Eſq; *John Sankey* of *Killinbore* Gent. Capt. *Anthony Morley* of *Clogh*, *Daniel Mullinex* of *Ballyemully* Eſq; *William Moxon* of *Rathſallagh* Gent. *Robert Newcomen* of *Roſtown* Eſq; *John Adkins* Gent. *William Smith* Gent. *William Siſſers* Gent. *John Kennedy* of *Mullagh* Eſq; *George Flawne* of *Tonelagh* Gent. Capt. *George Newcomen*, Enſign *Beverly Newcomen*, *Alexander Forbeſſe* of *Glenmore* Gent. *John Scot* Gent. and *James Balzel*. All late of the County of LONGFORD. *Henry Osborne*, of *Dardiſtown* in the County of *Meath* Eſq; *George Peppard* of *Ballygart* Eſq; *Stafford Lightburne* of *Adamſtown* Eſq; *Lancelot Dowdal* of *Monktown* Eſq; *Peter Weſtenrae* of *Rathmore* Eſq; *Joſeph Prat* of *Garradice* Eſq; *Hugh Morgan* of *Rathcoran* Gent. *Benjamin Prat* of *Agherpallis* Gent. *Thomas Aſh* of *St. John's* Eſq; *Richard Barker* of *Corroboy* Gent. *William Smither* Gent. *John Lynegar* of *Baskenagh* Gent. *John Percival* of *Collierſtown* Eſq; *John Bolton* of *Ratoath* Clerk, *Walter Bruffe* of *Ballytraſny* Eſq; *John Maxwel* of *Oldcaſtel* Clerk, *Joſeph Prat* Jun. of *Garradice* Gent. *Arthur Shane* of *Dublin* Eſq; *Robert Stopford* of *Newhal* Eſq; Capt. *John Foord* of *Ardſallagh*, *Thomas Taylor* of *Kells* Eſq; *Charles Wade* of *Clonebrany* Gent. All late of the County of MEATH. *William Needham* of *Ballaghloe* in the County of *Weſt-Meath* Gent. *John Carleton* of *Ballyduffe* Gent. *Matthew Handcock* and *Stephen Handcock* Clerks, *Ebenezer Low* of *Newtown* Gent. *John Huſton* Jun. of *Knockaſſy* Gent. *John Roe* of *Ballinbar* Gent. Capt. *Edward Knight* of *Ballaharny*, *John Percival* Son of Capt. *Robert Percival*, *Stephen Markham* of *Tuitſtown* Gent. *Henry Monk* of *Hiltown* Eſq; *John Edge* late of *Dublin* Gent. *Edward Price* of the *Moate* Gent. *Edward Maſſey* of *Athlone* Merch. *Theodorus Barlow* and *Ralph Barlow* of *Balnaferagh* Gent. All late of the County of WEST-MEATH. *Agmundeſhion Cuffe* of *Burn-Church* in the County of *Kilkenny* Eſq; *Thomas Cuffe* of the ſame Eſq; *Hector Harris* of *Grenane* Gent. *Francis Wheeler* of *Leyrath* Eſq; *Joſeph Dean* Jun. of *Ballyduffe* Eſq; *Barthazer Cremer* of *Ballyſoyle* Eſq; *Edward Mayo* of *Rogerſtown* Gent. *Jonathan Widby* of *Kilcregane* yeom. *Bernard Annely* of *Ballymunty* Gent. *Wil. Toſier* of *Kilkenny* Gent. Capt. *James Gardiner* of *Ballyreddy*, *Wil. Gardiner* of the ſame Gent. *Ebenez. Warren* of the *Lodge* Eſq; *Eben. Watſon* of *Rosbereon* Gent. *Anth. Maude* of *Glaſhieore* Eſq; *Wil. Smith*

of

of *Foulkesrath* Gent. Capt. *Arthur Webb* of *Ballinraick*, *Thomas Cuffe* of *Smithstown* Gent. *Richard Mukins* of *Kilkenny* Merch. *John Wareing* of the same Gent. *Joseph Gale* of the same Gent. *John Desborough* of the same Gent. *Stephen Vaughan* of the same Clerk, *Martin Baxter* of *Fresford* Clerk, *John Johnston* of *Claragh* Gent. Lieutenant *Henry St. George* of *Kirlush*, *John Burden* of *Garanamanagh* yeom. *Thomas Barnes* of *Grange* Gent. . . . *Kingston* of *Knocktogher* Gent. *Richard Sankey* of *Kilkrony* Gent. *Joseph Osborne* of *Ballynemarnagh* Gent. *Edward Briscoe* of *Jamestown* Gent. *Lawrence Dower* of *Knocktogher* Clerk. All late of the County or City of KILKENNY. *Joshua Nun* of *St. Margaret* in the County of *Wexford* Gent. *John Smith* Sen. of *Wexford* Merch. *John Smith* Jun. of the same Merch. *John Rigby* of the same Merch. *Lawrence Davys* of *Enniscorthy* Merch. *Benj. Neal* of *Wexford* Clerk, *John Mihel* of *Little Kilclean* Esq; *Henry Archer* of *Enniscorthy* Merch. *Rich. Mihel* of *Ballyshop* Gent. *John Elmes* of *Ballykyrogebeg* Gent. *John Glascot* of *Ballyfarnoge* Gent. *Henry Gifford* of *Polemoge* Gent. *Will. Hamond* of *Pressagard* Gent. *Samuel Bats* of *Ross* Merch. *Samuel Pitts* of the same Merch. *Thomas Tongue* of the same Gent. *John Fountain* of *Middleton* Gent, *Sherington Grasvenor* of *Ardestown* Gent. *Henry Nappard* of *Ross* Sadler, *James Glascot* of *Bailyfarnoge* Gent. *Benjamin Glascot* of the same Gent. *John Dodd* of *Great Island* Farmer, *William Dodd* of the same Farmer, *Samuel Tench* of *Mullenderry* Gent. *Caleb Barnes* of *Ross* Gent. *Thomas Barnes* of the same Gent. *George Butler* of *Grange* Gent. *Richard Parot* of *Ross* Gent. *Christopher Namon* of *Camolin* Tanner; and *William Parsons* of *St. Johns*. All in the County of WEXFORD. *Abraham Yarner* of *Clonmayne* in the County of *Wicklow* Esq; *Richard Edward* Jun. of *Rathdown* Gent. *William Matthews* of *Templelyon* Gent. *Richard Lamb* of *Carranagower* Gent. *John Hacket* of *Wicklow* Gent. *Evan Price* of the same Gent. *John Stockdyn* of *Rossyduffe* Gent. *John Whitehead* of *Cooleboy* Gent. *Walter Hitchcock* of *Glancap* Gent. *Christopher Caldwel* of *Ballyhobbock* Gent. *Roger Price* of *Coolbane* Gent. *Thomas Kernes* of . . . Clerk, *Bethel Vaughan* of *Aghaveny* Gent. *John Hacket* Jun. of *Wicklow* Gent. *Samuel Hacket* of the same Gent. *James Luckins* of *Rathdrume* Gent. *Thomas Stanford* of the *Iron works*, *Paul Craddock* of *Ballyarthur* Gent. *John Craddock* of the same Gent. *Jonathan Rogers* of *Wicklow* Gent. *William Berry* of *Colboy* Gent. *George Brass of Ballycoug* Gent. *John Clarke* of *Glantoige* Gent. *John Letbbetter* of the same Gent. *Matthew Grange* of *Ballymoyle* Gent. *Meredith Williams* of *Templereny* Gent. *Robert Anthony* of *Rathdrume* Gent. *John Symons* of *Wicklow* Gent. *John Richinson* of the same Gent. *Richard Hoy* of the same Gent. *George Frost* of the same Gent. *John Nicholson* of *Glanteige* Gent. *John Eastwik* of *Newtown* Clerk, *John Boswell* of *Ballycarry* Gent. and *Roger Pierce of Tubberbunnagh* Gent. All in the County

of

of WICKLOW. *Randale Moore* of *Atherdee* in the County of *Lowth*, Esq; *John Pepper* of *Pepperstown* Esq; *Anthony Nixon* of *Ardee* Gent. *John Rawlins* of *Dungooley* Esq; *John Holt* of *Dromcar* Esq; *William Blaney* of *Warrenstown* Esq; *Thomas Ashton* of *Richardstown* Gent. *Ralph Low* of *Dromcar* Gent. *Thomas Atkins* of *Dundalk* Gent. *Dillon Pollard* of *Rossmack* Gent. and *Jonathan Ball* of *Atherdee* Clerk, All in the County of LOWTH. *Joseph Danbar* of the Town of *Drogheha* Gent. Dean *Tobias Pullen*, *William Graves* Vintner, Capt. *Hugh Mountgomery*, *Jonas Elwood* Gent. *Edward Singleton* Gent. *Robert Foord*, *Thomas Newton* Sen. *Thomas Newton* Jun. *Thomas Meade*, *William Newton* Chandler, *Robert Hardman* Merchant, *John Leigh* Gent. *Joseph Tomlinson* Gent. and . . *Kirton* Gent. All late of the said Town of DROGHEDA. *Joseph Stepney* of *Abbyowny* in the County of *Limerick* Esq; *Thomas Butler* of *Kilnemony* Gent. *Richard Bury* of *Ballynearigy* Gent. *Thomas Mansel* of *Ballynemony* Esq; *Thomas Ross* of *Morgans* Gent. *William Gribble* Jun. of *Limerick* Gent. *John Downey* of *Caerconreffy* Gent. *Thomas Warren* of *Newtown* Gent. *Daniel Webb* Sen. of *Rathconan* Gent. *Timothy Webb* of *Ballygubby* Gent. *Thomas Oldfield* of *Gorneskeigh* Gent. *Richard Peacock* of *Graiges* Gent. *Abraham Jackson* of *Duntrileig* Gent. *Chidley Coote Fitz Chidley* of *Coote* Esq; *Thomas Spire* Jun. of *Rathanny* Gent. *Giles Spencer* of *Limerick* Gent. *Henry Widdenham* Jun. of *Corra* Gent. *Standish Harstongue* Jun. of *Broffe* Esq; *Richard Newport* of *Longford* Gent. and *James Webb* of *Ballynehensy* Gent. All in the County of LIMERICK. *John Baily* Jun. of *Dunkittle* in the County of *Corke* Gent. *Noblet Dunscombe* of *Corke* Gent. Alder. *George Rogers* of *Corke*, *Robert Rogers* of the same Gent. Alderman *William Ballard* of the same, *John Falliot* of *Barnehealy* Esq; *William Dunscomb* of *Corke* Esq; *Thomas Farrin* of the same Esq; *William Hutt* of the same Gent. *Robert Dalicourt* of *Ballinrea* Gent. *Richard Mallyburne* of *Corke* Vintner, *Richard Browne* of *Mocroompe* Clerk, *John Baily* of *Farrenasheffery* Gent. Alderman *Edward Hore* Jun. of *Corke*, *Henry Tonson* of *Carbery* Gent. *Richard Newport* of *Longford* Gent. *John Spread* Jun. of *Coolnetubrid* Gent. *John Raymond* of *Rathenesky* Gent. *Robert Deane* of *Dromore* Gent. *Thomas Pigot* of *Ballygullane* Esq; *Stephen Sweete* of *Corke* Gent. *Samuel Sweete* of *Bandon* Gent. *Richard Travers* Jun. of the Barony of *Ibann* Gent. *Ephimetus Cross* of *Corke* Esq; *Christopher Crofts* of *Corke* Ald. *William Howel* of the same Burg. *William Fitz Gerald* Dean of *Cloyne*; *Opollo Morres* of *Baneduff* Gent. *John Newneham* Sen. of *Corke*, Alderm. *William Babrington* of *Ballybindon* Esq; *Edward House* of *Corke* Gent. *Abraham Morris* of the same Merchant, *Thomas Finch* of the same Gent. *Thomas Wallis* of *Carriglass* Gent. *Thomas Walker* of *Corke* Merch. *John Watson* of *Moyallow* Esq; *Francis Fookes* of *Campire* Gent.

George

George Widdenham of *Castletown* Gent. *Anthony Raymond* of *Mitchelstown* Esq; *Thomas Warner* of the same Gent. *William Hedges* of *Youghall*; *John Atkins* of the same, *Robert Bale* of the same, *Robert Atkins*, *Francis Baker*, *John Hayman*, *Jasper Lucas*, *Daniel Woods*, *Samuel Farmer*, *James Moore*, *William Veus*, *Uriah Babbington*, *Richard Taylor*, *James Elliot*, *Vincent Godwin*, *John Radin*, *William Causabon*, all late of the Town of YOUGHAL, *Richard Hayes* Jun. of *Kinnallea*, *John Hawkins* of *Cork*, Merch. *Timothy Tucky* of *Corke*, Merch. *John Harmor* Jun. of *Dunmahone*, Gent. *Robert Fitz-Gerald* of *Lisquinlane* Esq; *William Corbet* of . . . Gent. *Edward Gwilliams* of *Ross*, Gent. *John Addis* of the same Gent. *Thomas Addis* of the same Gent. *Walter Bruise* of the same Clerk, *James Devereux* of the same Gent. *William Devereux* of the same Gent. *John West* of the same Gent. *Francis West* of the same Gent. *James Dennis* of the same Gent. *John Clements* of the same Gent. *Henry Caple* of *Ballybury* Gent. *Robert Collins* of the same Gent. *William Humphery* of . . . Gent. *Thomas Foord* of . . . *George Foord* of . . *Isaac Gippsy* of . . *Isaac Gippsy* Jun. of . . *Jacob Gippsy* of . . *William Warters* of *Bautry* Gent. *Nathaniel Evans* of *Ardigolegan*, *Nathaniel Evans* Jun. of the same Gent. *Richard Evans* of the same Gent. *Thomas Cripps* of *Cashell* Gent. *Andrew Cripps* of the same Gent. *William Woodman* of . . Gent. *William White* of *Castletown* Gent. *Nathaniel Sutton of Bungor* Gent. *Samuel Rolls* of *Ballyfreen* Gent. *Samuel Farmer* of . . Gent. *John Brelsford* of *Garanjames* Gent. *Peter VVallis* of *Aguistown* Gent. *VVilliam Clark* of *Killhoduett* Gent. *VVilliam Peacock* of *Killimagh* Gent. *George Syng* of *Killmountain* Gent. *Thomas VVallis* of *Ballyshane* Gent. *Edward Ellord* of *Killbree* Gent. *John Love* of *Torbehy* Gent. *VVilliam VValkham* of *Little-Island* Gent. *John Shelly* of *Middletown* Gent. *Alexander Groves* of *Ballyhinant* Gent. *Thomas Beecher* of *Aghadoon* Esq; *VVilliam VVarner* of the same Esq; *John VVare* of *Killeneen* Gent. *John VVare* of *Nucestown* Gent. *Michael Boyle* of *Castlemartyre* Gent. All late of the County of CORKE. *Edmond Greatrix* of *Affane* in the County of *VVaterford* Esq; *Thomas Christmas* of *Waterford* Esq; *John Nettles* of *Toreen* Gent. *William Bagg* of *Kilberee*, *Robert Cook* of *Cappaquin*, *Edward Crocker* of *Ballygagin*, *Roger Poor* of *Ballygillane* Gent. *Peter Cook* of *Cappaquin*, *John VValkinton* of *Lissmore* Clerk, *Edward May* of *Waterford* Esq; *Joseph Osborne* of the same Merch. *John Steevens* of *Ballyloghbeg* Gent. *William Bucknor* of *Grange* Gent. *Gregory Lemery* of *Killcopp*, Gent. *Lewis Alsock* of *Waterford* Clerk, *Joseph Ivy* of *Waterford* Alderman, *Richard Ryves* of *Rossedusse*, *Stephen Woodwell* of *Newtown* Gent. *John Silver* of *Youghall* Gent. *Walter Atkins* of *Killbegg* Gent. *John Hoganals Bagg* of *Rossgrelly*, *William Wrag* of *Newaffan*, *William*

liam Baker of Killbegg Gent. Francis Baker of Youghal Merchant, Thomas Manſell of Newcollupp, Richard Bolton of Fattleg, Jonathan Alland of Ballimanna, Michael Burdge of Ballydavid, Charles Baker of Crowebally, Robert Harden of Killakin, John Chriſtmas of Adamſtown, Gent. all in the County of WATERFORD. Francis Gore of Mountſhannon, in the County of Clare, Gent. Samuel Lucas of Corofin, Gent. John Drew of Ballyvanine, Gent. all in the County of CLARE. Frederic Mullius Sen. of Ballyngooleen in the County of Kerry, Eſq; William Sands of Carriganfoyle, Gent. William Collins Jun. of Liſſadick, Gent. . . . . Turner, Miniſter of Killarney; James Connor Jun. of Tralee; . . . Ball of Memutainae, Gent. Richard Johnſton of Killarney, Gent. all in the County of KERRY. John Mead of Clonmel, in the County of Tipperary, Merchant, Charles Alcock of Powerſtown, Gent. John Green of Clonmel, Gent. William Vaughan of the ſame, Merch. John Saddler of Ballintemple, Gent. Richard Saddler of Ardſinan, Gent. Hercules Beer of Clonmel, Gent. . . . . Beer of the ſame, Gent. Chriſtopher Gwyn of Graige, Gent. John Perry of Killmologe, Gent. John White of Ardſinan, Gent. Thomas Moody of Killkaroony, Gent. Joſeph Biggs of Caſtlecoyn, Gent. William Godfery of Cnockgraffane, Gent. Samuel Hughs of Caſhell, Gent. John Pike of Widdingſtown, Gent. Sankey Godfery of Knocknafallinny, Gent. Joſeph Damer of Tipperary, Gent. Molineux Robinſon of Caſhel, Gent. Samuel Green of Ballynouty, Eſq; John Ladyman of Clonmel, Gent. Iſaac Haynes of Knockauroe, Gent. Richard Farmer of Aghlevallane, Gent. James Jones of Tipperary, Gent. Richard Ballard of the ſame, Gent. Francis Foulkes of Ballycarren, Eſq; James Dawſon of Tuam, Gent. Henry Pretty of Killboy, Eſq; Joſhua Hoyle of Glanahelly, Gent. John Hoyle of the ſame, Gent. Henry Charnely of Clonmel, Merchant; Nicholas Towler of Ballintotty, Gent. Phineas Royal of Clonmel, Merchant; John Seed of Tullogh, Gent. Thomas Mereditſh of Ballycahill, Gent. John Hill of Borres, Gent. John Daſſey of Caſhell, Clerk; John Lehunt of the ſame, Clerk; John Leake of Knockgraffan, Clerk; John Dogherty of Caſhel, Clerk; Anthony Erby of the ſame, Clerk; Gregory Row of Killeheen, Gent. and John Lunnar of Killoſty, Gent. all of the County of TIPPERARY. Thomas Glaſgow of Lifford, in the County of Donnegal, Eſq; William Godfrey of Caſtledoe, Eſq; Andrew Knox Sen. of Ramullin, Eſq; Francis Folliott of Ballymacward, Gent. John Stott of Kinnre, Gent. Thomas Atkinſon Sen. of Ballyſhannon, Gent. Thomas Atkinſon Jun. of the ſame, Gent. Michael Hueſon of Coolebegg, Gent. John Hueſon of the ſame, Gent. Henry Brookes of Letterkenny Gent. Robert Delapp of Ballyſhannon, Gent. Edward Clifford of Donnegal, Gent. Nicholas Permiter of Killigordan, Gent. John Forcker of Donnegal Clerk; John Cunningham of Tully, Gent. William Fiſher of . . . Gent. and Thomas Coach of . . . . . Gent. all late of the County of DONNEGAL. George Hamilton of Callidon in the County of Tyrone,

Gent. *Alexander Richardson* of *Drom*, Gent. *William Richardson* of *Tully-reave*, Gent. *William Swan* of *Farlagh*, Gent. *John Ayerly* of *Mannor Rod*, Esq; *John Williams* of the same, Esq; *Alexander Creighton* of *Lissanean*, Gent. *Robert Lindsy* of *Mannor Lindsey*, Esq; *Hugh Stewart* of *Gortgil*, Gent. *Robert Hamilton* of *Killeman*, Gent. *Symon Hassington* of *Borean*, Gent. Capt. *William Moore* of *Garvey*, *John Speere* of *Mullaghmossagh*, *John Burby* of *Macknagh*, Gent. *Andrew Darragh* of *Dromard*, Gent. *James Stewart* of *Killeman*, Gent. *John Willson* of *Ballue*, Gent. Capt. *Thomas Collson* of *Drumkee*; *John Willson* of *Dromconnor*, Gent. *John Speer* of *Kinard*; *Robert Hamilton* of *Carrowbegg*; *Archibald Richardson* of *Springtown*; *James Mutray* of *Favour-Royal*; *John Kearnes* of *Agharonan*; *John Kearnes* of *Claremore*; *William Lee* of *Killing* Esq; *James Gladsteanes* of *Hordross*, Gent. *John Byrny* of *Gortmore*; *Henry Grason* of *Agher*; *John Hamilton* of *Cornamucklagh*, Gent. *Adam Morrison* of *Coolegarry*; *James Moor* of *Lissaleen*; *John Wallow* of *Clanblogh*, Gent. *Robert Reery* of *Corckrive*; *John Henderson* of *Ballyvedan*; *Archibald Irwing* of *Timpain*; *John Christall* of *Ballynegoragh*; *John Neely* of *Ballynesagart*, Gent. *John Harvey* of *Tullyghish*, *William Bratton* of *Aghar*, *Hugh Willson* of *Ballymatown*, Gent. *Thomas Moor* of *Ballinelogh*, *John Moor* of the same, Gent. *John Erwing* of *Mullenboy*, Gent. *John Moor* of *Anaghaloghan*, Gent. *Patrick Stewart* of *Dromskeeny*, Gent. *Joseph Mounteeth* of *Creevangare*, Gent. *Randall Charletyn* of *Rathkeeragh*, Gent. *John Robinson* of *Durey*, Gent. *Thomas Edy* of *Dius*, Gent. *George Mervin* of *Mullaghbane*, Gent. *Mongoe Walkinshaw* of *Mullingaugh*, Clerk; *Robert Echlin* Dean of *Tuam*; *Michael Mosse* of *Enniskillin*, Clerk; *William Campbell* of *Newtown Stewart*, Gent. *John Hayre* of the same, Gent. *Robert Carson* of the same, Gent. *Samuel Law* of *Carrighee*, Gent. *John White* of *Skarriffeckeerine*, Gent. *Thomas Maxwell* of *Strabane*, Gent. *Adam Evans* of the same, Gent. *Thomas Edy* of *Killeaghgoge*; *Patrick Hamilton* of *Dergal*, Gent. *James Young* of *Clady*, Gent. *David Matteneghan* of *Upperclady*, Gent. *John Caldwell* of *Maghernekeeragh*, *Andrew Mac-Lenaghan* of *Keele*, Gent. and *James Hayre* of *Siscable*, Gent. All late of the County of TYRONE. *John Dunbar* of *Killcoe*, in the County of *Fermannagh*, Esq; *William Arsdall* of *Bummiminver*, Esq; *Francis Butler* of *Newtown*, Esq; *Andrew Hamilton of Magherycrosse*, Clerk; *George Hamilton* of *Bolin*, Gent. *Alexander Atchison* of *Toniheage*, Gent. *Bernard Ward* of *Knockballimore*, Gent. and Capt. *Thomas Brookes of Maghereſtephenagh*, Gent. All late of the County of FERMANNAGH. *Thomas Ash* of *Ashfeild* in the County of *Cavan* Esq; *Francis Butler* of *Belturbet*, Gent. *Robert Clements* of *Rakany*, Gent. *Richard Gibson* of *Cavan* Gent. *James Mortimer of Mullhusey*, Gent. *Charles Mortimer* of the same, Gent. *Joseph Pratt* of *Killuecrott*, Gent. and *Benjamin Pratt* of *Killitter*, Gent. all late of the

the County of CAVAN. *William Springland* of . . . . in the County of *Monoghan*, Gent. *Patrick Legate* of *Ballinure*, Gent. *William Leſſey* of the ſame, Gent. *Alexander Lunſdell* of the ſame, Gent. *John Dunbar* of the ſame, Gent. *Patrick Daucy* of *Iniskine*, Gent. *Thomas Oſtler* of *Gortmore* Gent. *Edward Beaghan* of *Bealabeagh* Gent. *Peter Beaghan* of the ſame, Gent. *James Johnſton* of *Ballyruſh* Gent. *William Mooretraſt* of the ſame, Gent. *John Cornes* Sen. of the ſame, Gent. *John Cornes* Jun. of the ſame Gent. *Richard Fith*, of *Ballamackny* Gent. All late of the County of MONNOGHAN. Dr. *Roger Warren* of *Belfaſt* in the County of *Antrim*, *Petter Beaghan* of . . . . Gent. *Henry Gardner* of *Newry* Inn-keeper, *Robert Harper* of *Ballymeanagh* Gent. *Henry Chades* of *Belfaſt* Gent. *William Crafford* of the ſame Gent. Qr. Mr. *Thomas Crafford* of the ſame, Capt. *David Smith* of the ſame, *John Blacke* of the ſame, Gent. *Arthur Mac-Carney* of the ſame, Gent. *James Stuart* of the ſame, Gent. All late of the County of ANTRIM. *Thomas Herrington* of *Cumber* in the County, of *Down* Gent. *William Herrington* Jun. of the ſame Gent. *John Griffith* of the ſame, Gent. *John Magill* of *Tullycarne* Gent. *William Magill* Son and Heir to Capt. *James Magill*, *Francis Anneſly* Jun. of *Cloghmagherycatt* Gent. *Alexander Browne* of *Magannon* Gent. *Hugh Mountgomery* of *Ballymaledy* Eſq; *Charles Campbell* of the Pariſh of *Donaghadee* Gent. Capt. *John Farrell* of *Dromone*, and *Henry Gardner* of *Newry* Inn-keeper, all in the County of DOWN. *James Maxwell* of *Crerum* in the County of *Armagh* Eſq; *Hamlett Obings* of *Portedowne* Eſq; *Anthony Abings* of the ſame, Gent. *George Hamilton* of *Kinard* Gent. *John Gaskin* of *Viccars Choralls* Gent. *John Gills* of *Lorgin* Gent. *John Mac-Caule* of *Lurgan* Gent. *Henry Genny* of *Segoe* Clerk, *Thomas Aſſington* of *Loughgall* Clerk, *Chriſtopher Genny* of *Mullaghbrack* Clerk, *Thomas Chapling* of *Ballyruſſe* Gent. *Archbold Woods* of *Markethill* Gent. and *John Ball* of *Glaſdroman* Gent. all in the County of ARMAGH. Capt. *Thomas Smith* of *Tuam* in the County of *Galloway*, *William Cauſfield* of *Dunamon* Gent. *Edward Eyre* of *Galloway* Gent. Col. *Theodore Ruſſell*, *Robert Maſon* of *Ballineguokani* Gent. *Samuel Hudſon* of *Dunamon* Clerk, and *Robert Ecchlin* Dean of *Tuam*, all in the County of GALLOWAY. *Henry Dowdal* of *Grange* in the County of *Roſcomon* Eſq; *William Dodwell* of the ſame Gent. *John French* of *Dungar* Eſq; *Edward Gardner* of *Tulsk* Eſq; *Richard Gardner* of the ſame Gent. Lieut. *Henry St. George* of *Athlone*, and *John Gardner* of *Tulsk* Gent. all in the County of ROSCOMON. *Thomas Jones* of *Armurry* in the County of *Mayo* Gent. *Henry Gun* of . . . . Clerk, *Francis*

Cuffe of *Ballinrobe* Eſq; *Henry Nicholſon* of *Dromineene* Gent. *William Pullen* of *Ballinrobe* Clerk, and all in the County of MAYO. *Thomas Osborne* of . . . . in the County of *Leytrim* Gent. *Thomas Buckridge* of . . . . Gent. *Thomas Coot* of . . . . Eſq; *Charles Campbell* of . . . . Eſq; *Benjamin Fletcher* of *James-town* Eſq; and Dr. *John Leſley*, all late of the County of LEITRIM. Have abſented themſelves from this Kingdom, and have gone into *England*, or ſome other Places beyond the Seas, ſince the Fifth day of *November* laſt, or in ſome ſhort Time before, and did not return, although called Home by your Majeſties gracious Proclamation. Which abſenting, and not returning, cannot be conſtrued otherwiſe than to a wicked and traiterous Purpoſe, and may thereby juſtly forfeit All their Right and Pretentions to all and every the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments to them belonging in this Kingdom. BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED, by the Authority aforeſaid, That in caſe the ſaid Perſon and Perſons do not by the Firſt day of *September*, One thouſand ſix hundred eighty and nine, of his or their own accord, without Compulſion, return into this Kingdom, and tender him and themſelves to the Chief Juſtice of his Majeſties Court of *King's-Bench*, or to ſome other Judge of the ſaid Court, or Judge of Aſſize in the Circuit, or any of the Lords of your Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council, to be charged with any Crimes to him or them to be imputed, that then, or in caſe he or they, upon ſuch his or their Return, ſhall be Convicted by Verdict of twelve Men, or by his or their own Confeſſion, upon his or their Arraignment for Treaſon, or upon his or their Arraignment ſtand Mute, ſuch Perſon and Perſons ſo Abſent, and not returning as aforeſaid, (or after his or their Return, being Convict of High-Treaſon as aforeſaid) ſhall, from and after the Firſt day of *September*, One Thouſand ſix hundred eighty nine, be deemed, reputed, and taken as Traitors, convict and attainted of High-Treaſon; and ſhall ſuffer ſuch Pains of Death, and other Forfeitures and Penalties as in Caſes of High-Treaſon are accuſtomed. But in caſe ſuch Perſon and Perſons ſo returning, be upon ſuch his or their Trial acquitted or diſcharged by Proclamation, then ſuch Perſon and Perſons reſpectively ſhall from thenceforth be freed, diſcharged, and acquitted from all Pains, Puniſhments, and Forfeitures by this Act incurred, laid or impoſed, any thing in this ACT to the contrary notwithſtanding. And whereas the ſeveral Perſons hereafter named, (*viz.*) *Robert Ridgway* Earl of *Londonderry*, *Arthur Loftus* Viſcount *Loftus* of *Ely*, . . . *Beamount* Viſcount *Beamount* of *Swords*, ... *Chaworth* Viſcount *Chaworth* of *Armagh*, . . . *Fairfax* Viſcount *Fairfax* of *Emly*, . . . *Tracy* Viſcount *Tracy* of *Rathcoole*, ... *Ogle* Viſcount *Ogle* of *Catherlogh*, *Lewis Trevor* Viſcount *Dun-*

Dungannon, *Folliott* Lord *Folliott* of *Ballyſhannon*, *George* Lord *George* of *Dundalk*, ... *Fitz-Williams* Lord *Fitz-Williams* of *Lifford*, ... *Hare* Lord *Colerain*, *Richard* Lord Baron of *Santery*, *Antham Anneſly* Lord Baron of *Altham*, *Lawrence Barry* commonly called Lord *Barrevant*, *John Power* commonly called Lord *Decies*, Sir *Standiſh Hartſtonge* of *Broffe* Kt. Sir *Walter Plunket* of *Rathbeale* Kt. Sir *William Meredith* of *Kilriske* Kt. Sir *John Parker* of *Farmyle* Kt. Sir *Richard Stephens* of *Roſſe* Kt. Sir *Maurice Euſtace* of *Baltinglaſs* Kt. Sir *St. John Brodrick* of *Ballyannon* Kt. Sir *Michael Cole* of *Enniskilling* Kt. Sir *Charles Chiney* Kt. Sir *Charles Lloyd* Kt. Sir *Algernon Mayo* of *Rogers-town* Kt. Sir *Richard May* Kt. Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* Kt. Sir *William Barker* of *Abbeykillcooly* Kt. *Chriſtopher Uſher* of the City of *Dublin* Eſq; *Richard Leeds* Merchant, *Maurice Keating* Eſq; Dr. . . . . *Dominick*, Dr. . . . . *Dunne*, Capt. *John Quelſh* of *St. Stephens-Green*, *Will. Bazil* Eſq; *Thom. Howard* Clerk to the *Yeield*, *Rich. Nuttall* Merch. *Gideon Delane* Gent, *Will. Robinſon* Eſq; *Rich. Barry* Gent. Capt. *Will. Shaw*, and *Philip Harris* Eſq; all late of the City of *Dublin*. *John Bulkely* of *Old-Bawne* in the County of *Dublin* Gent. *Rob. Boridges* of *Finglaſs* Eſq; *Alexa. Fruzier* of *Meagſtown* Eſq; *Edw. Bolton* of *Brazille* Gent. *Hump. Booth* of *Ballyhack* Gent. *Edm. Keating* of *Corballis* Eſq; *Chambre Brabazon* of *Thomas-Court* Eſq; *Dacre Barrett* of *Cripple-ſtown* Eſq; Arch-Deacon *John Fitz-Gerrald*, *Rich. Bolton* Eſq; *Will. Barry* of *Santery* Gent. and *Martin Bazill* of *Donicarney* Gent. All late of the COUNTY of DUBLIN. *James Barry* of *Kelleyſtown* in the County of *Kildare* Gent. *Thomas Holmes* of *Caſtledermott* Gent. Cornet *Richard Wybrante* of *Buncheſtown*, *Maurice Keating* of *Norraghmore* Eſq; *Garret Veſly* of *Old-Connel* Eſq; *Richard Meredith* of *Shrewland* Eſq; *Samuel Syng* Dean of *Kildare*, and *Chriſtopher Lovett* of *Nourny* Gent. all late of the County of KiLDARE. *Richard Boyle* of *Old-Leighlin* in the County of *Caterlogh* Eſq; *John Hollam* of *Iſland* in the *King's-County* Gent. *Joſeph Hawkins* Gent. *Samuel Hawkins* Gent. *Arthur Shane* Eſq; Son to Sir *James Shane*, *Henry Veſtenray* Eſq; *Martin Baldwin* of *Geſhell* Eſq; all late of the KING'S COUNTY. *George Bridges* of *Burrows* in the *Queens's County* Eſq; *Richard Pryor* of *Rathdowny* Gent. *Francis Barrington* of *Cullenagh*, ... *Daniel* of *Ironworks* Gent. *Brooke Bridges* of *Kilmenſy* Gent. *Charles Vaughan* of *Derringvarnoge* Gent. *Hugh Merrick* Gent. *Nathaniel Huett* Gent. *Robert Hedges* of *Borres* Eſq; and *Richard Warburton* of *Garryhinch* Eſq; all late of the QUEENS-COUNTY. Capt. *Nicholas Sankey* of *Caldraghmore* in the County of *Longford*, *Robert Viner* of *Killmure* in the County of *Meath* Eſq; *John Humpheries* of *Hollywood* Gent. Dr. *Robert Gorge* late of *Killbrew*, *William Napper* of *Loghcrew* Eſq; and *Anthony Nixon* of *Ouchestone* Gent. All late of the County of MEATH. *James Stopford*

of

of *Caſtletown* in the County of *Weſt-Meath* Gent. *John Adams* of *Ledwichtown* Gent. *Tho. Cooper* late of *Conmiſtown* Gent. *Rich. Stephens* of *Athlone* Gent. *George Farmer* of *Rathnemodagh* Gent. and *John Mears* of *Mearescourt* Gent. all late of the County of WEST-MEATH. *Moſes Buſh* of *Kilfane* in the County of *Kilkenny* Gent. *John Buſh* of the ſame Gent. *Will. Harriſon* of *Grenane* Gent. *Zachary Coruick* of *Kilkenny* Merch. *Edw. Stubbers* of *Callan* Eſq; *Hierom Hawkins* of *Killmuskulloge* Gent. *Joſeph Bradſhaw* of *Foulkeſrath* Gent. and *Henry Ryder* Prebendary of *Mayne*, all of the County of KILKENNY. *Richard Rooth* of . . . . in the County of *Wexford* Gent. Husband to the Counteſs Dowager of *Donnegall*, *John Bulkeley* of *Ballymorroghroe* in the County of *Wicklow* Gent. *John Humphery* of *Dunard* Gent. *Chriſtopher Uſher* of *Grange* Eſq; *Henry Whitfield* of *Pontballintagart* Eſq; *William Robinſon* of *Wicklow* Gent. *John Vice* of the ſame Gent. *Robert Peppard* of the ſame Eſq; and *Lawrence Hutſon* of *Coolekennagh* Gent. All late of the County of WICKLOW. *Timothy Armitage* of *Atherdee* in the County of *Lowth* Gent. Major *John Read* of *Ballorgan*, *Robert Smith* of *Dromcaſhel* Gent. *Brabazon Moore* of *Atherdee* Gent. and *Thomas Bellingham* of *Garnanſtown* Eſq; All late of the County of LOWTH. *Thomas Willis* of *Drogheda*, Gent. and *John Sandisford* of the ſame Gent. *Henry Weſtenra* of *Athlacca* in the County of *Limerick* Eſq; *John Piggot* of *Kilfenny* Eſq; *Richard Stephens* of *Newcaſtle* Gent. *William Trenchard* of *Mountrenchard* Eſq; . . . . . *Trenchard* his Eldeſt Son, *Eraſmus Smith* of *Carrigogonnagh* Eſq; . . . . . *Harriſon* of *Ballyvorneene* Gent. *Hugh Maſſy* Sen. of *Doontrilige* Eſq; *Randall Clayton* of *Williamſtown* Gent. *Henry Hartſtonge* Arch-Deacon of the Dioceſs of *Limerick*, and *William Harriſon* of *Tuoreen* Gent. All late of the County of LIMERICK. *Elnathan Lum* Merchant, *Vincent Gookin* of *Court Matſhiry* Eſq; *Jonas Stowell* of *Killbritten* Eſq; *Philip Dimond* of *Cork* Merch. *Thomas Mitchell* of the ſame Merchant, *Richard Boyle* of *Shannon-Parke* Eſq; *Achilles Daunt* of *Dortigrenau* Gent. *Nicholas Lyſaght* of *Ardobnoge* Gent. and *William Harman* of *Carrigdownam* Eſq; All late of the County of CORK. *William Gibbs* of . . . . . in the County of *Waterford* Gent. *Loſtus Brightwell* Gent. *Robert Beard* Gent. *Barzilla Jones* Dean of *Liſmore*, *Matthias Aldlington* of *Tircuillinmore* Gent. *William Aldlington* of the ſame Gent. and *Richard Silver* of *Toughal* Gent. all late of the Counties of WATERFORD and CORK. *Henry Brady* of *Tomgreny*, in the County of *Clare*, Gent. *Richard Picket* of *Clonmel*, in the County of *Tipperary* Eſq; *John Lovet* Eſq; *John Caſtle* of *Richard's-Town*, Gent. *Joſeph Ruttorne* of *Poolekerry* Gent. *Thomas Valentine* of *Killoman* Gent. *George Clarke* of *Ballytarſney* Gent. *John*

Bright

Bright of *Shanrehin*, Gent. *George Clarke* of the ſame, Gent. *Thomas Climmuck* of *Tullamaeyne*, Gent. *William Warmsby*, Gent. *Richard Clutterbuck* of *Derryluskane*, Gent. *Eraſmus Smith* of *Tipperary* Eſq; *William Watts* of *Drangan*, Gent. *John Evelin* of the ſame, Gent. . . . . *Shapcoate* of *Loghkent*, Gent. . . . . *Page* of the ſame, Gent. *Thomas Moor* of *Carrageeneſeiragh*, Gent. *Humphery Wray* of *Ballyculline*, Gent. *Edward Crafton* of *Luorhane*, Gent. Alderman . . . . . *Clarke* of . . . . *John Clarke*, Gent. *Arthur Anneſloe*, Gent. *William Warwick* and *Pureſoy Warwick* of *Ballyſidii* Gent. Capt. . . . . *Cope*; *Robert Boyle* of *Killgraunt*, Gent. *Hugh Radcliffe* of *Clonmel*, Gent. *Edward Nelthorp* Gent. *Reobrt Dixon*; *Samuel Clarke* Gent. *John Jones* Gent. *Henry Payne* Gent. *George Clarke* of *Tobberheny* Gent. *Edward Hutchiſon* of *Knockloſty*, Gent. *Richard Aldworth* late chief Remembrancer; *John Briggs* of *Caſtletown*, Gent. and *John Buckworth* of *Shanballyduffe*, Eſq; all late of the County of *Tipperary*. *John Kingſmell* of *Caſtleſin* in the County of *Donnegall*, Eſq; *James Hamilton* of *Dunmanagh*, in the County of *Tyrone*, Gent. *John Aungier* Miniſter of the Vicarage of *Lurgen*, in the County of *Cavan*; *William Allen* of *Kilmore* in the County of *Monaghan*, Gent. *James Davys* of *Carrickfergus* in the County of *Antrim*, Gent. *Samuel Warring* of *Warringſtown* in the County of *Down*, Gent. *Henry Cope* of *Loghall* in the County of *Armagh*, Gent. *Gilbert Thacker* of *Cluttan*, Eſq; *Archibald Johnſon* of *Loghelly*, Clerk; *Oliver St. John* of *Toneregee*, Eſq; and *William Brookes* of *Droincree*, Clerk; all late of the County of ARDMAGH. Capt. *Thomas Caulfield* of *Dunamon*, in the County of *Galloway*; *Joſeph Stuart* of *Turrock*, in the County of *Roſcomon*, Gent. and *Henry Dodwell* of *Leytrin*, in the ſame County, Gent. *Paul Gore* of *Newton* in the County of *Mayo*, Eſq; Have before the ſaid fifth Day of *November* laſt, abſented themſelves from this Kingdom, and live in *England*, *Scotland*, or the *Iſle of Man*, and there now abide; and by their not coming or returning into this Kingdom upon your Majeſties Proclamation, to aſſiſt in Defence of this Realm, according to their Allegiance, muſt be preſumed to adhere to the ſaid Prince of *Orange*, in caſe they return not within the time by this *Act* preſcribed, and thereby may juſtly forfeit all the Lands, Tenements, the Hereditaments which they or any of them are intituled unto, within this Kingdom. *Be it therefore Enacted*, by the Authority aforeſaid, that in caſe the ſaid Perſon and Perſons laſt mentioned, do not by the firſt Day of *October* 1689, of his and their own Accord, without Compulſion, return into this Kingdom, and tender him and themſelves to the chief Juſtice of your Majeſties Court of King's-Bench or to ſome other Judge of the ſaid Court, or Judge of Aſſize in his Circuit, or to any of the Lords of your Majeſties moſt honourable Privy-Council, to be charged with any Crime or Crimes to him or them to be charged or imputed, that then, or in caſe he or they, upon his or their Return ſhall be

convict

vict by Verdict of twelve Men, or by his or their own Confeſſion, upon his or their Arraignment, for Treaſon, or upon his or their Arraignment ſtand mute; ſuch Perſon and Perſons ſo abſent, and not returning as aforeſaid, or after his or their Return being convict of Treaſon as aforeſaid, ſhall from and after the ſaid firſt Day of *October*, one thouſand ſix hundred eighty nine, be deemed, reputed and taken as Traytors, convict and atttainted of High-Treaſon and ſhall ſuffer ſuch Pains of Death and other Forfeitures and Penalties, as in Caſes of High-Treaſon is accuſtomed: But in caſe ſuch Perſon and Perſons ſo returning, upon ſuch, his or their Trial, be acquitted or diſcharged by Proclamation, then ſuch Perſon and Perſons reſpectively ſhall from thence-forth be freed, diſcharged and acquitted from all Pains, Puniſhments and Forfeitures by this Act incurred, laid or impoſed, any thing in this Act to the contrary, notwithſtanding;

Provided always that in caſe your Majeſty ſhall happen to go into the Kingdom of *England* or *Scotland* before the firſt Day of *October*, 1689: Then if the ſaid Sir *William Meredith*, Sir *Charles Chiney*, Sir *Charles Lloyd*, Sir *Algernon Mayo*, Sir *Richard May*, Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Sir *Will. Barker*, *Alexa. Frazier* Eſq; *John Hollam*, ... *Daniel* of the Iron-Works, *Brooke Bridges*, *Charles Vaughan*, *Hugh Menreck*, *Nathaniel Huett*, *Hierom Hawkins*, Major *John Reade*, *William Trenchard*, ... *Trenchard* his eldeſt Son, *Eraſmus Smith*, ... *Harriſon* of *Rallyverneen*, *Achilles Daunt*, *John Power* Lord *Decies*, *William Gibbs*, *Loftus Brightwell*, *Robert Beard*, *Matthias Aldington*, *William Aldington*, *John Lovett*, *John Caſtle*, *Joſeph Rittorne*, *Thomas Vallentine*, *George Clarke* of *Ballyraſing*, *John Bright* *George Clarke* of *Shaurelin*, *T. Chinnucks*, *Will. Warnsby*, *Richard Cluttarbruck*, *Eraſmus Smith*, *Will. Watts*, *John Evellin*, ... *Shapcoate* of *Loghken*, ... *Page* of the ſame, *Tho. Moore*, *Humphery Wray*, *Edw. Croſton*, Alderm. *Clarke*, *J. Clarke*, *Arthur Auſlow*, *Will. Warwick*, *Pierſey Warwick*, Capt. ... *Coapes*, *Robert Boyle* of *Killgrant*, *Hugh Radcliffe*, *Edw. Nelthorp*, *Robert Dixon*, *Samuel Clarke*, *John Jones*, *Henry Payne*, *George Clarke*, and *Gilbert Thacker*, whoſe Dwelling and Reſidence always hath been in *England*, ſhall give your Majeſty ſuch Teſtimony of their Loyalty and Fidelity, as that your Majeſty will be pleaſed on or before the ſaid firſt Day of *October*, one thouſand ſix hundred eighty nine, to certify under your Privy Signet or Sign manual unto your chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom; That your Majeſty is ſatisfied or aſſured of the Loyalty and Fidelity of the Perſons laſt before-named, or of any of them; That then if ſuch Certificate ſhall on or before the firſt Day of *November*, one thouſand ſix hundred eighty nine, be produced to your chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, and enrolled in your Majeſties High

High Court of Chancery; the ſame ſhall be a ſufficient Diſcharge and Acquittal to ſuch of the Perſons laſt before-named, and every of them reſpectively, whoſe Loyalty and Fidelity your Majeſty will be pleaſed to certify in manner as afore-ſaid. *And be it further Enacted*, That in the mean time, and until ſuch Return and Acquittal, all the Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments within this Kingdom, belonging to all and every Abſentee and Abſentees, or other Perſons, to be attainted as aforeſaid, ſhall be and are hereby veſted in your Majeſties, your Heirs and Succeſſors, as from the firſt Day of *Auguſt* laſt paſt. *And be it further Enacted*, by the Authority aforeſaid, that all and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons, as by any the foregoing Clauſes, is, are or ſhall be reſpectively attainted, ſhall as from the firſt Day of *Auguſt*, One thouſand ſix hundred eighty eight, forfeit unto your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors, all ſuch Mannors, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, and all Right, Title-Service, Chiefery, Uſe, Truſt, Condition, Fee, Rent-Charge, Right of Redemption of Mortgages, Right of Entries, Right of Action, or any other Intereſt of what nature or Kind ſoever, either in Law or Equity, of, in, or unto any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments within this Kingdom, belonging or appertaining to ſuch Perſon or Perſons, ſo as aforeſaid attainted, or to be attainted, in his or their own Right, or to any other in Truſt for him or them, on the ſaid firſt Day of *Auguſt*, One thouſand ſix hundred eighty eight, or at any time ſince; and all the ſaid Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, ſo as aforeſaid, forfeited unto and veſted in your Majeſty your Heirs and Succeſſors, hereby are and ſhall be veſted in your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors, whether ſuch Perſon or Perſons were ſeized thereof in Fee abſolute or conditional, or in Tayl, or for Life or Lives, and that freed and freely diſcharged off and from all Eſtates, Tayl, and for Life, and from all Reverſions and Remainders for Life, for Years, or in Fee abſolute or conditional, or in Tayl, or to any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, ſuch Remainder as by one *Act* or Statute of this preſent Parliament, intituled, *An Act for repealing the Acts of Settlement*; an Explanation, Reſolution of Doubts, and all Grants, Patents and Certificates purſuant to them or any of them, or by this preſent *Act* are ſaved and preſerved always, excepted and fore-prized.

PROVIDED always that the Nocency or Forfeiture of any Tenant in Dower, Tenant by the Curteſy, Jointreſs for Life, or other Tenant for Life or Lives in actual Poſſeſſion, ſhall not extend to bar, forfeit, make void or diſcharge any Reverſion or Reverſions veſted in any Perſon or Perſons, not ingaged in the Uſurpation or Rebellion aforeſaid, ſuch Reverſion and Reverſions being immediately depending or expectant upon the particular Eſtate of ſuch Tenant in Dower, Tenant by the Courteſy, Joyntreſs for Life, or other Tenant for Life or Lives, any thing in the ſaid

Act of Repeal, or in this preſent *Act* to the contrary notwithſtanding.

PROVIDED always, and be it further enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that nothing in this preſent *Act* contained, ſhall any way extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to forfeit or veſt in your Majeſties, your Heirs or Succeſſors, any Remainder or Remainders for valuable Conſiderations, limited or ſettled by any Settlement or Conveyance made for ſuch valuable Conſiderations, either of Marriage or Marriage-Portion, or other valuable Conſideration whatſoever, upon any Eſtate for Life or Lives, to any Perſon or Perſons not concerned in the Uſurpation or Rebellion aforeſaid; ſuch Remainder or Remainders as are limited or ſettled by any Conveyance, wherein there is any Power for revoking and altering all or any the Uſe or Uſes therein limited, and alſo ſuch Remainder and Remainders as are limited upon any Settlement or Conveyance of any Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, commonly called Plantation Lands; and all Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments held or enjoyed under ſuch Grants from the Crown, or Grants upon the Commiſſion or Commiſſions of Grace for Remedy of defective Titles, either in the Reign of King *James* the firſt, or King *Charles* the firſt; in which ſeveral Grants reſpectively there are Proviſoes or Covenants for raiſing or keeping any number of Men or Arms for the King's Majeſty againſt Rebels and Enemies, or for raiſing of Men for his Majeſties Service, for Expedition of War, always excepted and foreprized. All which Remainders limited by ſuch Conveyances wherein there is a Power of Revocation for ſo much of the Lands, Uſes and Eſtates therein limited, as the ſaid Power doth or ſhall extend unto; and all ſuch Remainders as are derived or limited for or under ſuch Intereſt made of Plantation-Lands, or other Lands held as aforeſaid, under ſuch Grants from the Crown; and all and every other Remainder and Remainders, Reverſion and Reverſions not herein mentioned, to be ſaved and preſerved, ſhall by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, be deemed, conſtrued and adjudged void, debarred and diſcharged to all Intents and Purpoſes whatſoever, againſt your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors, and your and their Grantees or Aſſignees; and the ſaid Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, belonging to ſuch Rebels as aforeſaid, ſhall be veſted in your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors, freed and diſcharged of the ſaid Remainder and Remainders, and every of them. And to the end the Reverſions and Remainders ſaved and preſerved by this Act, may appear with all convenient Speed.

Be it further enacted, by the Authority aforeſaid, That the reſpective Perſons, intituled to ſuch Remainders and Reverſions, do within 60 Days next after the firſt ſitting of the Commiſſioners, for executing the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, and this preſent *Act*, exhibit their Claims before the ſaid Commiſſioners, and make out their Titles to ſuch Remainder or Remainders,

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ſo as to procure their Adjudication and Certificate for the ſame or the Adjudication and Certificate of ſome three or more of them: And further, that all Remainders, for which ſuch Adjucations and Certificates ſhall not be procured, at or before one hundred and twenty days after the firſt ſitting of the ſaid Commiſſioners, ſhall be void, and forever barred and excluded any thing in this Act, or other matter to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. All which Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments mentioned as aforeſaid, to be forfeited unto, and veſted in your Majeſty, by any the Clauſes aforeſaid, are hereby declared to beſo forfeited unto and veſted in your Majeſty without any Office or Inquiſition thereof, found or to be found; and the ſame to be to the Uſes, Intents and Purpoſes in the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, and in this preſent Act mentioned and expreſſed.

And whereas ſeveral Perſons hereafter named, (*viz.*)

Lyonel Earl of *Orrery*, Mrs. . . . *Trapps*, *Ann* Vicecounteſs Dowager of *Dungannon*, *Robert Boyl* Eſq; *Catherine Woodcock*, *Alice* Counteſs Dowager of *Drogheda*, *Alice* Counteſs Dowager of *Mountrath*, *Iſabella* Counteſs Dowager of *Roſcomon*, *Margaret* Counteſs Dowager of *Orrery*, *Mary* Counteſs Dowager of *Orrery*, *Katherine* Counteſs Dowager of *Ardglaſs*, Sir *Edward Percival* of *Burton* Baronet, Dame *Hanna Knox* of the City of *Dublin* Widow, *Richard Tigh* Gent. *Elizabeth Lloyd* Widow; . . . . *Newcomen* Widow, *Caſſandra Palmer* Widow, *Jane Grelier* of *Damaſtreet* Widow, ... *Wilſon*, Wife to Mr. *Wilſon*, ... *Stopford* Widow, *Jane* Lady *Beſt*, *Elias Beſt* her Son, ... *Eccles* of *High-ſtreet*, Widow; *Ann Ormsby*, Widow, *Suſana Torcana* of *Eſſex-ſtreet*, Spinſter, ... Lady *Hay*, . . . *Hay* her Son, *Fridayſwed* Lady *Stephens*; *Agnetia Hitchcock*, alias *Stephens*, ... *Moſſom*, Widow of Dr. *Moſſom* the Miniſter, *Elizabeth* Lady *Cole*, ... Lady *Buckely*, ... *Whitfield*, Widow of Mr. *Whitfield*, *John Johnſon* Eſq; Heir to *William Williams*, Lady *Iſabella Graham*, Relict of Sir *James Graham*, Lady *Donnellan*, of *Oxmantown*, *James Knight*, Gent. and *Iſabella Stephens* of the City of *Dublin*, *Margaret Bencham*, alias *Bolton* of *Tobberbony* in the County of *Dublin*, Widow . . . *Griffin* of *Newſtreet* . . . . *Margetſon* of *Corballis*, Widow, and *Chriſtopher Burr* of *Ballyally*, Eſq; *William Tygh* of *Browneſtowne* in the County of *Kildare* Gent. and *Mary Barry* of *Kellyſtown*, Widow, *Edmond Pleydell* of *Tankardſtown* in the County of *Catherlough* Eſq; . . . *Boate* of *Ballerchy* in the *King's County*, Gent. *Jane Pettit* of *Tenlagh* in the County of *Longford* Widow, *Frances Stopford* of . . . in the County of *Weſtmeath* Widow, *Grace Cooper* late of *Dromore* Widow, and *John Dodſon* of *Coulanſtown*, Gent. both in the County of *Weſtmeath*, *Anne Warden* of *Burn-Church* in the County of *Kilkenny*, *Elizabeth Kealy* of *Ballymaclaghny* Widow, *Mary Cremer* of *Cautwells Garrans* Widow, *Elizabeth* Lady *Coulthroppe* of *Kilcolkeene*, . . . *Vice*, Counteſs Dowager of *Lanſborough*; *Francis Stopford* of *Claragh*, Widow; and *Martha*

tha Cuffe of *Castlenich*, Widow, all in the County of KILKENNY.

Lady *Tabitha Totty* of *Prospect* in the County of *Wexford*; *Elizabeth* Lady *Ponsonby*; and *Agnes Masterson* of *Prospect*, Widow, both in the County of *Wexford*; *Ann Carter*, alias *Hopkins* of . . . . in the County of *Wicklow*, Widow; *Katherine Carthy*, alias *Newport* of . . . in the County of *Cork*, Widow; *Katherine* Lady *Percivall*; *George Rye* of *Cork*, Gent. and *Elizabeth Carty*, Daughter of *Jeremy Carty*; all of the County of *Cork*. . . . . Lady *Armstrong* of *Waterford*; *Sarah Ledwich*, alias *Shadwell*, Widow; *Sarah Aland* of *Bollinka*, both in the County of *Waterford*; *Elizabeth* Lady *Petty* of . . . . . in the County of *Kerry*; *Ann Parnel* of *Kilosty* in the County of *Tipperary*, Widow; . . . . . *Parnel* her Son; . . . . . *Hunter* of . . . . Widow; . . . *Hunter* her Son; *Elizabeth Frost*; *Frances Biggs* of *Keadragh*, Widow; *Elizabeth Ward* of *Keile*: *Jane Frost* of . . . . *Margaret Walken* of *Ardenaile*, Widow; *Mary Hamilton* Relict of Arch-Deacon *William Hamilton* of *Emly*; *Ann Hamilton*, *Elizabeth Hamilton* her Daughters; *Mary Davys*, and *Jonathan Ash* of *Killoquirke* Gent. All in the County of TIPPERARY.

Margaret Hamilton of *Callidon* in the County of *Tyrone*, Widow; *Jane Davys* of . . . . in the County of *Fermanagh*, Widow; and *Anna Catherina* Lady *Hamilton* of *Tullykeltyre* in the County of *Fermanagh*; *Lettice Hart* of *Conlin* in the County of *Cavan*, Widow; and *Grace Kemsen* of *Drumury* in the County of *Cavan*, Widow; *William Hill* of *Hillsborough* in the County of *Down*, Gent. are, and for some time past have been absent out of this Kingdom; and by reason of Sickness, Nonage, Infirmities, or other Disabilities, may for some time further be obliged so to stay out of this Kingdom, or be disabled to return thereunto. Nevertheless, it being much to the weakening and impoverishing of this Realm, that any of the Rents or Profits of the Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments therein, should be sent into, or spent in any other Place beyond the Seas, but that the same should be kept and employed within the Realm for the better Support and Defence thereof.

BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED, by the Authority aforesaid, That all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Use, Trust, Possession, Reversion, Remainder, and all and every other Estate, Title and Interest whatsoever, belonging or appertaining to all and every of the Persons herein before last mentioned, within this Kingdom, be and are hereby vested in your Majesty, your Heirs and Successors, to the Use of your Majesty, your Heirs and Successors.

PROVIDED always, That if any Person or Persons, in the next foregoing Clause mentioned, have hitherto behaved themselves Loyally and Faithfully to your Majesty; that then if they, or any of them, their or any of their Heirs, do hereafter return into this Kingdom, and behave him

him or themſelves as becometh Loyal Subjects; and do, on or before the laſt day of the firſt Term next enſuing, after ſuch their Return, exhibit his or their Petition or Claim, before the Commiſſioners for execution of the ſaid Acts, if then ſitting; or in his Majeſty's High Court of *Chancery*, or in his Majeſty's Court of *Exchequer*, for any ſuch Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, and make out his or their Title thereunto, and obtain the Adjudication and Decree of any of the ſaid Courts, of and for ſuch his or their Title, That then, and in ſuch Caſe, ſuch Adjudication and Decree ſhall be ſufficient to all ſuch Perſon and Perſons, for deveſting and reſtoring ſuch Eſtate, and no other as ſhall be therein and thereby to him or them adjudged and decreed; and that the Order of any of the ſaid Courts ſhall be a ſufficient Warrant to all Sheriffs, or other proper Officers to whom the ſame ſhall be directed, to put ſuch Perſon or Perſons in the actual Seizin and Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Lands, any thing in this Act contained, or any other Statute, Law, or Cuſtom whatſoever to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

PROVIDED always, and be it further enacted, by the Authority aforeſaid, That neither the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, or this Preſent, or any thing in them, or in either of them contained, ſhall extend to, or be conſtrued to Forfeit or Veſt in your Majeſty, your Heirs or Succeſſors; or otherwiſe to bar, extinguiſh, or weaken any Right of Entry, Right of Action, Uſe, Truſt, Leaſe, Condition or Equity of Redemption of any Mortgage or Morgages, which on the ſaid firſt Day of *Auguſt* 1688, belonged or appertained to any Perſons, not being forfeiting Perſons, within the true intent and meaning of the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, or of this preſent Act; and which ever ſince the ſaid firſt Day of *Auguſt*, 1688, continued or remain'd in ſuch Perſons, not being forfeiting Perſons, or devolved, deſcended, or come from them, or any of them, to any of their Heirs, Executors or Adminiſtrators, not being forfeiting Perſons as aforeſaid, any thing in this Act, or the ſaid *Act of Repeal* to the contrary notwithſtanding.

PROVIDED always, That the ſaid Perſon or Perſons, claiming ſuch Right of Entry, Right of Action, Uſe, Truſt, Leaſe, Condition, or Equity of Redemption of Mortgage, do, and ſhall exhibit his and their Claim for the ſame, before the Commiſſioners for execution of the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, or of this preſent Act, within ſixty Days after the firſt ſitting of the ſaid Commiſſioners, and procure the Adjucation of them, or any three or more of them thereupon, within One hundred and twenty Days after the ſaid firſt ſitting of the ſaid Commiſſioners.

AND Whereas by one or more Office or Offices, in the Time of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Government in this Kingdom, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, of ever bleſſed Memory, All, or a great part of the Lands,

Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments in the Province of *Conaught*, and Counties of *Clare*, *Limerick* and *Tipperary*, were veſted in his Majeſty; And by the *Acts of Settlement and Explanation*, the ſaid Office and Offices are declared to be Null and Void, ſince which time the ſaid Acts have been by the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, repealed, and thereby ſome Prejudice might ariſe or accrue to the Proprietors concerned in them Lands if not prevented.

BE it therefore Enacted, by the Authority aforeſaid, That the ſaid Office and Offices, and every of them, commonly called the *Grand Office*, and the Title thereby found, or endeavoured to be made out or ſet up, from the time of the finding or taking thereof, was and is hereby declared to be Null and Void, to all Intents and Purpoſes whatſoever. *Provided* that nothing therein contained ſhall any way extend, or be conſtrued to extend to charge any Perſon or Perſons who hath, *bona Fide*, paid any Rents or Arrears of Rent, that have been due and payable out of any Lands hereby veſted in your Majeſty; or to charge any Steward or Receiver, that received any ſuch Rents, or Arrears of Rents, if he, *bona fide*, paid the ſame; but that he and they ſhall be hereby diſcharged, for ſo much as he or they ſo, *bona fide* paid, againſt your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors. *Provided* always, and it is hereby Enacted, That every Perſon not being a forfeiting Perſon, within the true intent and meaning of the ſaid former Act, or of this preſent Act; and who before the ſeventh Day of *May*, 1689, had any Statute, Staple, or Recognizance for Payment of Money; or any Mortgage, Rent-Charge, Portion, Truſt, or other Incumbrance, either in Law or Equity, or any Judgement, before the 22d Day of *May*, One Thouſand ſix hundred eighty nine, for Payment of Money, which might charge any of the Eſtates, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, ſo as aforeſaid forfeited unto, and veſted in your Majeſty, ſhall and may have the benefit of the ſaid Statutes Staples, Judgments, Recognizances, Mortgages, Rent-charge Portions, Truſt, and other Incumbrances, out of the Eſtate or Eſtates which ſhould be liable thereunto, in caſe the ſaid former Act, or this preſent Act had never been made. *Provided* always, that the Perſon and Perſons who had ſuch Statutes Staples, Judgments, Recognizances, or other Truſts or Incumbrances, do claim the ſame before the Commiſſioners, for the Execution of the ſaid former Act, within 2 months after the firſt ſitting of the ſaid Commiſſioners, and procure their Adjucation thereof, within ſuch reaſonable time as the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall appoint for determining the ſame. And to the end that ſuch Perſon and Perſons as ſhall have any of the ſaid Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, granted unto him as aforeſaid, may know the clear Value of the ſaid Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments ſo to be granted unto him above all Incumbrances,

brances, and may injoy the ſame againſt all Statute-Staples, Judgments Recognizances, Mortgages, Rent-charges and other Incumbrances not claimed and adjudged as aforeſaid.

Be it therefore further Enacted, by the Authority aforeſaid, that all ſuch Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, as ſhall be forfeited unto and veſted in your Majeſty, and granted by Letters Pattents purſuant to the ſaid former *Act*, or this preſent *Act*, ſhall be and are hereby freed, acquitted and diſcharged of and from all Eſtates, Charges and Incumbrances whatſoever, other than what ſhall be claimed and adjudged as aforeſaid.

And whereas by one private *Act* of Parliament, intituled, *An Act for ſecuring of ſeveral Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments to* George *Duke of* Albemarle, which *Act* was paſs'd in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second; ſome Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments in this Kingdom, which on the two and twentieth Day of *October*, one thouſand ſix hundred forty one, belonged to ſome ancient Proprietor or Proprietors, who were diſpoſſeſſed thereof by the late uſurped Powers, were ſecured and aſſured unto the ſaid *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, by means whereof the ancient Proprietors of the ſaid Lands may be barred and deprived of their ancient Eſtates, unleſs the ſaid *Act* be repealed, though ſuch ancient Proprietor or Proprietors be as juſtly intituled to Reſtitution, as other ancient Proprietors who were diſpoſſeſſed by the ſaid Uſurper, and barred by the late ACTS of Settlement and Explanation.

Be it therefore Enacted, That the ſaid *Act* for ſecuring of ſeveral Lands Tenements and Hereditaments to *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, be and is hereby repealed to all Intents and Purpoſes whatſoever: And that the Proprietors of the ſaid Lands, and their Heirs and Aſſigns be reſtored to their ſaid ancient Eſtates in the ſame manner with the ſaid other ancient Proprietors, their Heirs and Aſſigns. *And whereas* ſeveral ancient Proprietors, whoſe Eſtates were ſeized and veſted in Perſons, deriving a Title under the ſaid *Acts* of Settlement or Explanation, have in ſome time after the paſſing of the ſaid *Acts*, purchaſed their own ancient Eſtates, or part thereof, from the Perſons who held the ſame under the ſaid Acts as aforeſaid, which old Proprietors would now be reſtored to their ſaid ancient Eſtates, if they had not purchaſed the ſame. And for as much as the ſaid ancient Proprietors or their Heirs ſhould receive no Benefit of the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, ſhould they not be reprized for the Money paid by them for their ſaid ancient Eſtates.

Be it therefore Enacted, by the Authority aforeſaid, That all and every the ancient Proprietor or Proprietors, or their Heirs who have laid out any Sum or Sums of Money, for the Purchaſe of their own ancient Eſtates, or any part thereof, as aforeſaid, ſhall receive out of the common Stock

of

of Reprizals a ſufficient Recompence and Satisfaction for the Money laid out or paid by him or them for the Purchaſe of their ſaid ancient Eſtate at the Rate of ten Years Purchaſe, any Clauſe, *Act* or Statue to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

AND for the prevention of all unneceſſary Delays and unjuſt Charges, which can or may happen to the Subjects of this Realm before their full and final Settlement, *Be it further enacted*, by the Authority aforeſaid, That where the Commiſſioners for Execution of the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, or any three or more of them, ſhall give any Certificate under his and their Hands and Seals to any Perſon or Perſons, Bodies Politick or Corporate, in order to the paſſing of any Letter Patents, according to the ſaid *Act*, and ſhall likewiſe return a Duplicate of ſuch Certificate into his Majeſties Court of Exchequer at *Dublin*, to be there enrolled, and the Perſon and Perſons, Bodies Politick or Corporate, to whom ſuch Certificate ſhall be given, ſhall during the Space of Six Months next inſuing the date thereof, diligently proſecute the having and obtaining Letters Patents accordingly, but ſhall thereof be delayed and hindered by the Neglect of any Officer or Officers; that then and in ſuch Caſe the ſeveral and reſpective Perſons, Bodies Politick and Corporate, to whom and in whoſe behalf ſuch Certificate ſhall be given or granted, ſhall hold and enjoy the ſeveral Meſſuages, Mannors, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, in the ſeveral and reſpective Certificates mentioned and allotted, according to ſuch Eſtate, and under ſuch Rent as are therein mentioned, as fully and amply to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if Letters Patents thereof had been granted and perfected according to the Directions in the ſaid former *Act*, any thing in this, or the ſaid former *Act*, or any other Law, Statute or Uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And whereas, by the Hardſhips and Oppreſſions introduced by the ſaid *Acts* of Settlement and Explanation, ſome ancient Proprietors who would have been reſtorable by the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, have been neceſſitated to accept of Leaſes for Life, Lives or Years, or Gifts in Tayl, or other Conveyances of their own reſpective Eſtates, and have contracted to pay ſome Rents, Duties, or other Reſervations out of ſuch their ancient Eſtates, by which Acceptance of Leaſes or Gifts before mentioned, and by the ſaid Agreements to pay Rents, Duties or Reſervations for the ſame; the ſaid ancient Proprietors may be barred or ſtopp'd, and concluded from the benefit of Reſtitution, intended for ancient Proprietors by the ſaid *Act of Repeal*.

BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED, that the acceptance of any ſuch Leaſe or Leaſes, Gift or Gifts in Tayl, or any Agreement or Agreements upon any ſuch Account for Payment of Rents, Duties or any other Reſervation for ſuch their reſpective ancient Eſtate or Eſtates, ſhall be no way

way prejudicial or binding, or concluſive to any ſuch ancient Proprietor, or to his or their Heirs, Executors, or Adminiſtrators, who have not actually by ſome legal ways or means, releaſed his or their Right to his or their ſaid ancient Eſtates, unto their ſaid Leaſſors or Donors, any thing herein, or in the ſaid *Act of Repeal* to the contrary notwithſtanding.

WHEREAS ſome or moſt of the Lands to be given in Reprizals, have not been ſurveyed by the Surveys, commonly called the *Down-Survey*, or *Strafford-Survey*; and that a certain way is neceſſary to be preſcribed for aſcertaining the Quit-Rents now made payable thereout.

BE IT THEREFORE ENATCED, by the Authority aforeſaid, That the Commiſſioners for the Execution of the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, or any three of them, ſhall and may be impowered to aſcertain ſuch Quantities payable out of ſuch Lands ſo to be given in Reprize, and to that Purpoſe to iſſue Commiſſions for Valuations or Surveys, as they ſhall think fit; and that ſuch Surveys ſhall be made according to the Rules and Methods uſed for the *Down-Survey*, wherein the unprofitable is to be thrown in with the profitable; and where the Lands appear barren, or the Quit-Rents by the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, proper or fit to be reduced, it ſhall and may be lawful for them to reduce the ſame; in which Caſe ſuch reduced or reſerved Quit-Rents, ſhall be and is hereby the only Quit-Rent payable out of the ſaid Lands, if ſuch Quit-Rents be more than the Crown-Rents, before this ACT payable out of the ſaid Lands: But in caſe the ancient Crown-Rent be more, the greater Rent ſhall be the Rent reſerved thereout.

PROVIDED yet likewiſe, that the Commiſſioners for the Execution of the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, or in Default of them, the Barons of their Majeſties Court of Exchequer, within five Years after the firſt ſitting of the Commiſſioners, for the Execution of the ſaid ACT, ſhall be and are hereby impowered to reduce the Quit-Rents by the ſaid ACT due and payable out of Lands, by the ſaid *Act of Repeal* to be reſtored, or formerly reſtored to the former Proprietors thereof, where the Lands are barren, or of ſo ſmall Value that the Quit-Rent doth amount to the fourth part of the Value of the ſaid Lands, and may be Diſcouragement to the Plantation of the ſaid Lands, and that ſuch aſcertaining or abating of Quit-Rents under the Hands and Seals of the ſaid Commiſſioners or Barons reſpectively, ſhall be as good and effectual, as if the ſame had been enacted by theſe Preſents, any thing herein, or in the ſaid *Acts of Repeal* contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, that the Commiſſioners to be appointed for ſetling forth Reprizals purſuant to the ſaid *Act of*

Repeal, or any three of them, ſhall out of the Stock of Reprizals therein, and in this preſent ACT, or in either of them mentioned, ſet forth and allot Reprizals to ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as by Vertue of this preſent ACT are appointed to be reprized, and ſhall and may alſo execute ſuch other parts of this ACT as are to be executed by Commiſſioners.

AND WHEREAS divers Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments forfeited unto and veſted in your Majeſty, are or may be found to be liable to divers Debts or other entire Payments ſaved by this ACT: And for levying and receiving the ſame, the Perſon or Perſons intitled thereunto, might charge any part of the Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments originally liable to the ſaid Debts or Payments, with more than a juſt Proportion thereof, whereby ſome of the Perſons to whom part of the ſaid Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments ſhall be allotted or granted in Reprizal, may be overcharged in ſuch Part or Proportion of the ſaid Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, as ſhall be ſo to him or them granted or allotted, which may occaſion great Prejudice and Loſs to ſome of the ſaid reprizable Perſons, if due Courſe be not taken for apportioning the ſaid Debts and Payments: For Remedy whereof, BE IT ENACTED, by the Authority aforeſaid, That the Commiſſioners for Execution of the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, and this preſent ACT, or any three or more of them, be and are hereby impowered and required equally to apportion ſuch Debts and Payments as ſhall appear to them to be chargeable upon, or levyable out of any Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, to be ſet forth for Reprizals as aforeſaid; and to aſcertain what Proportion of ſuch Debts or Payments, each and every Proportion of the Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, which were originally liable thereunto, and which ſhall be ſeparately ſet forth for Reprizals as aforeſaid, ſhall remain liable to pay or diſcharge; and the reſpective Grantees, and every of them, and their reſpective Proportions of the ſaid Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments to them allotted for Reprizals, ſhall not be liable to any more of the ſaid Debts or Payments, than by the ſaid Apportionment ſhall be appointed and directed, which Proportion of the ſaid Debts or Payments is to be inſerted in the Certificate, to be granted of the Lands liable thereunto, if the Perſon or Perſons obtaining ſuch Certificate, ſhall deſire the ſame; any thing in this, or the ſaid *Act of Repeal* to the contrary notwithſtanding.

AND IT IS FURTHER ENACTED, by the Authority aforeſaid, That all Letters Patents hereafter to be granted of any Offices or Lands whatſoever, ſhall contain in the ſame Letters Patents, a Clauſe requiring

ing and compelling the ſaid Patentees, to cauſe the ſaid Letters Patents to be enrolled in the Chancery of *Ireland*, within a time therein to be limited; and all Letters Patents wherein ſuch Clauſe ſhall be omitted, are hereby declared to be utterly void and of none effect.

PROVIDED always, that if your ſacred Majeſty at any time before the firſt Day of *November* next, by Letters Patents under the Broad Seal of *England*, if reſiding there; or by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, during your Majeſties abode here, ſhall grant your gracious Pardon or Pardons to any one or more of the Perſons herein before mentioned or intended to be attainted, who ſhall return to their Duty and Loyalty; that then and in ſuch caſe, ſuch Perſon and Perſons ſo pardoned, ſhall be and is hereby excepted out of this preſent ACT, as if they had never been therein named, or thereby intended to be attainted, and ſhall be and are hereby acquitted and diſcharged from all Attainders, Penalties and Forfeitures created or inflicted by this ACT, or the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, excepting ſuch Share or Proportion of their real or perſonal Eſtate, as your Majeſty ſhall think fit to except or reſerve from them, any thing in this preſent ACT, or in the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

PROVIDED always, that every ſuch Pardon or Pardons be purſuant to a Warrant under your Majeſties Privy Signet and Sign Manual, and that no one Letters Patents of Pardon ſhall contain above one Perſon; and that all and every ſuch Letters Patents of Pardon or Pardons, ſhall be enrolled in the Rolls Office of your Majeſties High Court of Chancery in this Kingdom, at or before the laſt Day of the ſaid Month of *November*; or, in Default thereof, to be abſolutely void and of none Effect, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

PROVIDED likewiſe, that if any Perſon or Perſons ſo pardoned, ſhall at any time after the Date of the ſaid Pardon, join with, or aid or aſſiſt any of your Majeſties Enemies, or with any Rebels in any of your Majeſties Dominions, and be thereof convict or attainted by any due Courſe of Law, that then and in ſuch Caſe they ſhall forfeit all the Benefit and Advantage of ſuch Pardon, and ſhall be again ſubject and liable to all the Penalties and Forfeitures inflicted on them and every of them, by this or the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, as if ſuch Pardon or Pardons had never been granted.

PROVIDED always, that nothing in this ACT contained, ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend to, or veſt in your Majeſty any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, or other Intereſt of any ancient Proprietor, who by the ſaid *Act of Repeal*, is to be reſtored to his ancient Eſtate;

but that all such Person and Persons, and all their Right, Title and Interest, are and shall be saved and preserved according to the true Intent and Meaning of the said ACT, any thing in these Presents to the contrary notwithstanding.

Copia vera.

RICHARD DARLING,
Cleric. in Offic. Mri. Rot.

The Perswasions and Suggestions the Irish Catholicks make to his Majesty, Supposed to be drawn up by *Talbot*, titular Archbishop of *Dublin*, and found in Colonel *Talbot*'s House, *July* 1. 1671.

1. THAT the Rebellion in *Anno* 1641. was the Act of a few, and out of fear of what was doing in *England*. That they were provoked and driven to it by the *English* to get their Forfeitures. That they were often willing to submit to the King, and did it effectually *Anno* 1648; and held up his Interest against the Usurper, who had murdered his Father, till 1653. After which time they served his Majesty in Foreign Parts till his Restauration.

2. That they acquiesce in his Majesty's Declaration of *Novemb.* 30. 1660. And are willing that the Adventurers and Souldiers should have what is therein promised them; but what they and others have more, may be resumed and disposed of as by the Declaration.

3. They desire for what Lands intended to be restored them, shall be continued to the Adventurers and Souldiers, that they may have a Compensation in Money out of his Majesty's New Revenues of Quit-Rents, payable by the Adventurers and Souldiers. The Hearth-Money and Excise being such Branches as were not in 1641; and hope that the one will ballance the other.

4. They say, That his Majesty has now no more need of an Army than before 1641; That the remainder of his Revenue will maintain now, as well as then, what Forces are necessary.

5. They desire to be restored to Habitations and Freedom within Corporations. 1. That the general Trade may advance. 2. That Garrisons and Cittadels may become useless. 3. That they may serve his Majesty in Parliament, for bettering his Revenue, and crushing and securing the Seditious in all Places.

6. They desire to be Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace, *&c.* for the Ends and Purposes aforesaid; and to have the Power of the Civil and Ordinary Militia.

7. They also desire to be form'd into a Militia, and to be admitted to be of the standing Army.

8. That their Religion is consonant to Monarchy and Implicit Obedience. That they themselves have actually serv'd his Majesty in Difficulties. That they have no other way to advantage themselves, than by a strict adherence to the King. That they have no other Refuge; whereas many of his Majesty's Subjects do lean hard another way.

9. That the Roman Catholicks are six to one of all others; that of the said one to six, some are Atheists and Neuters, who will profess the Roman Catholick Religion; others devoutly given, will affect the same course, that the rest may have their Liberty of Conscience, and may be corrected in case they abuse it.

10. That the Roman Catholicks having the full Power of the Nation, they can at all times spare his Majesty an Army of Sixty thousand Men; there being Twelve hundred thousand Souls in *Ireland*; and so consequently an Hundred and fifty thousand between sixteen and sixty years old: Which Forces, if allowed to Trade, shall have Shipping to Transport themselves when his Majesty pleaseth.

11. That they have a good Correspondence abroad, for that great number of their Nation are Souldiers, Priests and Merchants, in Esteem with several great Princes and their Ministers.

12. That the Toleration of the Roman Catholicks in *England* being granted, and the Insolence of the *Hollanders* taken down, a Confederacy with *France* which can influence *England*, as *Scotland* can also, will together, by God's Blessing, make his Majesty's Monarchy Absolute and Real.

13. That if any of the Irish cannot have their Lands *in specie*, but Money in lieu as aforesaid, some of them may transport themselves into *America*, possibly near *New-England*, to check the growing *Independents* of that Country.

14. That the Parliament being formed as aforesaid, great Sums of Money will be given to his Majesty. *Query*, whether the Roman Catholick Clergy may not be admitted into the House of Peers this next Parliament, or stay a little?

15. That for effecting the Premises, 'tis better his Majesty should govern *Ireland* by a Committee of such of his Privy Council as approved the Conjunction with *France*, and as are not concerned in *Ireland*, rather than by the Council of *Ireland*.

16. Let

16. Let such a Lord Lieutenant be in *Ireland*, who in Inclination, and for fear of being displaced, will begin this Work of laying the Foundation of his Majesty's Monarchy, and hazard his Concernments upon that Account.

17. That the Army be gradually reform'd, and opportunity taken to displace Men not affected to this Settlement; and to put into the Army or Garrisons in *Ireland*, some fit Persons to begin this Work; and likewise Judges upon the Benches.

18. *Query*, What Precedents may be found to break the several Farms, and to be Master of the *Exchequer*, and pole the Gains of the Bankers, Brewers, and Farmers?

1. Whether the paying a Fine or Income upon all Grants of Charters, Officers and Commanders, may not bind and fasten the Grant, Duty, and Allegiance, as with Silver Chains, more firmly to the King's Government?

2. Whether any Grants may be presumed to be new obtained, without paying a great Value, at least to some great Officer or Courtier for procuring the same?

3. Whether it be not reasonable, a Year's Value be paid as a grateful Acknowledgment to the Prince's Bounty upon Temporal Grants, as First Fruits from Spiritual?

4. Whether to reserve such Grants to the immediate dispose of the King, be not the Interest of the Crown, and a Means to create a closer adherence to the Person of the Prince, and so make Monarchy more Absolute and Real, instead of factious Dependences on great Men, who are often acted more by Self-interest than the Advantage of their Master?

5. Whether a considerable Revenue may not be raised to the Crown, that if such Courtiers received it upon procuring Grants, it were paid to the Private or Privy Purse.

6. Whether the Subject would not more chearfully Pay a Year's Value or two to the Prince upon passing Grants, than to be liable to the unreasonable Exaction of hungry Courtiers, who sometimes make a Prey, both of the Subject and the Prince's Favour?

7. Whether many worthy and deserving Men have not been put by and denied the benefit of his Majesty's Grant by false Insinuation, for not gratifying some such viperous Officers?

8. Whether his Majesty might not expect to have a fitter Person recommended, when there is no Advantage to be made by their Recommendations, than when Offices are canted by Courtiers, and such only recommended as will give most, but the least fit?

9. Whether

9. Whether if by the Silver Key Men chance to get admittance into Offices, the Prince may not make Advantage by their Misbehaviour, ſince by loſing both their Money and Employment, the King will not only get a Fine, and better Servants, but alſo gratify the People by diſplacing an ill one.

A Copy of a Letter of the Iriſh Clergy to King James, *in favour of the Earl of* Tyrconnel. Found amongſt Biſhop *Tyrrell's* Papers in *Dublin.*

SIR,

SInce it has pleaſed the Almighty Providence, by placing your Majeſty in the Throne of your Anceſtors, to give you both Authority and Occaſion of exerciſing thoſe Royal Vertues which alone do merit, and would acquire you the Crown to which you were born; We, though comprehended in the general Clemency and Indulgence which you extend to all the reſt of our fellow Subjects, are nevertheleſs ſo remote from your Majeſty's preſence, that our Prayers can have no acceſs to you but by a Mediator. And ſince of all others the Earl of *Tyrconnel* did firſt eſpouſe, and chiefly maintain, theſe Twenty five Years laſt paſt, the Cauſe of your poor oppreſſed Roman Catholick Clergy, againſt our many and powerful Adverſaries; and is now the only Subject of your Majeſty, under whoſe Fortitude and Popularity in this Kingdom, we dare chearfully and with aſſurance own our Loyalty, and aſſert your Majeſty's Intereſt: Do make it our Humble Suit to your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed to lodge your Authority over us in his Hands, to the Terror of the Factious, and Encouragement of your faithful Subjects here; ſince his Dependence on your Majeſty is ſo great, that we doubt not but that they will receive him with ſuch Acclamations, as the long captivated *Iſraelites* did their Redeemer *Mordecai.* And ſince your Majeſty in Glory and Power does equal the mighty *Ahaſhuerus*, and the Vertue and Beauty of your Queen is as a true Parallel to his adored *Heſter*; We humbly beſeech ſhe may be heard as our great Patroneſs, againſt that *Haman*, whoſe Pride and Ambition of being honour'd as his Maſter, may have hitherto kept us in Slavery. And thô we wiſh none the fate of ſo dreadful an Example, but rather a timely Penitence and Converſion; we yet humbly crave your Majeſty's Protection againſt all ſuch, if it may conſiſt with

your

your Royal Wisdom and Pleasure, to which we with all humility submit, in the establishing of the said Earl of *Tyrconnel* in such Authority here, as may secure us in the exercise of our Function, to the Honour of God, and offering up our Prayers and Sacrifice for the continuation of your Majesty's long and prosperous Reign over us.

Dublin, the of *July*, 1685.

Your Majesty's most dutiful And obedient Subjects.

The Copy of a Letter sent the King, August 14. 1686. Found in Bishop *Tirrel*'s Papers, but imperfect.

May it please your Majesty,

I Humbly beg of you, for God's sake and your own, to read what I here presume to write; not but that I know it may well be thought an inexcusable piece of Presumption in any Subject to say or write any thing that may look like prescribing to a King, especially a King that from his own knowledge, and the best Mother of it, long Experience, must with universal consent be allowed the most competent Judge in his Dominions of what ought or ought not to be done. Yet inasmuch as your present Counsellors are for the most part divided from you by the unhappy difference in Religion, I hope your Majesty will pardon a loyal Plain-dealer, for presuming to offer his well-meaning Opinion of the present Posture of Affairs.

Sir, As I am one that make it my Business to study your Interest, I took the liberty of telling you in former Letters, That in order to replant Religion in your Dominions, you ought to begin with *Ireland*, where the Work is more than half done to your Hand, and where your Prerogative allows you to do with that Kingdom as you please; for it was not to be expected that *England* and *Scotland*, so irreconcileable to Popery, would consent to take off the Penal Laws by a Parliament, if not aw'd by a more faithful Army than you have at present. And now that a needful Alteration is begun in *Ireland*, it should be carried on speedily for your own and Catholick Subjects security; for all the Sectaries in your Dominions are so gall'd at some of the Phanaticks being discarded in *Ireland*, that they join Heads, concert Councils, swear and contrive Vengeance against all Papists, who must expect no Quarters but during your Majesty's Reign: But all good Men have reason

reaſon to hope, that that God who delivered you from the manifold Dangers of your Life, and made your Enemies your Footſtool, will ſpare your precious Life till you accompliſh the glorious Work reſerv'd for you, by that Providence that is your beſt Life-guard. And 'tis the comfort of all good Subjects, that beſides your being of all ſides deſcended from healthy Parents, you have (I thank God) at preſent all the Symptoms of a vigorous long lived Man: Nay, that your having been ſuckled by a very healthy long liv'd Woman, muſt in reaſon contribute much to the length of your Life; therefore put your Truſt in that God that never failed any good Man that placed his Hopes with confidence in him; and conſider the Proverb, *That he that begins well, has in a manner half done his Work*; which cannot be more aptly applied, than to the auſpicious beginning of your Reign: For God has ſo daſhed the Enterprizes and Hopes of your Enemies, that the terror of your Name, and their experience of your good Fortune, is, with the help of the Army they gave you way to raiſe, ſufficient, if not to change their Hearts, at leaſt to curb their Inſolence: Therefore liſten not to trimming Councellors, whoſe averſion to your Religion, and cunning Deſign of ſpinning out your Life with their *pian piano*, may put them upon urging to you, that great Alterations are dangerous, when carried on otherwiſe than by ſlow and imperceptible Degrees: Which is true, where Matters are ſo ordered in point of Power, as not to need fear a Perturbation in the State; but otherwiſe, Celerity and Reſolution adds Life and Vigour to all Actions, eſpecially ſuch as relate to Change, which is often prevented by tedious Deliberations; for the Party fearing an Alteration, is always (as having more reaſon) more jealous and vigilant than he from whom it is feared; and therefore leaves no Stone unturn'd to hinder the accompliſhment of Deſigns, that might take Effect if not marr'd, for not being vigorouſly puſh'd on as ſoon as reſolv'd upon: And as Precipitation is an Error, ſo is Irreſolution, which is never to be practiſed by any, eſpecially a known wiſe and reſolute Prince; but when the Iſſue of Enterprizes depends more upon Chance than a prudent management of Cauſes, and rational foreſight of Events. But nothing cauſes Irreſolution more, than a medly of Counſellors of a different Religion with their Prince, who will be on all Occaſions as induſtrious to prevent, as he can be to carry on any Deſign for re-eſtabliſhing Religion. And inaſmuch as Authority, Courage, and Prudence, are the three moſt neceſſary Qualifications in a Prince, that conduce moſt of all ordinary Means to the replantation of a Religion; and that all three meet to the higheſt pitch in your Majeſty, no Proteſtant Councellor will adviſe you to any alteration in

the Government, that may directly or indirectly tend to a Change in Religion: Nay, they lie under ſuch Jealouſy and Prejudice, as may induce them to magniſy Danger where there is none at all, and take no notice where it really is: A Device much practiſed in *England* of late Years. Hence in the late King's time, No Danger threatned his Majeſty but from the Catholick Quarters, whilſt the greateſt of Dangers hovered over his and your Sacred Heads, warpt up in the dark Cloud of Fanatick Treachery and Diſſimulation.

Sir, It is plain, that the reality of the Danger lies in your Delay of making your Catholick Subjects conſiderable. For God's ſake conſider, that yours and their ſworn Enemies threaten aboveboard, that Popery or Proteſtantiſm muſt and ſhall be for ever extirpated in theſe Kingdoms, and that all Papiſts muſt inevitably ſplit upon a Rock in that Haven where they had reaſon to hope for Safety, if not ſecured againſt the threatning Storm during your Majeſty's Life, whereof the Days and Hours are precious, conſidering the important Game you have to play, and the indiſpenſable Obligation you lie under (before that God . . .

. . . . . and contribute as much from the Helm to the converſion of Souls, as the beſt of Preachers from Pulpits; for Words do but move, but Examples, and eſpecially thoſe of great Men, have more reſiſtleſs Charms, and a more than ordinary Aſcendent over the Minds of the common People: Which Conſideration ſhould prevail with your Majeſty to prefer, without delay, couragious wiſe and zealous Catholicks, to the moſt eminent and profitable Stations, eſpecially in your Houſhold, where you are King by a two-fold Title; by which means you would in a ſhort time be ſtock'd with faithful Councellors all of a piece, that would join Heads, Hearts and Hands, and would contribute unanimouſly to the effectual carrying on ſo good a Deſign . . . . . diſtinction 'twixt his politick and natural Capacity, fighting againſt the one in defence of the other, it is to be fear'd the Proteſtants of your Engliſh Army would, in caſe of a Rebellion, be too inclinable to fight for the King, Parliament and Proteſtant Religion, againſt the King as Papiſt, his Popiſh Cabals and Popery. To prevent which (as Matters now ſtand) there is but one ſure and ſafe Expedient, that is, to purge without delay the reſt of your Iriſh Army, increaſe and make it wholly Catholick; raiſe and train a Catholick-Malitia there; place Catholicks at the Helm of that Kingdom;

Kingdom; iſſue out *Quo-warranto's* againſt all the Corporations in it; put all Employs, Civil as well as Military, into Catholick Hands. This done call a Parliament of Loyal . . . . . .
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. . . . . .
preſent Revenues of that Kingdom cannot anſwer other State-Contingencies, and maintain a greater Army than is already on foot, eſpecially when the Revenues rather fall than riſe there. The Solution to this Objection is to be expected alſo from your Majeſty, in whoſe Breaſt it lies to take off by a Law, the Reſtraint that Country is under as to Trade and Traffick, for which it lies much more convenient than any of your Kingdoms. When this is done, the Iriſh Merchants will, like the Soldiers, flock home from all parts of the World; but with this difference, that as the Soldiers come to get your Money; the Merchants will bring all their . . . . . .
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that there are few or none Proteſtants in that Country, but ſuch as are join'd with the Whigs againſt the Common Enemy. And as to your Revenues, you are cheated of them by the miſmanagement and ſiniſtrous Practices of your Commiſſioners, whereof the major part are in their Hearts rank Whigs, and of a whiggiſh Race; and hence it is that they employ no Officers but Men of their own Kidney, that ſwallow the Oaths and your Revenue to boot. And thô no King can well avoid being impos'd on by his Servants, I believe it in my Conſcience, that the preſent Managers of your Revenues in *Ireland*, think it no Sin to rob a Popiſh King of his Due. Hence it is that there is an univerſal Agreement and Combination betwixt the . . . . . .
Merchants . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . we will, by way of Retaliation, take care that no Catholick be admitted into the Civil. This Combination makes your Letters for Civil Places, the Reverſion of Outlawries, and for Catholicks being admitted free of Corporations, ſo little regard in *Ireland* by thoſe that paſt for Tories here, *&c.* yet publickly eſpouſe the whiggiſh Quarrel the other ſide the Water. I beſeech you, Sir, conſider, that however your Kingly Prudence may prevail with You to diſſemble Your Reſentments of the Noncompliance and Diſobedience of Your ſtiff-neck'd Engliſh Proteſtant Subjects, You ought to exert Your Regal Anthority in *Ireland*, a Kingdom more peculiarly Your own, where . . . . . .

month before, or at leaſt not outlive Your Majeſty a month) for if that poor Nation be not made conſiderable during Your Reign, his Lordſhip muſt not hope for the Favour my Lord *Stafford* had, of being legally Murthered by a formal Trial, but may well expect, (all Formality laid aſide) to be ſacrificed to the unbridled Fury of the lawleſs Rabble, and diſſected into little Morſels, as the *De VVits* were in *Holland*. And truly the Fanaticks threaten no leſs; and it were to be wiſhed they cried out upon more of Your Miniſters than they do at preſent; for You may take it for granted, they will never ſpeak well of Your real Friends - - -

qualified, and not till then, you may hope to do what becomes a *James* the Second. And to furniſh your ſelf with able Men, You muſt follow Your Royal Father's Advice to the Prince of *Wales*; that is, With an equal Eye, and impartial Hand, diſtribute Favours and Rewards to all Men, as You find them for their real Goodneſs, both in Ability and Fidelity worthy and capable of them. Such as fear God, as the truly Wiſeſt will adviſe You to the beſt Meaſure for promoting God's Glory; Men of Truth will, like *Tyrconnell* ſerve You faithfully, without triuming, tho' with never ſo apparent Hazard to their Fortunes and Lives. And Men hating Covetouſneſs, will not betray Your Intereſt, be corrupted, nor ſell Places to ſuch Undermanagers of Your Revenue, as buying them ſo a ſpill in groſs, will be ſure to retail them at Your Coſt, a Practice much in uſe here, and in *Ireland* at preſent, where few or no Places can be had without Bribes; by which means You are cheated in both Kingdoms of an Hundred thouſand Pounds a Year, in the opinion of underſtanding, honeſt and indifferent Judges; for no Man will give a Shilling ſurreptitiouſly for an Office, but with a deſign to cheat You of Twenty: To prevent which, there is no Remedy, but that of employing ſmart Men of known Integrity, to be choſen without Favour or Affection, that will be content with their reſpective Salleries, and imploy their utmoſt Induſtry to improve, not imbezel Your Revenues the Ornaments of Peace and Sinews of War.

SIR,

Theſe Kingdoms are of Opinion, Popery will break in upon them, and it were a pity to diſappoint them, and when You take effectual Meaſures, Your trimming Courtiers will unmask and come over; nay, half the Kingdom will be converted of it ſelf. What I have here preſumed to write, is the effect of my unfeigned Zeal for the Good of Religion, and Your Majeſties Intereſt, which I hope will induce You to pardon a plain-dealing and loving Subject, that daily beſeeches God to bleſs Your Majeſty and theſe Kingdoms with a long and proſperous Reign, and with numerous long-liv'd Male Iſſues; and to inſpire You with wholſom Thoughts, that may direct You to the performance of ſuch Heroick Actions as may gain You immortal Fame in this World, and eternal Glory in the next.

Lord

Lord Clarendon's *Speech in Council, on his leaving the Government of* Ireland.

My Lords,

IT has been sometimes used to make Speeches upon these Occasions, but I know my insufficiency for that Task, and therefore shall trouble your Lordships with very few words. In the first place, my Lords, I give your Lordships many thanks for the Civilities I have received from every one of you, and for the great Assistance I have had from you in the discharge of my Duty here. I know your Lordships can witness for me, that I never desir'd your concurrence in any thing that was not for the King's Service. I do again beg your Lordships to accept of my Thanks, with this assurance, that I shall give the King an account (when I have the honour to kiss his Hand) of your Lordships great readiness and diligence to advance his Service.

My Lord Deputy, I shall not long detain your Lordship; The King hath placed your Excellency in a very great Station; has committed to your Care, the Government of a great and flourishing Kingdom, of a Dutiful, Loyal and Obedient People: It is extreamly to be lamented, that there are such Feuds and Animosities among them, which I hope your Excellency's Prudence, with the Assistance of so wise a Council, will disperse. I must needs say, both from my own Observation, and the Information I have had from my Lords the Judges, who often visit the whole Kingdom, that there is a great readiness and willingness in all People to serve and obey the King. I must here a little enlarge to your Excellency, because I reckon my self bound to give the King an account of his Subjects, and I would not willingly say any thing when I am at such a distance, which I have not mentioned here. The English in this Country have been aspersed with the Character of being generally Fanaticks, which is a great Injury to them; I must do them the justice to say, that they are of the Church of *England*, as appears by their Actions as well as Professions. The Churches here are as much frequented, and the Discipline of the Church as well observed, as in *England* it self; which is to be attributed to the Piety and Labour of my Lords the Bishops. We of the Church of *England* can brag, that when Rebellion overspread the three Kingdoms, not one Orthodox Member of our Church was engaged against the Crown: And in our late Disorders, we can boast we were Opposers of the Bills of Exclusion;

Excluſion; and the Senſe his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleas'd to expreſs of our Loyalty, will never be forgotten by us. I had the happineſs to be born a Member of the Church of *England*, and I hope God will give me the Grace to die one. One thing the Engliſh of this Country have the glory in, That of all his Majeſty's Subjects, they made the earlieſt Advances towards his Majeſty's Reſtoration, when the three Kingdoms were governed by Uſurpers. And after all the Endeavours of his Loyal Subjects in *England* ſeemed to be diſappointed, and there appeared no Hopes, by the total defeating of Sir *G. Booth*, the Engliſh then in this Kingdom, offered to ſubmit to his Majeſty's Authority. I do not ſay this, my Lord, to detract from his Majeſty's R. C. Loyal Subjects, many of whom I my ſelf knew ſerv'd and ſuffered with him abroad; but I ſpeak in juſtice to the others who did their Duty. There is but one thing more I ſhall trouble your Excellency with; I am ſorry that I cannot ſay that I leave a full Treaſure, but I can ſay that I leave no Debts. The Revenue is in good Order, which muſt be owned to be due to the unwearied Induſtry and Diligence of the Commiſſioners. The Army is intirely paid to *Chriſtmaſs* day laſt; and I have advanced a Month's Subſiſtence Money for *January*. The Civil and Penſionary Liſts are likewiſe cleared to *Chriſtmaſs*: I doubt not but your Excellency's Care will carry all things on in the ſame Method. God Almighty bleſs the King, and grant him long Life; and I beſeech God to proſper this excellent Country. I received this Sword in Peace, and I thank God, by the King's Command, I deliver it in Peace to your Excellency; and I heartily wiſh you Joy of the Honour the King has done you.

A General Abstract of the Gross Produce of his Majesty's Revenue in Ireland, *in the three first Years of the Management, beginning at* Christmas 1682. *ending* Christmas 1685.

	1683,			1684,			1685.		
Customs Inwards and Impr. Excise	85844	17	2 3/8	91424	8	8 7/8	91117	13	6 5/8
Customs Outwards	32092	11	4 1/2	33425	15	2	29428	8	11 1/2
Seizures and Fines	965	2	3 1/2	1615	1	5 3/8	460	11	5 1/4
Prizage	1452			1693			1882		
Inland Excise	68344	1	3 3/8	77580	3	7 1/4	79169	4	4 1/4
Ale Licenses	8283	14	11 1/4	9538	4	4 6/8	9995	14	11 1/2
Wine, &c. Licenses	2736	12		3114	10	2 1/2	3467	11	3 1/4
Quit, Crown and Custodiam Rents	68699	9	7 1/8	68385	8	0 1/4	68922	4	5 1/2
Hearth-Money	31041			31646			32952	12	00
Casual Revenue	120	3	3	1745	16	2	1564	16	11 1/4
Totals, *l.*	300297	11	11 1/4	319168	7	9	318961	18	0 1/8
Arrears of each of the above-Years remaining uncollected at *Christmas*, 1685.	7659	8	6 1/8	9799	9	8 1/2	34971	9	3 3/8

Net Cash paid into the Treasury in three Years above-mention'd, over and besides the Charges of Management, and Sallaries to the Officers of the Revenue in the said time	712972	17	2 1/4
Cash remaining in the Collectors Hands at *Christmas*, 1685. ready to be paid in	55655	10	3 3/4
The Solvent Part of the above-mention'd Arrears which was actually levied and paid into the Treasury before *Christmas*, 1688.	30000	00	
Total Cash, *l.*	798628	7	5 1/8
Which at a Medium for three Years, amounts for each Year to the Sum of	266209	00	00

Sheriffs

Sheriffs for the Year 1687.

Febr. 16. 1686.

Counties.	Sheriffs.
Ardmagh	*Marcus Clarke.*
Antrim	*Cormuck O-Neil.*
Cavan	*Lucas Reily.*
Clare	*John Mac-Nemara* of *Cratelagh.*
Cork	*Nicholas Brown* of *Bantrey.*
Catherlogh	Sir *Lawrence Eſmond.*
Dublin	*Thomas Warren.*
Down	*Valentine Ruſſell.*
Donnegall	*Charles Hamilton.*
Fermanagh	*Cohonnagh Mac-Gwire.*
Galway	*John Kelly* Eſq;
Kildare	*John Wogan.*
King's County	*Hewar Oxburgh.*
Kilkenny	*John Grace* Eſq;
Kerry	*Donogh Mac-Gellicuddy.*
Leitrim	*Alexander Mac-Donnel.*
Lowth	*Patrick Bellew.*
Limerick	*Edward Rice* of *Ballynitty.*
Longford	*James Nugent* Eſq;
Meath	*Walter Nangle* Eſq;
Monoghan	Sir *John Flemming.*
Mayo	*Dominick Browne.*
Queen's County	*Edmond Morris* Eſq;
Roſcomon	*John Dillon* Eſq;
Sligoe	*Henry Craſton* of *Longford.*
Tyrone	*Terence Donnelly.*
Wexford	*Patrick Colclough.*
Weſtmeath	*Thomas Nugent.*
Wicklow	*Francis Meara.*
Waterford	*John Nugent.*
Londonderry	Elected by the Charter.
Tipperary	Appointed by the Duke of *Ormonde.*

John Plunket *Lessee of Christ. Lord Baron of* Dunsany, Plantiff. } Philip Tuite *and* John Rawlins, Defendants. } *Sir* Edward Tyrrell's *Affidavit about packing of Juries.*

WHereas there issued two several *Venire Faciases*, at the Plantiff's Suit, returnable to his Majesty's Court of *Exchequer*, directed to *Edward Tyrrell* Esq; then High Sheriff of the County of *Meath*, the first Year of his now Majesty's Reign. Now Sir *Edward Tyrrell* Baronet came this day before me, and made Oath, that one Mr. *Plunket*, Brother to the said Lord of *Dunsany*, came to *Longwood* to this Deponent's House; and desired this Deponent to stand the Lord *Dunsany*'s Friend, and to give him a Jury that would do him Right; and withal said, this Deponent should have (after the said Lord of *Dunsany* should be restored to the Possession of his Estate) the sum of three or four hundred Pounds. To which this Deponent answered, He would do him Justice. The said Mr. *Plunket*, desired this Deponent to meet him at Mr. *Nugent* his Counsel's House, where he would further discourse the Matter. This Deponent did accordingly meet the said *Thomas Plunket*, where several Proposals and Overtures were made all to no purpose. This Deponent further deposed, That in some short time after, the said Lord of *Dunsany* came to this Deponent's said House and after some Discourse, he the said *Dunsany* desired this Deponent to befriend him against those that wronged him, and kept him out of his Estate. Whereupon this Deponent told the said Lord of *Dunsany* what offer his Brother made him. The said Lord of *Dunsany* replying, said, His Brothers were all on the catch, and that he would do his own Business, and not trouble them, or any of them, or words to that purpose; and desired this Deponent to return him a good Jury, and that he, the said *Dunsany*, would give this Deponent twenty Guineas in hand, and three or four hundred Pounds when he should be restored to the Possession of his Estate. To which this Deponent made answer, That he would impose nothing on his Lordship, and that he would do him Right. Then the said Lord *Dunsany* swore, that this Deponent should not repent what Kindness this Deponent would shew him in that Affair, and said he would not fail paying the twenty Guineas upon the return of the said *Venires*. This Deponent desired the said Lord of *Dunsany* to imploy his Brother *Thomas Plunket* in the prosecution of that Concern;

Concern; which he promiſed he would do, and thereupon began to name ſuch as he would have of the Jury: Which this Deponent deſired he ſhould forbear, telling him, if this Deponent ſhould be examined to that, the *Array* would be quaſh'd. The ſaid *Dunſany* then ſaid, he would put the *Venires* into this Deponent's Hands, and do what he thought fit, and ſaid, this Deponent ſhould hear from him within ſome ſhort time, which he performed. And this Deponent depoſeth, that he did receive the ſaid two *Venires*, either from the ſaid Lord *Dunſany*'s Meſſenger, or from himſelf or one of his Servants. But this Deponent having recollected his Memory, is more apt to believe that it was the ſaid Lord of *Dunſany*'s Meſſenger or Servant, whom this Deponent hath ſeen before in the ſaid Lord's Company, that came according to his the ſaid Lord *Dunſany*'s Promiſe, that delivered the ſaid *Venires* to this Deponent; for he deſired to know at his departure from this Deponent, where and when the ſaid Mr. *Thomas Plunket* ſhould meet this Deponent in order to return the ſaid Writs, or Words to that effect. That this Deponent appointed him to give the ſaid *Thomas Plunket* notice to meet him at *Trim*, at one Mr. *Eveys* Houſe, on ſuch a day as this Deponent cannot tax his Memory now with. That this Deponent having ſeveral Occaſions to this City, waited on Mr. *Daley* this Deponent's Counſel, now Mr. Juſtice *Daley*, and adviſed with him about the Propoſals, and ſaid Overtures betwixt him this Deponent, and the ſaid Lord of *Dunſany*; and thereupon reſolved to ſerve the ſaid Lord *Dunſany gratis*, and not to take or accept of any manner of Conſideration from the ſaid Lord of *Dunſany*, and that he this Deponent would be very juſt to him; which Reſolution was approved of by the ſaid Mr. Juſtice *Daley*. This Deponent further depoſeth, That according to appointment, being met with punctually, had ſome Diſcourſe with the ſaid *Thomas Plunket*, who ſaid, The ſaid Lord of *Dunſany* his Brother was not prepared for a Trial, and that he would go on ſoon with all his Eſtate at once; and that them two Parcels were inconſiderable in reſpect of the Bulk of his Eſtate; and deſired this Deponent to reſerve the beſt Men, in order to return them on the Juries, when he ſhould put other *Venires* for that purpoſe in this Deponent's hands, or words to that purpoſe. This Deponent deſired him to conſider what he had to do, and he ſhould not blame him this Deponent hereafter. He the ſaid *Thomas Plunket* then replied, That he would be ſatisfied with what Returns this Deponent ſhould make on the ſaid two *Venires*, and deſired that the beſt Men might be reſerv'd as aforeſaid. Whereupon this Deponent ſoon after return'd the aforeſaid *Venires*, with Pannels to them ſeverally annexed. This Deponent further depoſeth, That he having

having notice from the Lord Bp. of *Clogher*, that he heard that the ſaid Lord of *Dunſany* ſhould reflect on this Deponent, ſaying, He would not return him a good Jury without a Conſideration: And having met the ſaid *Thomas Plunket* in the ſaid Lord Biſhop's Lodgings, in *Michaelmaſs* or *Hillary* Term laſt, he deſired the ſaid Lord Biſhop to acquaint the ſaid *Thomas Plunket* with the Expreſſions he heard of the ſaid Lord of *Dunſany*. Which he having done, the ſaid *Thomas Plunket* ſaid, That this Deponent deſired no Conſideration, and that the Lord *Dunſany* aforeſaid was much obliged to him this Deponent; and that he was mighty kind to him, and would juſtify the ſame. This Deponent further depoſeth, That the ſaid *Thomas Plunket* having met this Deponent at *Longwood*, after ſome Diſcourſe he had with this Deponent, the ſeventeenth day of *March* laſt paſt, ſhewed him a Liſt of the Juries, and asked this Deponent if he returned them? To which this Deponent anſwered, That he had (as he believed): He the ſaid *Thomas Plunket* thereupon ſaid, moſt of them were Phanaticks, and that they would hang the ſaid Lord of *Dunſany* if they could. This Deponent made anſwer then, That if they prov'd inconvenient, that it was the ſaid *Thomas Plunket*'s fault, for that he had deſired this Deponent to return what he this Deponent pleaſed, and to reſerve the beſt Men for the Bulk of the ſaid Lord *Dunſany*'s Eſtate, or words to that effect. The ſaid *Thomas Plunket* ſaid, He would never conſent to the return of ſuch Juries; and paſſionately ſaid, If he had the twenty Guineas to give this Deponent, that he would have better Juries. This Deponent asked the ſaid *Thomas Plunket*, if this Deponent deſired any ſuch Sum, or any Sum of him when he met at *Trim*? he then replied, that he did not, but that the ſaid Lord *Dunſany* did promiſe it. After a while he likewiſe ſaid, That he told the ſaid Lord of *Dunſany*, that this Deponent could not be ſuppoſed to have made that Return for Ill-will or Gain, for that none would give any Sum of Money where the Party could Nonſuit himſelf; as alſo that this Deponent had returned good Juries for ſeveral of his Country, naming Mr. *Evers* and others, and that it was his ill Luck that hindred him, or words to that effect. This Deponent further depoſeth, That neither of the Defendants, directly or indirectly, deſired this Deponent for to return the ſaid Juries. Neither did this Deponent give them notice that he had any *Venires*; neither did he know that there were any *Venires* ordered to be granted by this Court, until he received the ſaid *Venires*, either from the ſaid Lord, or Tenants, or Meſſengers as aforeſaid, and further ſaith not.

Mr.

Mr. Burridge's *Affidavit, about Robbers,* Sept. 27. 1690.

THen came before me *Ezekiel Burridge* Clerk, and ſaith, That about the beginning of the late Earl of *Tyrconnel*'s Government, he was ſet upon by three Men near *Glaſneven*, within a mile of *Dublin*, who gave this Deponent four Wounds with their Swords, and tore his Gown, ſo that he could never afterwards wear it: They likewiſe attempted to rob him, had they not been prevented by the coming in of Company. Two or three days after, he heard that a Fellow was ſeen on the ſame ground who looked ſuſpiciouſly; and being purſued, was taken in the Suburbs: Whereupon the ſaid Deponent went to him in a Diſguiſe to *Newgate*, and took him into a private Place, and made large Promiſes to him, if he would diſcover any of the Robberies, and be an Inſtrument of bringing in the Rogues who infeſted the Roads about the Town, and robbed almoſt every Night. To effect this, he ſpoke Iriſh, and wore the Garb of a conſiderable Iriſh Officer, and call'd himſelf *Mac-Carty*. The firſt time he could do but little good with him, but he bid him come to him the next day; and after he had ſeen a Friend, he would do ſomething. Accordingly he went to him the next Morning, and renewing and enlarging his Promiſes to him; after ſome time he told him, he would make my Lord Chief-Juſtice *Nugent* his Friend, and perſwade him to remit his Puniſhment, which was, to be burnt in the Hand, and ſtand his Friend in other things, he would do more Service than any Man in *Ireland* was able to do. He thereupon ventur'd upon large Promiſes to him, and uſed all the Rhetorick he could to bring him to an ingenuous and full Confeſſion. Whereupon he told the Deponent, that he knew all the Robberies that were committed the three Years laſt paſt in the Counties of *Dublin*, *Meath*, *Kildare*, *Longford* and *Louth*: That he would engage to clear all thoſe Counties of Rogues; that he knew all thoſe that rob'd in the Roads about *Dublin*; that there were four ſeveral Companies of them; that the great Company were at that time robbing about *Kilkenny*, and that they would be at *Dublin* within a Week, for they were withdrawn thither only to be out of the way here in the Term time; that there were 26 of them in all beſides Souldiers, (whom, he ſaid, he durſt not diſcover;) but all the reſt, he ſaid, he would engage to take in Ale-houſes, where he would appoint them to meet him, if my Lord Chief-Juſtice would allow him Men to aſſiſt him: This he told the Deponent he would do, and ſhewed him what Methods he would

would uſe; and he ſaid, he would willingly be hang'd if he did not ſucceed: Beſides, he knew (he ſaid) where Rogues might be found in *Dublin*, who were Proclaimed, and had Money offered for their Heads. He knew likewiſe where two Men were who murdered a Broguemaker at *Kilcock* a little before, but was loth to hang one of them, he ſaid, becauſe he thought he then lived honeſtly in his own Houſe. He knew likewiſe, he ſaid, a Houſe that was to be robb'd at *Stephens-green*, by ſome Acquaintance of his, within a Week; and told the Deponent what Method they deſign'd to uſe in robbing it. He knew likewiſe who robb'd a Houſe at *Kilmainham* that very Week whilſt he was in Priſon. He knew where a Silver-hilted Sword was which was taken from a Gentleman a little before; and could go directly to abundance of Goods taken by Robbery. He knew where ſeveral pieces of the Gold which was taken from Mr. *Starling* the Miniſter in the County of *Longford*, then lay; and ſaid, that he himſelf had changed one of the Pieces ſince his Committal: All this he ſaid he would prove, and would give his Head if he miſcarried in any Particular. And when the Deponent told him, that perhaps he only pretended thoſe things, that he might have an opportunity to eſcape; he thereupon ſaid, that they might, to prevent that, ſet Guards over him; and beſides, he would procure my Lord *Gormonſtowne*, and ſeveral Gentlemen, to be bound for him. The Deponent having received this Encouragement from the Priſoner, (whoſe Name was *Patrick Launan*) he went to my Lord Chief Juſtice *Nugent*; told him what he had ſuffer'd himſelf, and what the Country ſuffer'd daily; and gave him an account of his conferring with the Priſoner, and ſhewed him in writing the above-named Particulars, which he wrote from his Mouth in Priſon; which my Lord preſently was pleaſed to call, Extraordinary great Service, and ſaid, that the Government ought to take Notice of it. My Lord was likewiſe pleaſed to promiſe the Deponent he would pardon the Fellow, and make the beſt uſe he could of him to bring in the Rogues. Afterwards my Lord ſent for him, and had him private two hours; and when the Deponent afterwards waited upon him, my Lord told him, he had found out an extraordinary uſeful Man, and that he was well ſatisfied all he ſaid was true, and he believed he could do more ſervice than the Account he gave the Deponent; and withal, my Lord ſhewed the Deponent a Liſt of the Rogues he had from *Launan* the Priſoner: But either my Lord did not read the Liſt fairly to the Deponent, or *Launan* made ſome omiſſion; for the Deponent remembers there was one *Nangle*, or one or two *Nugents* in his Liſt, which my Lord omitted in reading

reading. After the Deponent had managed the Fellow thus far, he asked him concerning particular Robberies, and he gave him a very satisfactory Answer to all. He asked whether he heard of a Gownman that was assaulted between *Dublin* and *Glassneven*? He thereupon turned his Head aside and blush'd, and said, that he knew of it, but could not be perswaded to discover the Men: What he said upon this Head, made the Deponent suspect that my Lord Chief Justice had discovered him to the Prisoner, for he found not that freeness of discourse with him, after he had been with my Lord, that he had before: Neither after all his Pains, could he do any good with my Lord; but he deposes, that after he was importunate with him, three or four times, to bring in the Rogues, yet nothing was done, and the Prisoner was afterwards sent away to *Trim* Goal, which this Deponent verily believes was to avoid his importunity. He believes, my Lord thought those Rogues might be afterwards serviceable, and therefore had no mind to bring them to Justice.

Jurat coram me 27 *Septembris* 1690.

DUD. LOFTUS.

Account of Mr. Thomas Corker's *House, Burnt by the* Irish *the* 5*th of* May, 1689.

AS One of the Thousand Instances that may be given of the Natural Antipathy the *Irish* have to the *English*, and Protestants in general, (let the Obligations of Neighbourhood, Conversation, and other endearments be never so great) Mr. *Thomas Corker's* Usage by them is remarkable. He liv'd at *Donoghmore*, within a Mile of *Navan* in the County of *Meath*; and observing about *All-Saints*, 1688, that the *English* and Protestants began to remove and fly; he freely ask'd the *Irish* Gentlemen in his Neighbourhood, What advice they would give him as to his Remove, having a great Family: Who answer'd, *O dear, Sir, do not stir; for if the World were on Fire, you have no reason to fear: For you have been so obliging to us your Neighbours, and to all sorts, that none will harm you, but rather protect you.* Yet immediately they fell upon his Stock without doors, and took part of it away. He then removed with his Family to *Dublin*, leaving his *Haggard* and most of his Houshold Goods behind him; and sometimes (or about once a Month)

Month) went down to Thresh part of his Corn for his own use: During which time they took away all his Stock of Sheep, Black Cattel, and Horses; and the Soldiers from *Navan* (Commanded by one Captain *Farrel*) fetcht away all his Corn and Hay. Some of his *Irish* Servants telling him, It was not safe for him to come down, or lye in his own House, He lay in a Neighbours House: This was on a Friday Night; and the next Day he went to *Dublin*. On Sunday Night (the 5th of *May*, 1689.) they came and set Fire to his House in several places, and burnt it down and all his Goods, believing he was in the House. Afterwards giving out, That he had order'd his own Servants to burn it, And soon after came up on *William Carton* his Shepherd, who told him, That the Fryar and Priests at *Navan* were very angry with him, and Threatned him, because he did not countenance that Report, and also own that his Servants had Burnt his House by his Order.

All this was done by the Neighbourhood, within 3 or 4 Miles about him.

A Brief of the Case of the Charter of Londonderry *upon which Judgment was given against it.*

Quo Warranto *against the Corporation of* Londonderry; *to shew, why they Claim'd to be a Body Politick, and to have and use certain other Priviledges.*

THE Corporation pleaded their CHARTER, whereby those Priviledges were granted to them, *& eo Warranto* they claim to have and use those Priviledges.

The King's Attorney Replies, and saith, That since their Charter, the Act of Settlement impowers the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to make Rules and Orders for the Regulating Corporations: That accordingly such Rules were made for this Corporation; among which, One was, That they were to Elect at a time different from that in the Charter, and Return the Names of the Persons the Corporation should elect yearly to be Mayor and Sheriffs, to the Lord Lieutenant; and to be approved of, *& unde ex quo*, that they did not so elect, and send the Names of such elected, to be so Approved, they forfeited their Priviledges.

The

The Corporation in their Rejoinder gave a full Anſwer to this New Matter, raiſed in Replication, on theſe New Rules: and ſet forth, That they did all along yearly elect, and ſend up the Names elected according to the Rules, and that they were Approved, &c.

But further inſiſted at the Bar, That they needed not to have any further Rejoinder to the ſaid Replication, or given any Anſwer as to the Matter in the ſaid Replication alledged; becauſe, admitting the Allegations in the ſaid Replication to be true, yet the Replication aſſigns no breach by the Corporation: For all that comes after the *Unde ex quo*, is but a Concluſion, and ſolely a Concluſion without any Premiſſes; for tho' the New Rules be ſet forth, yet 'tis not ſaid in all the Replication, That the Corporation did not act purſuant thereto; but only ſaith, *Unde ex quo*, thy did not, &c.

1. The Court ſaid, The Anſwer given to the New Rules, was a Departure from the Matter pleaded; *viz.* They Juſtifie in the Plea by the Charter; and in their Rejoynder they ſay, They chuſe according to the New Rules, which is another Warrant to chuſe, and ſo the Plea vitious. To which the Corporation Reply'd, That a Departure is, when a Party in a Rejoynder ſets up a New Title to a thing, or a New Juſtification not ſet up in the Plea: But here they ſtill Juſtifie by their Charter, and the New Rules made ſubſequent, is only to the *Modus* of Chuſing, in reſpect of Time, &c. but the Power of Chuſing is ſtill by the Charter.

2. The Plea was not only a Plain Anſwer to a ſhort Queſtion demanded by the Quo Warranto, *viz.* by what Warrant they claimed their Priviledges; and the Matter of the New Rules was ſet up by the King in his Replication, to which they had no opportunity of Anſwering, till they Rejoin'd.

3. If it had been material to be ſet forth in the Plea; yet it being a Condition ſubſequent (if any thing) and going in deſtruction of the Corporation Priviledges, they ought not firſt by the Rules of Law to ſet it forth; but it ought firſt to come on the Adverſaries part.

4. The Corporation urged, That the new Rules did not in Law work any Forfeiture of Priviledges, in caſe they were not obſerved; for they were in the Affirmative only, and the Rule of Law is, That Acts in the Affirmative take not away a former Power of doing a thing, but the ſame may be done either the firſt way or the ſecond. Notwithſtanding all which, on the ſaid pretended defect in Pleading, the Merits of the Cauſe never coming in queſtion, the Court gave Judgment againſt the Corporation.

(Nº 8.) *Lord Lieutenants, and Deputy Lieutenants of Counties.*

LEINSTER.

Counties.	Lord Lieutenants.	Deputy Lieutenants.
County *Dublin*,	Col. *Simon Luttrel.*	*Thomas Warren.* *Bartholomew Ruſſel.*
City *Dublin*	Lord Mayor, *Terence Dermot.*	Sir *Thomas Hacket.*
Meath	Lord *Gormanſtown.*	*Thomas Bellew.*
Trim		*Walter Nangle.*
Weſtmeath	Earl of *Weſtmeath.*	*Edmund Nugent of Carlingſton.*
Mullingar		*James Nugent of Welſhtown.*
Longford	Col. *William Nugent.*	*Fergus Farrel.*
Longford		*Laurence Nugent.*
Catherlough	*Dudley Bagnal*	*Marcus Baggot.*
Carlow		*William Cooke.*
Kilkenny	Lord *Galmoy*	*John Grace.*
Kilkenny		*Cæſar Colclough.*
Wexford	Col. *Walter Butler.*	*Patrick Colclough.*
Wexford		*Walter Talbot.*
Wicklow	*John Talbot* of *Bel-*	*Edward Maſterſon.*
Wicklow	*gard.*	*Hugh Roe Byrne.*
King's County	Col. *Garret Moore.*	*Thady Byrne.*
Birr		*Terence Coghlan.*
Queen's County	Lord *Clanmalyra.*	*Owen Carnol.*
Maryburrow		*Edward Morris.*
Lowth	Lord of *Lowth.*	*Thady Fitz-Patrick.*
Drogheda		*Roger Bellew.*
Kildare	Earl of *Limerick.*	*John Babe.*
Naas		Capt. *Charles Whyla-*
		Francis Leigh- (*town.*
		William Fitz-Gerald of Cooks

MUNSTER.

Counties.	Lord Lieutenants.	Deputy Lieutenants.
Corke	Lord Mountcaſhel.	Pierce Nagle.
Corke		Daniel Macarty Reagh.
		Sullivan Bere.
		Charles Mac Carty, alias Mac Donnogh.
Waterford	Earl of Tyrone.	John Nugent.
Waterford		Thomas Sherlock.
Clare	Lord Clare.	Donogh ô Brien of Duogh.
Ennis		Florence Mac Nemara.
Kerry	Lord Kilmore.	Donogh Mac Gillicuddy.
Tralee		Joſeph Browne.
Limerick	Lord Brittas.	Morice Fitz-Gerald.
Limerick		Dom. Roche.
Tipperary	Walter Butler, Eſq;	James Butler of Kilaſcahan.
Clonmel		Garret Gough.
		John Clantwal.
		Daniel Mac Carty.

CONNAUGHT.

Galway	Earl of Clanriccard.	John Dannelan.
Galway		Miles Bourke.
		Nicholas French.
Roſcomon	Lord Dillon.	Patrick Plunkett.
Roſcomon		John Fallon.
Mayo	Lord Athenry.	John Brown.
Ballinrobe		John Hore.
Sligoe	Col. Henry Dillon.	Edward Croſton.
Sligoe		James French.
Leitrim	Col. Alexander Mac Donnel.	Henry Mac Tool ô Neile.
		Hugh ô Rourke.

ULSTER.

Cavan	Col. Edmond Reyley.	Philip Oge ô Reyley.
Cavan		Miles Reyley, Junior.
Monaghan	Col. Arthur Oge Mac Mahon.	Capt. Hugh Mac Mahon.
		Col. Brian Mac Mahon.
Tyrone	Col. Gordon ô Neile.	Capt. Terence Donnelly.
		Shane ô Donnelly.
Ardmagh	Sir Neil ô Neil.	Walter Hovendon.
		Con. ô Neil.

ULSTER:

Counties.	Lord Lieutenants:	Deputy Lieutenants:
Derry	Col. *Cormuck ô Neil.*	Capt. *Roger ô Cahan.*
		Capt. *Fran. ô Cahan.*
Donegal	*Conel ô Donnel:*	*Manus ô Donnell.*
		Tyrlagh Oge ô Boyle.
		Daniel ô Donnel.
Downe	Lord *Iveagh.*	*Shilling Magennis.*
		Arthur Magennis.
Antrim	Earl of *Antrim.*	*Shane ô Neil*, Sheriff.
		Col. *Thady ô Hara.*
Fermanagh	Lord of *Enniskillen.*	*Cucogaght Mac Gwyre.*

A List of the Principal Officers employed in the Revenue 24 Jun. 1690.

Dublin *Port*; *Chief Commissioners and Officers established by Patent.*

SIR *Patrick Trant*, Knight.
Francis Plowden, }
John Trinder, } Esquires. } Commissioners of the Revenue.
Prot. *Richard Collins*, }
Prot. Sir *William Ellis*, Knight }
Charles Playdel, Secretary.
Nicholas Fitz-Gerald Solicitor.
Prot. *James Bonnel*, Accomptant General.

Collectors and Officers appointed by the Commissioners, Viz.

Doctor *James Fitz-Gerald*, Collector.
Prot. *Nathaniel Evans*, Clerk to the Commissioners.
Prot. *William Alcock*, } Examiner of the Port-Accounts and Warrants, and Casheer.
Prot. *Sirolphus Bellasis*, Clerk of the Coast.
Prot. *John Kent*, Land Surveyor, and Comptroller of the Store.
Prot. *Edward Prescott*, Land-Surveyor.
Prot. *John Robinson.* }
Prot. *Denis Boyle.* } Land-Waiters.
Prot. *Francis Isaackson.* }
Henry Fitz-Gerald. }
Prot. *Bartholomew Wybrantz*, Store-Keeper.

Robert Longfield, Chief Clerk of the Quit and Crown-Rents.
William Briſcoe, *Phelim Dempſy*, Surveyors of *Ringsend*.
Francis Creagh, Surveyor at *Dunlary*.

Dublin *Exciſe*; Viz.

Prot. *Francis Babe*, Collector.
Prot. *Bernard Waight*, Surveyor General of Exciſe.
Carol, Examiner of Exciſe Accounts.
Prot. *Benjamin Powning*, Examiner of Diaries.
Prot. *Henry Davis*, Prot. *Jacob Walton*, Prot. *Philip Clayton*, Surveyors of Exciſe.

Ports and Diſtricts.

Athlone,	*Chriſtopher Nicholſon*	Collector.
	Peter Duffe	Surveyor.
Baltimore,	*Dominick Nagle*	Collector.
Clonmel,	*Terence Magrath*	Collector.
	Edward Morris	Surveyor.
Cork Port,	Sir *James Cotter*	Collector.
	Edward Trant	Surveyor.
	Florence Mac Carty	Surveyor at *Cove*.
Cork Exciſe,	*Francis Garvan*	Collector.
	James Griffith	Surveyor.
Dingle,	*Ambroſe Moore*	Collector.
Drogheda,	*Bernard Byrne*	Collector.
	Walter Babe	Surveyor of Exciſe.
	Morris Morierty	Survey. at *New-key*.
Dungarvan,	*Thomas Mead*	Collector.
Ennis,	*John Mac Nemara*	Collector.
	James Dalton	Surveyor.
Foxford,	*Valentine Kirwan*	Collector.
	Nicholas Toppin, [Prot.]	Surveyor.
Galway Port,	*Arthur Nagle*	Collector.
Galway Exciſe,	*James Brown Fitz Jeffery*	Collector.
Kilkenny,	*Cæſar Colclough*	Collector.
	Samuel Pigeon, [Prot.]	Surveyor.

Kinſale,

Kinsale,	Dominick Rice,	Collector.
	Dominick Murrogh,	Surveyor.
Limerick,	John Rice,	Collector.
	Nicholas Skiddy,	Surveyor.
Loughrea,	Stephen Dean,	Collector.
Maryburrow,	Garret Trant,	Collector.
	William Bourne,	Surveyor.
Moyallow,	John Longfield,	Collector.
	Richard Aylward,	Surveyor.
Naas,	Edmond Fitzgerald,	Collector.
	Robert Dowdal,	Surveyor.
Rosse,	James Butler,	Collector.
	Mark Whitty,	Surveyor of Excise.
Sligoe,	Owen Dermot,	Collector.
Trim,	Richard Barnwal,	Collector.
	Hugh Mac Donogh, Richard Barton,	Surveyors.
Waterford,	Councellor Butler,	Collector.
	James Heas,	Surveyor.
Wexford,	Anthony Talbot,	Collector.
Wicklow,	Barnaby Hacket,	Collector.
Youghal,	Patrick Fitzgerald,	Collector.
	David Fitzgerald,	Surveyor.

A List of the New Burgesses of Strabane and Londonderry; Viz.

STRABANE.

Commonly call'd,

Soveraign John ô Neile, *Shane Mac Con Backagh ô Neile.*

Burgesses,

- *Gordon ô Neile,* — Son of Sir Phelim ô Neile the Great Rebel, who was Hang'd, Drawn, and Quarter'd. He burnt *Strabane* in 1641.
- *John ô Neile,* — *Shane Mac Neile, Rammar O Neile,*
- *William Roe Hamilton.*
- *Constantine ô Neile.*
- *James Cunningham.*
- *Robert Adams.*

Cloud

Burgesses,
- *Cloud Hamilton.*
- *Brian ô Neile, Mac Brian, Mac Cormuc, Mac Rory Grana ô Neile.*
- *John Browne.*
- *Robert Gamble.*
- *Patrick Bellew.*
- *James Mac Gee.*
- *Art ô Neile,* —— *Art Mac ô Neile, Ramar ô Neile.*
- *John Donnelly,* —— *Shane fadda ô Donnelly.*
- *James Mac Enally.*
- *John Mac Rory* } *Shane groom Mac Philip Mac Rory.* Burnt in the Hand.
- *Terence Donnelly,* —— *Turlogh ô Donnelly.*
- *Henry ô Neile,* } *Henry Mac Phelmy Duff, Mac Art Mac Rory ô Neile.* His Father Hang'd.
- *Roger Mac Cony,* } *Rory Mac Brian, Mac Con modura Mac Conway:* His Father Hang'd.
- *Dominick Mac Hugh, Dominick Mac Rory Ballagh Mac Hugh.*
- *Charles ô Cahan* —— *Cormuck Mac Manus Keiogh ô Cahan.*
- *Charles ô Conway,* } *Cormuck Mac Owen oge Mac Owen Modera Mac Conway.*

LONDONDERRY.

Cormuck ô Neile, Mayor.
Horace Kennedy, and *Edward Brooks,* Sheriffs.

Aldermen.
- *Cohanagh Mac Gwire,*
- *Gordon ô Neile,*
- *Constantine ô Neile,*
- *Constance ô Neile,*
- *Manus ô Donnel,*
- *Peter Manby,*
- *Peter Dobbin,*
- *Antho. Dobbin,*
- *John Campsie,*
- *Daniel ô Dogherty,*
- *William Hamilton,*
- *Roger ô Cahan,*
- *Daniel ô Donnel,*
- *Nicho. Burside,*
- *Alexander Lacky,*
- *Constance ô Dogherty,*

Aldermen.
- *Daniel ô Sheile,*
- *Roger ô Dogherty,*
- *Brian ô Neile,* and
- *John Buchanan,*

Chamberlain.
- *Daniel ô Sheile,*

Burgesses.
- *Francis ô Cahan,*
- *Robert Butler,*
- *Cornelius Callaghan,*
- *Thomas Monerieffe,*
- *Hugh ô Hogan,*
- *John Mackenny,*
- *John Campsie,*
- *Henry Campsie,*
- *James Lenox,*
- *John ô Hogan,*
- *William Stanly,*
- *James Connor,*
- *Hugh Eady,*
- *John Donnogh,*

Alexander

Alexander Gourdon,
John Crookshanks,
Phel. Mac Shaghlin,
John ô Linshane,
Art. ô Hogan,
Charles ô Sheile,
Johnlius ô Mullan,
John Sheridan,
James Sheridan,
Constance ô Rorke,
Dom. Boy Mac Loghlin,
John Nugent,
William ô Boy,
John ô Boy,
} Burgesses.

William ô Sullivan,
Dionysius Mac Loghlin,
Manus ô Cahan,
Hugh Mac Loghlin,
Hugh More ô Dogherty,
Ulick ô Hogurty,
Henry Ash,
Tho. Broome,
Pet. Mac Peake,
Hen. Dogherty,
Robert Shenan,
Cornelius Magreth,
Art. ô Hogan.
} Burgesses.

(No. 9.) *Privy Councellors appointed by Letters from King* James, *Dated the 28th of* February, 1684; *and such as are Sworn since by particular Letters.*

Lord Primate.
Lord Chancellor.
Lord Archbishop *Dublin*.
Lord High Treasurer.
Secretary of State.
Chancellor of the *Echequer*.
Master of the Ordnance.
Lord Chief Justice of the *King's Bench*.
Lord Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*.
Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*.
Lieut. General of the Army
Colonel of the Regiment of Guards.
} for the Time being.

James Duke of *Ormond*, not sworn.
Henry Earl of *Thomond*.
Cary Earl of *Roscomon*.
. . . . Earl of *Ardglass*.
Henry Earl of *Drogheda*.
Hugh E. of *Mount-Alexander*.
Richard Earl of *Ranelagh*, not sworn.
Francis Earl of *Longford*.
Maurice Viscount *Fitzharding*.
Murrogh Viscount *Blesinton*.
Robert Fitzgerald, Esq; not sworn.
Sir *Cha. Fielding*, not sworn.
Sir *Rich. Reyneld*, not sworn.
Sir *Thomas Newcomen*.
Sir *Robert Hamilton*.
Adam Loftus, } Esqs; not
Lemuel Kingdon, } sworn.

Sworn

Sworn afterwards by particular Letters.

Sir *Paul Rycaut.*
Thomas Keitley, Esq;
Earl of *Tyrconnel.*
Earl of *Lymerick.*
Lord Viscount *Ikerin.*
Lord Viscount *Galmoy.*
Thomas Nugent, *Dennis Daly*, *Stephen Rice*, *Rich. Hamilton.* } Esquires.
Sir *William Wentworth.*
Earl of *Ballymore.*
Nicholas Purcel, Esq;
Earl of *Clanrickard.*
Earl of *Antrim.*
Justin Mac Carty Esq;
Lord Viscount *Gormanstown.*
Lord Viscount *Rosse.*
Earl of *Tyrone.*
Lord Viscount *Netterville.*
Lord *Lowth.*
Sir *William Talbot.*
Anth. Hamilton, *Thomas Sheridan*, *Symon Luttrel*, } Esquires.
Fitzgerald Villers, Esq;
Colonel *Garret Moore.*
Lord *Bellew.*
Charles White, Esq;
Col. *Cormuck ô Neile.*
Francis Plowden, Esq;

Privy Counsellors Sworn before King James, *after his coming to* Ireland.

DUke of *Powis.*
Duke of *Berwick.*
Earl of *Abercorne.*
Lord *Thomas Howard.*
Earl of *Melfort.*
Lord Chief Justice *Herbert.*
Lord *Dover.*
Colonel *William P* : : : :
Colonel *Dorrington.*
Marquis *D' Albeville.*
Lord *Kilmallock.*
Colonel *Sarsfield.*
Lord *Merryon.*
Earl of *Carlingford.*
Earl of *Clanrickard.*
Lord *Kenmare.*
Lord *Clare.*

(No. 10.) *The Civil List of Officers, and the Times of their Entring on ther Offices.*

CHANCERY.

SIR *Alexander Fitton* Knight, Created Lord *Fitton and* Baron of *Gosworth* in the County of *Lymerick*, Lord High Chancellor of *Ireland.*

23 *April*, 1689. Sir *William Talbot* Baronet, made Maſter of the *Rolls*.
Dennis Fitzgerald his Deputy.
Dr. *Alexius Strafford* Popiſh Dean of *Chriſt-Church*,
2d *May*. *Ignatius Berford*, Eſq; Dr. of the Laws,
6th *May*. Dr. *Matthew Kennedy*,
10 *May*. Dr. *Michael Plunket*, a Romiſh Prieſt.
} Maſters.
23 *July*. *Thomas Arthur* Soldier, Clerk of the Crown and *Hanapor*: This is in Truſt for *Robert Arthur*'s Wife, Niece to Lord *Tyrconnel*.
1ſt *Aug*. *William Dorrinton*, Regiſter.
James Nagle, Curſitor and Ingroſſer of all Original Writs.
Henry Temple, Eſq; and *Owen Coyle* (who was Indicted and Outlawed of Forgery) Examinators.
John Newel; *John Maynard*, : : : : *Power*, *Thady Meagher*, *John Henny*, and : : : : *Geoghegan*, } Six Clerks.
Baskerville Polewheel, Purſuivant.

KINGS BENCH.

Thomas Lord *Nugent* Baron of *Riverſtown*, L. Chief Juſtice.
2d Juſtice Vacant, not being worth Fees of paſſing Patent.
Sir *Brian O Neil*, Baronet, Third Juſtice.
6th *July*, 1689. *Randal Mac Donnel*, Eſq; Clerk of the Crown, and Prothonotary.
Francis Nugent, Deputy Prothonotary.
Brian Kerny, Deputy Clerk of the Crown.

COMMON PLEAS.

John Keating Eſq; Lord Chief Juſtice.
2. Juſtice *Dennis Daly* Eſq;
3. Juſtice *Peter Martin* Eſq;
23 *Jan*. 1689. *Edmond Fitzgerald* Eſq; Chief and only Prothonotary.
Richard Fenner, his Deputy.
16 *Jan*. 1689. *Robert Barnwel* Eſq; *Cuſtos Brevium* and Chirographer.
James Nangle, Clerk of the Outlawries.

EXCHEQUER.

Buno Talbot Eſq; Chancellor.
Treaſurer Vacant.

Sir

Sir *Stephen Rice*, Lord Chief Baron.
Sir *John Barnwel*, Knight, Second Baron.
Sir *Henry Lynch*, Baronet, Puny Baron.

1ſt *Aug.* 1689. *Oliver Grace* Eſq; Chief Remembrancer. Second Remembrancer not diſpoſed of; formerly an Office of great Perquiſites, but now not worth Fees of paſſing Patent.

8 *Aug.* *Walter* Lord *Dungan*, Clerk of the Common Pleas. *Murtagh Griffin*, his Deputy. *Philip Dwyer* his Sub-Deputy.

6 *Jul.* 89. *Richard Talbot* of *Malahide*, Eſq; Auditor General.

23 *Jul.* 89. *Chr. Malone*, Sergeant *Dillon*'s Clerk, Surveyor General; This in Truſt for Lady *Tyrconnel* and her Daughter, married to Col. *Dillon*.

3 *Oct.* 1689. *James Nagle*, Clerk of the Eſtreats and Summoniſter.

24 *October*, *Richard Morgan*, Purſuivant.

28 *Nov.* 89. *Francis Stafford* Eſq; Clerk of the Pipe.

20 *Dec.* 89. *Charles White* Eſq; Clerk of the Firſt-Fruits and 20th Parts. *Marcus Baggot*, Firſt Sergeant at Arms.

7 *Jan.* 1689. *Thomas Haughton*, Second Sergeant at Arms.

16th *Jan.* *Brian Mac Dermot* Eſq; Clerk of the Pels and Tallies, and Clerk of the Treaſury.

13 *Feb.* 89. *Patrick Kennedy*, Gent. Gomptroller of the Pipe.

18 *Feb.* 89. *Thady Meagher*, Clerk of the Errors. This is on the Statute for Writs of Error, from the King's-Bench to the Excheqner Chamber.

27 *February*, *John Barry* Gent. Chief Chamberlain. *Simon Carrick*, Second Chamberlain.

6 *March*, *Oliver Grace* Eſq; Tranſcriptor and Foreign Oppoſer.

Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.

9th *July* 89. Duke *Tyrconnel*, *Henry* Lord *Dover*, Lord *Riverſtown* Chief Juſtice, Sir *Stephen Rice* Lord Chief Baron, *Buno Talbot* Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. *Adam Colclough*, Secretary.

27 *Auguſt*, *Hugh Reilly* Eſq; Clerk of the Privy Council.

Commiſſioners of the Mint in *Dublin*.

26 *Aug.* 1689. *John Trinder*, *William Talbot*, *Thomas Goddars* Eſq; *William Bromfield*, *Francis Rice*, *Edward Fox*, and *Walter Plunket* Gent.

31 *Jan.* 1689. Grant to Alderman *James Malone*, and *Richard Malone*, of the Office of Printer General.

Commiſſioners of the Revenue.

Sir *Patrick Trant*, Sir *William Ellis*, *John Trinder*, *Richard Collins*, *Fr. Plowden* Eſq; Sir *Theobald Butler*, *Charles Playdel* Secretary.
Sir *Henry Bond*, *Lewis Doe*, Eſq; } Receivers General. *Nicholas Fitzgerald*, Solicitor. *Robert Longfield*, Clerk of the Quit-Rents and of Forfeited Eſtates, &c.

(No. 11.) 2d. June 1690.

An Account of the General and Field Officers of King James's *Army, out of the Muſter Rolls.*

DUKE of *Tyrconnel*, Captain-General.
Duke of *Berwick*, *Richard Hamilton* } Lieutenants-General.
Count *Lozune*, General of the *French*.
Monſieur *Leary alias Geraldine*, Lieut. General.
Dom. Sheldon Lieut. General of the Horſe.
Patrick Sarsfield, Monſieur *Boiſleau*, *Antho. Hamilton*, ——*Wahup*. } Major-Generals.
Tho. Maxwell, *John Hamilton*, *Will. Dorrington*, } Brigadiers.
Solomon Slater, Muſter-maſter-General.
Robert Fitz-Gerald, Comptroller of the Muſters.
Sir *Rich. Nangle*, Secretary at War.
Sir *Henry Bond*, *Louis Doe*, } Receivers General.

Sir

Sir *Michael Creagh*, Pay-maſter-General.
Felix O Neile, Advocate-General.
Dr. *Archibold*, Phyſician to the State.
Patrick Archibold, Chirurgeon-General.

HORSE.

Duke of *Tyrconnel*		Collonel.
Dom. Sheldon		Lieut. Coll.
Fra. Meara		Major.
Lord *Galmoy*		Coll.
Laur. Dempſy	1ſt.	Lieu. Coll.
Char. Carrole	2d.	
Robert Arthur		Major.
Patrick Sarsfield		Coll.
Lord *Kinſale*		Lieut. Coll.
Roger Magilligan		Major.
Hugh Sutherland		Coll.
Edm. Pendergaſt	1ſt.	L. Coll.
Talbot Laſſels	2d.	
Will. Cox		Major.
Lord *Abercorne*		Coll.
- - - - - - - -		Lieut. Coll.
- - - - - - - - -		Major.
Henry Luttrell		Coll.
Sir *James Moclare*		Lieut. Coll.
- - - - - - - - -		Major.
John Parker		Coll.
Tho. Gifford		Lieu. Coll.
John Metham		Major.
Nicholas Purſel		Coll.
. . . . .		Lieu. Coll.
. . . . .		Major.

DRAGOONS.

Lord *Dungan*		Coll.
. . . .		Lieut. Coll.
. . . .		Major.
Sir *Neile O Neile*		Coll.
. . . .		Lieut. Coll.
. . . .		Major.
Lord *Clare*		Coll.
John Mac Nemara	1ſt.	L. Coll.
James Philips	2d.	
Francis Browne		Major.
Symon Luttrell		Coll.
. . . .		Lieut. Coll.
Edmund Moclare		Major.
Robert Clifford		Coll.
Alex. Mackenzie		Lieut. Coll.
. . . .		Major.
Fran. Carroll		Coll.
Turens Carroll	1ſt.	L. Coll.
Fran. Boiſmoroll	2d.	
. . . .		Major.
Tho. Maxwell		Coll.
Daniel Magennis		Lieut. Coll.
. . . *Callaghane*		Major.

FOOT.

William Dorrington		Collonel of the Guards.
Will. Manſel Barker		Lieut. Coll.
Tho. Arthur		Major.
John Hamilton		Coll.
James Nugent		Lieut. Coll.
John Talbot	1ſt.	Majors.
James Gibbons	2d.	
Lord *Fitz-James*		Coll.
Edw. Nugent	1ſt.	L. Coll.
. . . *Porter*	2d.	
. . . *Dodsby*		Major.

Earl

Earl of *Clancarty*	Coll.	*D' Busby*	Lieut. Coll.
John Skelton	L. Coll.	. . . . .	Major.
Philip Rycaut	Major.	Lord *Kilmallock*	Coll.
Earl of *Clanrickard*	Coll.	*John Power*	Lieut. Coll.
Edmund Madden	Lieut. Coll.	*John Chapell*	Major.
. . .	Major.	Sir *Maur. Euſtace*	Coll.
Earl of *Antrim*	Coll.	*John Woogan*	Lieut. Coll.
Mark Talbot	Lieut. Coll.	. . . . .	Major.
James Woogan	Major.	Sir *John Fitz-Gerald*	Coll.
Earl of *Tyrone*	Coll.	. . . . .	Lieut. Coll.
Tho. Nugent	Lieut. Coll.	. . . . .	Major.
Richard Nagle	Major.	Lord *Lowth*	Coll.
Richard Nugent	Coll.	. . . . .	Lieut. Coll.
. . . . .	Lieut. Coll.	. . . . .	Major.
. . . . .	Major.	Earl of *Weſtmeath*	Coll.
Lord *Gormanſtown*	Coll.	*Mich. Delahoyde*	Lieut. Coll.
Richard Euſtace	Lieut. Coll.	*Gowen Talbot*	Major.
. . . . .	Major.	Major-General *Boiſleau.*	Coll.
Henry Dillon	Coll.	Monſieur *Beaupre*	Lieut Coll.
Walter Bourke	Lieut. Coll.	. . . . *Hurly*	Major.
John Morgan	Major.	Lord *Boſine*	Coll.
Lord *Galway*	Coll.	*William Connock*	Lieut Coll.
John Power	Lieut. Coll.	*John Bodkin*	Major.
. . . .	Major.	*Oliver O Gara*	Coll.
Lord *Bellew*	Coll.	*Tady Connor*	Lieut. Coll.
Nich. Gitz-Gerald 1ſt. *Le Sir Doge* 2d.	L. Coll.	. . . . .	Major.
John Dowdale	Major.	*John Grace*	Coll.
Lord *Kinmare*	Coll.	*Robert Grace*	Lieut. Coll.
. . . . .	Lieut. Coll.	*Cha. Moore*	Major.
. . . . .	Major.	*Edward Butler*	Coll.
Lord *Slane*	Coll.	*John Innis*	Lieut. Coll.
Maurice Connell	Lieut. Coll.	*Garret Geoghegan*	Major.
. . . .	Major.	*Art. Mac Mahon*	Coll.
Cormuch O Neile	Coll.	*Philip Reyley*	Lieut. Coll.
. . . .	Lieut. Coll.	*Hugh Magennis*	Major.
. . . .	Major.	*Charles Moore*	Coll.
Charles Cavenagh	Coll.	*Ulick Bourk*	Lieut. Coll.
James Lacy	Lieut. Coll.	. . . . .	Major.
Groſ. Pordevarande	Major.	*Dudley Bagnall*	Coll.
Tho. Butler	Coll.	*James Power*	Lieut. Coll.
		. . . . *Corbet*	Major.

Gorden

Gordon O Neile	Coll.	. . . . .	Lieut. Coll.
Conn O Neile	Lieut. Coll.	. . . . .	Major.
Henry O Neile	Major.	*Cuconnagh Mac Gwyre*	Coll.
Nicholas Brown	Coll.	*Alexand. Mac Gwyre*	Lieut. Coll.
George Traps	Lieut. Coll.	*Cornelius Mac Gwyre*	Major.
Dermot Mac Auliffe	Major.	*Walter Bourk*	Coll.
Sir *Michael Creagh*	Coll.	. . . . .	Lieut. Coll.
John Power	Lieut. Coll.	. . . . .	Major.
Theobald Bourk	Major.	*Felix O Neile*	Coll.
Heyward Oxbrough	Coll.	. . . . *O Neile*	Lieut. Coll.
Edward Scot	Lieut. Coll.	. . . . .	Major.
Laurence Delahunty	Major.	*Hugh Mac Mahon*	Coll.
Dom. Browne	Coll.	*Owen Mac Mahon*	Lieut. Coll.
. . . . .	Lieut. Coll.	*Chriſtopher Plunket*	Major.
Le Sir *Mountyouge*	Major.	Lord *Inniskillin*	Coll.
Owen Mac Carty	Coll.	. . . . .	Lieut. Coll.
James Dupuy	Lieut. Coll.	. . . . .	Major.
Terence O Brien	Major.	*Dennis Mac Gillcuddy*	Coll.
John Barret	Coll.	. . . .	Lieut. Coll.
Donogh Mac Callaghane	L. Coll.	. . . . .	Major.
. . . . .	Major.	*James Purcell*	Coll.
Charles O Brien	Coll.	. . . .	Lieut. Coll.
. . . . .	Lieut Coll.	. . . .	Major.
William Saxby	Major.	Lord *Hunſdon*	Coll.
Daniel O Donnovane	Coll.	*Robert Ingram* 1ſt.	Lieu. Coll.
Fran. Napper	Lieut. Coll.	*John Gifford* 2d.	
Sir *Alphon Mottit*	Major.	*Francis Gyles*	Major.
Lord *Ireagh*	Coll.		
Brien Magennis 1ſt	L. Coll.	Regiments ſent to France, viz.	
Francis Wahup 2d.			
. . . . .	Major.	Lord *Mountcaſhel*	Collonels.
Roger Mac Elligot	Coll.	*Daniel O Bryen*	
Maurice Huſſy	Lieut. Coll.	*Richard Butler*	
Edmond Fitz-Gerald	Major.	*Robert Fielding*	
Edmund Keyley	Coll.		

(No. 12.) *A Copy of the Letter diſpers'd about the Maſſacre, ſaid to be deſign'd on the 9th of* December, 1688.

Good my Lord, December 3*d.* 1688.

I Have written to let you know, That all our *Iriſhmen* through *Ireland* are ſworn, that on the 9th, Day of this Month, being *Sunday* next, they are to fall on, to Kill and Murder Man, Wife and Child, and to ſpare none; and I do deſire your Lordſhip to take care of your ſelf, and all others that are adjudged by our Men to be Heads; for whoever of them can kill any of you, is to have a Captain's Place. So my deſire to your Honour is to look to your ſelf, and to give other Noblemen warning, and go not out Night or day without a good Guard with you; and let no Iriſhman come near you, whatever he be. This is all from him, who is your Friend and Father's Friend, and will be, though I dare not be known as yet, for fear of my Life.

Direct this with Care and Haſte to my Lord Mountgomery.

(No. 13.) *Lord* Mountjoy's *Circular Letter, on his going to* France.

Gentlemen, Dublin, 10*th* January 1688.

YOU had an Account how long I ſtaid on the Way, after I left you, and the Reaſons which made me ſince go forwards: And whatever any Jealouſies were at my firſt Arrival, I am now ſatisfied at my coming; and, with God's Bleſſing, I hope it will come to good to us all. As ſoon as I ſaw my Lord Deputy, he told me, he deſigned to ſend me to the King jointly with my Lord Chief Baron *Rice*, to lay before him the State of the Kingdom; and to tell him, That if he pleaſed he could Ruine it for him, and make it a heap of Rubbiſh; but it was impoſſible to preſerve it, and make it of uſe to him; and therefore to deſire leave to treat for it. The Objections I made to this, were Two; My being not ſo well qualified, as a Northern Roman Catholick, whom in all likelyhood the King would ſooner give Credit to: And

And the improbability of being able to perſwade the King, who is now in the *French* Hands, to a Thing ſo plainly againſt their Intereſt. To the Firſt of theſe, I was anſwered, what is not fit for me to repeat; and the other is ſo well anſwered, that all the moſt knowing *Engliſhmen* are ſatisfied with me, and have deſired me to undertake this Matter, which I have done this Afternoon; my Lord Deputy having firſt promiſed me, on his Word and Honour, to perform the Four Particulars in the within Paper. Now becauſe a thing of this Nature cannot be done without being Cenſur'd by ſome, who perhaps would be ſorry to have their Wiſhes in quiet means; and by others, who think all that Stateſmen do are Tricks, and that there is no Sincerity amongſt them. I would have ſuch to conſider, That it is more probable I and the moſt intelligent in this place, without whoſe Advice I do nothing, ſhould judge right of this, than they who are at greater Diſtance; and it is not likely we ſhould be Fooled, ſo I hope they will not believe we deſign to betray them, ourſelves, and the Nation. I am morally aſſured, this muſt do our Work without Blood, or the Miſery of the Kingdom. I am ſure it is the Way propoſed in *England*, who depend ſo on it, that no Forces are appointed to come hither; and, I am ſure, what I dō, is not only what will be approved of in *England*, but what had its beginning from thence. I do therefore conjure you, to give your Friends and mine this Account, and, for the Love of God, keep them from any Diſorder or Miſchief (if any had ſuch Deſign, which I hope they had not;) and I am fully ſatisfied, every Man will have his own Heart's Deſire. I will write to this Effect to ſome other Places, and I deſire you will let ſuch in the Country, as you think fit, ſee this. Let the People fall to their Labour, and think themſelves in leſs Danger than they believed, *&c.*

(No 14.) *Judge* Keating's *Letter to Sir* John Temple, December 29*th* 1688.

SIR,

I Had ere this acknowledged the favour of your laſt, and returned you my Thanks for your kind Advice, relating to the ſmall Concerns I had in *England*, which I have now diſpoſed of here; but, to deal freely with you, the Diſtractions ariſing from the great and ſuddain Alterations in *England*, and the pannick (but I believe groundleſs) Fears which hath poſſeſſed the Minds, not only of the Weaker Sex and Sort,

but even of Men who would paſs for Sober and Judicious, hath render'd Matters with Us ſo uncertain, that I profeſs ſeriouſly, I know not what to write; nor dare I yet give you any Account, relating either to particular Perſons or Places of the Kingdom, ſcarcely of what I hear from the Remote Parts of this City; ſince what we have at Night for certain Truth, from thoſe who pretend to be Eye or Ear Witneſſes of what they relate, we find before the next Days Exchange is over, to be altogether Falſe and Groundleſs. The fear of a Maſſacre hath been mutual; the Proteſtants remembring paſt times, and being alarm'd by a Letter, neither directed to, nor ſubſcribed by any Perſon, but drop'd at *Cumber*, (of which, Copies were diſpers'd throughout all parts of the Kingdom) were frighted to that degree, that very many of them betook themſelves to the *Ards*, and other places of Security in the *North*: Some into *Scotland*; and very many Families Embark'd from this Part for *Cheſter*, *Leverpoole*, *Beaumaris*, and the next adjacent ports of *England* and *Wales*, who, you may eaſily conclude, carried with them all the ready Money and Plate which they were Maſters of. Nor was it a difficult Matter for them ſo to do, the Conſternation being ſo great and ſo ſuddain, that even the Officers of the Port, either out of Commiſeration to the departing Crowd of Women and Children; or being amaz'd at the ſuddainneſs of the Fright, neglected to do their Duty, whereby this City, and the Adjacent Parts, are almoſt drained dry, as to Caſh and Plate; which is manifeſt from Gnineas being ſold at 12 *d. per* piece, over and above the uſual Rate. On the other Hand, the Roman Catholicks were very many of them under equal fears; and indeed, all of them, except the Army, who by their Calling are exempt from, or at leaſt from owning it, pretend equal Dread from the Proteſtants, who (as they alledg'd) far exceeded them in the *Northern* Parts, and were extraordinarily well Arm'd and Hors'd; but, their greateſt Apprehenſions ariſe from a conſtant and uncontradicted Aſſurance, which Private Letters by every Pacquet, brought hither, that the Duke of *Ormond*, with a conſiderable Army, and many experienc'd Officers, was to Land forthwith in *Munſter*. And in this Condition now ſtands this poor Kingdom; the contending Parties being equally afraid, or at leaſt pretending to be ſo of each other; which cannot but beget great Anxiety and Sorrow in the Mind of every good Man, who hath the leaſt Concern for his King or his Country. In the interim the Lord Deputy, intruſted by his Majeſty with the Government of this Kingdom, and keeping it entire in its obedience to all his Commands, doth daily grant Commiſſions to raiſe and procure Arms and Ammunition for great Numbers of Men: In doing whereof (conſidering the great

Truſt

Truſt repoſed in him) no Man of Honour, or moral Honeſty can truly blame him: But, at the ſame time, he takes all Opportunities, both Private and Publick, to declare, That whenever his Majeſty ſhall ſignifie his Royal Will and Pleaſure, for Disbanding the Army that now is, or hereafter ſhall be raiſed upon the Commiſſions now iſſuing; or ſhall give direction for any other Alteration in the Government, he will, without one Day's heſitation, himſelf, and thoſe of his Relations, and other Dependents in the Army, whom you know to be very Numerous give an exact Obedience. And if any ſhould be ſo fool-hardy, as to ſcruple or make the leaſt Delay of doing ſo, they ſhall in a few Days be taught and compelled to do their Duty.

I muſt likewiſe tell you, That in this Conjuncture of Affairs, the Thieves and Robbers are not only become more Numerous, but likewiſe much more Inſolent; and inſtead of ſmall Thefts, do now drive away by Force whole Herds, and ſometimes, when overtaken, deny to reſtore the Prey. This in many Places, and eſpecially in the *North-weſt*, is done by the Cottiers and Idlers in the Country, but father'd generally on the Army; of which I have now an Inſtance before me from *Ballenglaſs*.

All this, I know, you have had repeated to you from divers Hands; however I thought my ſelf obliged in the Station which I hold, to give you this ſummary Account of our preſent Condition, which God knows is very bad, and in all humane probability, if we take not up more Charity than as yet we have for each other, will receive ſharp Corroſives, and bitter Potions to bring us even to the hopes of Living, though in great Penury and Want. Nor can we expect, in caſe that any Reſiſtance ſhall be made by the Roman Catholicks here, that we ſhall ſee any End thereof, until the Buildings, Plantations, and other Improvements of Thirty Years Expence and Induſtry be utterly waſted, and the Kingdom brought to the laſt Degree of Poverty and Confuſion, and from the moſt improved and improving Spot of Ground in *Europe* as you ſaw it Six Years ſince, become a meer *Acheldama*, and upon the matter totally deſart. For Armies when once raiſed, muſt be maintained by the Publick, or will maintain themſelves: Nor can Military Diſcipline be expected, where the Soldier hath not his Wages; and whether that can be had out of the publick Treaſury here, I refer to you, who have weighed the Revenue of the Kingdom, when at the beſt, even to a *Drachm*. But after all this, I am confident and aſſured, That the Government of *England* will and muſt at length take place here, againſt all Oppoſition whatſoever. It hath coſt *England* too much Blood and Treaſure to be parted with; but, if it ſhould come

to a Conteſt of that kind; the Victors (I fear) will have little to bragg of, and will find in the Concluſion, nothing but Ruins and Rubbiſh, not to be repaired in another Age. Nor will the People thereafter reckon, of any Security or Stability in this Kingdom, ſo as to apply themſelves to the repair of them, but expecting ſuch periodical Earthquakes here, will provide themſelves of Retreats in *England* and *Scotland*, as many have of late, and daily do.

Your Patience is, I fear, by this at an End; when you begin to enquire with your ſelf, To what purpoſe it is that I have given you all this Trouble. I muſt confeſs, your Enquiry is not without Reaſon; but however to you, whoſe Friendſhip I have always found, and valued my ſelf much on it, I do without difficulty declare what hath induced me hereunto.

The wonderful Alterations which a Month's Time hath produced in *England*, in regard to the Proteſtant Religion, and the Univerſality of it; the little Blood that hath been ſpilt in ſo great a Change; the few Acts of Hoſtility, and little diſquiet which has as yet appear'd, has almoſt perſwaded me, That this Unfortunate Kingdom may, by the Interpoſition of moderate Men, be reſtored to the ſame Eſtate of Religion and Property, that it rejoyced in Seven Years ſince, with an addition of further Security for the preſervation of both, if more be requiſite, conſidering the many Acts of Parliament ſtill in Force in this Kingdom.

It cannot be imagined (Sir) but there are very many who having either loſt their Eſtates upon the Forfeitures of 1641. or by their Profuſeneſs and Prodigality, ſpent what they were reſtored to, would willingly ſee the Kingdom once more in Confuſion and Blood; deſigning by Licentiouſneſs and Rapine, to ſupply their Extravagancies. There want not on the other Hand, ſome who conceive, That the Court of Claims has contrary to the Settlement, taken from them their Poſſeſſions without Repriſals; and very many, who being put by their Employments and Commands, wiſh for a Time to expoſtulate with thoſe who are poſſeſſed of them. But all theſe in my humble Opinion, ought to give way to the publick Quiet and Settlement of a whole Nation, ready to fall into Ruine.

I am verily perſwaded, That with a little good Management, the generality of the *Roman Catholicks*, and indeed of the whole Kingdom, would be very glad to be put into the ſame Condition in all reſpects, as they were Six Years ſince; and deſire no more than an Aſſurance, it ſhould not be made worſe. And if there be Faith to be found in Man, the Lord-Deputy and *Roman Catholick* Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom,

dom, who are univerſally concerned in the preſent Army, and in that which is to be raiſed, will, upon the firſt ſignification of his Majeſty's Pleaſure to that purpoſe, unanimouſly Disband, retire to their ſeveral Dwellings, and apply themſelves to advance the Quiet and Wealth of the Kingdom. Nor can I ever doubt his Majeſty's Condeſcention and Care for the Preſervation of this His Kingdom, and preventing the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood. For moſt aſſuredly, if War ſhould happen here, which God of his Infinite Mercy prevent, His Majeſty would be the only great Sufferer, in the Loſs of ſo many Subjects Lives; wherein conſiſts the Wealth and Strength of the greateſt Monarchs.

There are very many now at *London* who know the State and Condition of this Kingdom much better than I pretend to; what I now write, I deſign not as a Secret, but if you think it worth Conſideration, I leave it to you, to Communicate it to ſuch as you ſhall think fit: And, if there be any thing in it worthy their Thoughts, I muſt declare that there is nothing within the reach of my Induſtry, that I will not endeavour in the method of my Profeſſion, for the maintenance of Religion and Property, as eſtabliſhed by the Laws of this Kingdom; and ſhould die with the greateſt ſatisfaction, and reckon it a Nobler Poſterity than any Man can pride himſelf in, if I could be in the leaſt Inſtrumental in the ſetling Peace and Quiet, without more hazard or Loſs to this my Native Country, which I make no doubt the Almighty will in his good Time effect, by his own Means and Inſtruments, more deſerving of ſo great a Bleſſing from him than I am. If this find any Room with your ſelf, other thinking Men, or ſuch who have great Stakes here, let me know your Thoughts, with what convenient ſpeed you can; it being a matter in which a moment is not to be loſt; and the firſt Step to be made there; ſince it cannot be expected that the Lord Deputy will do any thing in a matter of ſo great Moment, without His Majeſty's Directions.

(No 15.) *Propoſals humbly offered to the Earl of* Tyrconnell, *Lord Deputy, by the Biſhop of* Meath, *about the intended Search for Arms.*

WHEREAS Your Excellency hath ordered by Your Declaration, That a Search ſhall be made in every Houſe in *Dublin*, for Arms and Ammunition; and that, in Caſe any ſhall be found upon Search,

Search, that the Persons with whom they are found, shall be left to the Mercy of the Soldiers: This Penalty is thought unreasonable on these following Accounts.

First, Because it is not determin'd by the Declaration, who shall be the Searchers; for if the matter be manag'd as hitherto it hath been, that every one who pretends to be a Soldier must have liberty to search, and in such Numbers, and as often as they please, no House can be safe; for that some have been already searched, by Six Companies after one another, and that in the same Day. And if any of these should pretend to find a Pistol or Bagonet, or Horn of Powder, though he brought it out of his Pocket, with a design to draw an inconvenience on the House; yet, by the Declaration, the House and all that is in it, must be left to the Mercy of the Soldiers; and, by this means, the Innocent may suffer as well as the Guilty.

Secondly, That if the Soldiers be permitted to search, there will be so much Damage by it to this City that an Age cannot Repair it; For, by this means, every Place that is capable of concealing Arms, must be left to their Discretion; the Boards will be rip'd up, partition Walls broken down, Wainscot taken down, Cellars digg'd up, the Foundations of Houses endanger'd, Barrels of Beer open'd, Provocations offer'd and received, the Safety of the People in apparent hazard, many things taken away without hopes of Restitution; the Looms of Tradesmen, and the Instruments of Artificers destroyed, and his Majesty's Interest dis-served after all by the Soldiers, endeavouring rather to serve their own Ends than his Majesty's true Interest.

Thirdly, In many Houses there are several Families, Lodgers and Servants of several Sorts; and if any of these, either out of Malice or Folly, or good Will to their Masters, conceal any Arms, though never so inconsiderable, all the rest, though Innocent, must suffer for it; which is against Equity and Justice, that requires every Man to suffer only for his own Fault, and not for the Fault of others.

Fourthly, Many have had Lodgers in their Houses for several Years, whose Truncks and Papers are still there, and possibly Arms may be in them, which the House-keeper knows nothing of. It is therefore Unreasonable, That either the Owners of such Goods being absent, or the Masters of the House that know nothing of it, should suffer for what they cannot help. By this means, Papers may miscarry, and the Estates of Men be ruin'd and undone.

Fifthly, Many Landlords, Owners of Houses, are either gone for *England*, or absent elsewhere about their lawful Occasions, and their Servants

Servants may either not know where their Arms are, or fooliſhly endeavour to conceal them, and ſo expoſe their innocent Maſters to Ruine.

Sixthly, The leaving Perſons to the Mercy of the Soldiers, is a Puniſhment ſo unknown to our Laws, and ſo ſtrange to theſe Kingdoms, that the Execution of it will be a great prejudice to his Majeſty's Affairs, and alienate the Hearts of his Subjects more from him, and do him (whoſe Preſence they expect) more miſchief than the Arms can do him good. It is an ill Preſident, and may in time deſtroy the whole Kingdom, and ſubvert the Law.

It is therefore humbly propoſed, That in caſe your Excellency be not ſatisfied with the Returns already made, and to be made; but you will ſtill go on with the Search, that your Excellency would graciouſly condeſcend to theſe following Expedients, for the better Eaſe and Quiet of his Majeſty's Subjects.

Firſt, That whereas each Pariſh is divided into its ſeveral Wards, that your Excellency would order the Search to be made by the Deputy Alderman of each Ward, with the Aſſiſtance of one or more Military Officers, as your Excellency ſhall think fit, and not by the Soldiers; for by this means, what Arms are found, will be ſecured for his Majeſty's Uſe, and the Subject freed from the fears of Plunder and Ruine.

The Search intended is ſo provided for, to be by an Alderman and an Officer.

Secondly, That no Man be reſponſible for more than his own Goods, nor the Puniſhment inflicted on any but the Guilty.

His Excellency conſents to this.

Thirdly, That regard be had to the Goods and Papers of all Perſons that be abſent, and who by reaſon of their Abſence before the Declaration was publiſhed, cannot be preſumed to be Violaters of it.

His Excellency conſents to this.

Fourthly, That a Declaration be publiſhed to this purpoſe for informing the People of your Excellency's Intentions, which will contribute much to the allaying of their Fears, and the Quiet of their Minds.

His Excellency allows the Biſhop of Meath, *to declare this to all Perſons.*

Fifthly, That whereas your Excellency did by your Declaration, order all Arms to be returned into the Pariſh-Churches; and yet in ſome Pariſh-Churches there were no Officers appointed to receive them; that your Excellency would by a new Proclamation, order ſuch Arms

as have not yet been delivered for want of ſuch Officers to receive them, be received by ſuch as your Excellency ſhall think fit to appoint.

An Account of this to be given to the People, by themſeves or Church-Wardens, or Clerks; as alſo publick Notice in the Church to Morrow Morning.

The Return to be made to the Clergy by the Inhabitants, and by the Clergy to the Biſhop of Meath.

That his Excellency doth not intend to bind himſelf from ſearching for Arms in the City of *Dublin* by the late Declaration, becauſe it was Publiſhed before its Time, and without his Order, in Caſe a more due return of Arms be not made, than he hath hitherto received.

(No. 16.) *An Account of the Conditions made in the Field, between the High-Sheriff of* Galway, *and the Priſoners after condemned.*

WHEREAS *James Power*, Eſquire, High-Sheriff of the County of *Galway*, Captain *Thomas Burk*, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces quarter'd in the Town of *Loughreagh*, having Intelligence, That ſeveral Gentlemen and others, on the Firſt Day of *March* inſtant, travelled the Road leading from *Irris* in the County of *Clare*, towards the Town of *Loughreagh*, being the Road they intended to go, meet them there, and demanded their Horſes and Arms for his Majeſty's Uſe; which, upon Capitulations made between the ſaid *James Power*, Eſquire, and Captain *Thomas Burk* of the one Part, and Sir *Thomas Southwell*, Baronet, *Bartholomew Purdon*, Eſquire, and *Thomas Miller*, Eſquire, on the other Part, in behalf of themſelves, and of all as well Gentlemen and others that were with them, and of their Company, were freely and peaceably delivered and given up by them to us for his Majeſty's Service, on theſe following Conditions. The Captitulation which we the ſaid *James Power* Eſquire, and Captain *Thomas Burk* promiſed them in behalf of the Government, ſhould be honourably and punctually perform'd and kept.

Imprimis,

That they and every of them ſhould have their Lives preſerved, and that whatſoever they had acted in that Affair (they affirming that their coming in that poſture was for preſervation of their Lives) ſhould be forgiven and forgotten; and Paſſes given them, or any of them, to

go

go where they pleased (provided they did not go the *North* or *Sligo*) without being rifled, or any thing taken from them, except such Horses and Arms as were fit for his Majesty's Service.

Secondly, That every Gentleman of them should have their own Pistols and Swords, and one Nagg or Horse given them to ride on, in Case his own (being musterable) should be taken from him.

Thirdly, That if they desired it, they should have a Party of Horse or Foot to protect them, for their greater Safety in Travelling where they or any of them had a desire to go, except to the *North* or *Sligo* as aforesaid. Given under our Hands and Seals, the First Day of *March*, 1688. and in the First Year of his Majesty's Reign, *James* the Second, by the Grace of God King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c.

Note, *That it happened near Night when they met, so that the Agreement before-mentioned, could not be reduced into writing in the Field; but several times since being tendred to the said High-Sheriff and Captain to Sign; they still declined it, but nevertheless acknowledged the Truth thereof before the Lord* Galway, *Father* Dolphin *the Friar, and others in* Loughreagh. *And about Eight or Nine days after, the said Captain* Bourk *Signed a Certificate in presence of Captain* Arthur French; *and the said High-Sheriff writ a Letter to the Lord Deputy, containing the principal Parts of the said Articles, as by the following Copy may appear.*

Captain Bourk's *Certificate, deliver'd by Captain ..... to Captain* French, Good-Friday, 1688.

WHereas on the First Day of this Instant *March*, Sir *Thomas Shothwell*, with a considerable party of Horse, were Travelling from the County of *Clare*, through the County of *Galway*, near *Loughreagh*; an account whereof being brought to Captain *Thomas Bourk*, whose Troop Quartered at *Loughreagh*, and on Notice immediately with his Troop repaired to meet the said *Thomas Southwell* and his Party, and having drawn up within Shot each of other, the said *Thomas* sent one to give an account of his and his Friend's Design to ride, without Offence, through the County, and prayed not to be molested: Whereupon the said Captain *Thomas Bourk* made answer, That without the Governments Pass so considerable a Party should not ride where he had Power to hinder them. Then the said Sir *Thomas* desired to be

permitted to return whence he came. To which he was answered; That by a late Order from the Government, Captain *Bourk* was to seize all Arms and Horse fit for his Majesty's Service in the County of *Galway*, and that he would not permit them to go on, nor return till he had their Horse and Arms; and persisting firm therein, the said Sir *Thomas* and his Party submitted, and declared their Obedience to the Governments Order; he the said Captain *Thomas Bourk* assuring them that he would secure them their Lives, and offer'd them such small Naggs as he thought fit to carry the said Sir *Thomas* and Chief Gentlemen back to their respective Homes. This I the said Captain *Thomas Bourk* having promised on my word, do now certifie for Truth, as Witness my Hand this 9th day of *March*, 1688-9.

THO. BOURK.

A Copy of the High-Sheriff's Letter, delivered to Mr. French *on* Good-Friday, 1688. *per Captain* Jourdon.

May it please your Excellency, Loughreagh, March 9th. 1688-9.

IT happened on Friday last, the first Day of this Instant, I had Intelligence, that a Party of Horse with Sir *Thomas Southwell* and others, were making their way through this Country to *Sligo* or the *North*, being routed out of *Munster*; whereupon the Horse and Foot in this Town being commanded by Captain *Thomas Burk* and Captain *Charles Dawly*, made ready to intercept the said Sir *Thomas* and his Party, who met upon a Pass and faced one another; but a Treaty being proposed, they came to Capitulation, wherein it was agreed, that the said *Thomas* and his Party should lay down such Horse and Arms as was fit for the King's Service; and after so doing, that they and every of their Lives should be secured them, and dismissed with such Passes and Convoys as may bring them safe to their several Habitations without any Harm to their Persons or Goods. All which with Submission at their requests I humbly offer to your Excellency, and subscribe,

Your Excellency's
Most Humble, and
Most Obedient Servant,
JAMES POWER.

A Copy

(No. 17.) *A Copy of a Letter from Bishop* Maloony *to Bishop* Tyrrel; *the Original found amongst Bishop* Tyrrel's *Papers.*

March 8th 1689.

I Have yours (my D. L. of the 29th of *January* last, your Style by Mr. *Despont*. 'Tis large and plain enough, and another before Concise and in Merchants Style, both tending to the same end, and of which I made use to the same purpose, notwithstanding all the Discomposure of my Health this month past, as you shall I hope find by the Effects e'er this comes to your hands; for the King upon your earnest Invitation in both your said Letters, and by other strong Considerations, took of a sudden the Resolution to go unto you, and parted hence this Day Sennight being the last of *February*, and I hope in God is by this time landed somewhere in *Ireland*, for the Wind serves fair ever since he parted; and he did expect to be on *Friday* Night (this being *Monday* following) at *Brest*, where all things, and most part of the Officers were in a Readiness staying for his Majesty's Arrival, for to part with the first Wind. I wrote unto you in that Convenience by Sir *Neil O Neil*, and another by Post at the same time. This will go slower, and by the second Voyage of the same Ships when they come back for more Men and Commodities. It goes by a Friend I dare trust with all the Secrets of it; and so I will be full, plain, and overboard.

The Bearer is Doctor *Butler*, a good Gentlemans Son, of a good Estate when People enjoyed their own Birth-right, to which he is become himself Heir, if he can recover it; In which I shall beg your Favour and Protection for him when occasion doth require. He has made all his Studies and took his Degrees here; I have sufficiently instructed him of all the Contents of this Letter by word of Mouth for fear of any Miscarriage; and although I ought to presume that all and every of you there (and especially so clear sighted and foreseeing Persons as you, and others like you) need no Advertisement, or Spurr; Yet my Zeal *pro Fide, Rege, & Patria*, could not dispense with me to be silent from writing, when I am not upon the Place to speak my Sense as others.

Now, my Lord, you have the King so much wished and longed for, of whom we may say without Offence, as of our Saviour, *hic positus est in Ruinam & Resurrectionem multorum*: If you make good use of him,

you may get a Reſurrection of many by him; but if you make a bad uſe, you may get their Ruine; ſo all depends, under God, of the good or bad uſe you make of his Preſence amongſt you; It is but a ſpecial Providence of God that he is ſo unexpectedly gone thither: But when God's Providence is either ſlighted or neglected by People not helping themſelves, and not making uſe of the Occaſions offered them by Providence, God can and does uſually withdraw his ſpecial Providence; *Conantes adjuvat, exaudítque deprecantes*, ſays St. *Auguſtine*. My Lord, the Game you have now to play is very nice, and Tickleſome. The Religion, King, and Countries Ruine or Reſurrection depends on it; If you play it well, you will carry all and ſave all; but if you play it ill, you will loſe all and for ever: All conſiſts in reſolving well how to diſpoſe of *Ireland*, in the preſent Conjuncture, being the only Country that appears now for the King; wherein you have two Parties to manage; The one, to wit the *Proteſtant*-Newcomers and Uſurpers, under the Rebellion of *Cromwell* are ſuſpected, or rather certain can nor will ever be Loyal or Faithful, whatever outward Shew or Promiſes they make: Which is manifeſt by their ſeveral Inſtances in our Days both in *England* and *Ireland*. The other Party to wit, the Catholicks of *Ireland* proved ſtill Faithful and Loyal to the King at Home and Abroad, though very ill recompenſed. Now the great queſtion to be decided will be, whether (ſetting aſide the manifeſt and inconteſtable Injuſtice of that moſt barbarous and inhumane Act, they wrongfully call *THE SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND.*) Whether I ſay it is more politick and prudent to trim and temporize now with thoſe Uſurpers, promiſing really or ſeemingly not to diſturb them in their unjuſt Poſſeſſions, than to reſtore the true ancient Proprietors; turn off, or rather ſecure the Uſurper, and make up a ſtrong and potent Army, all of True, Loyal, Faithful and Incorruptible Men, without any mixture of Trimmers or Traytors! I would think the Queſtion thus Stated, is ſoon reſolved by natural Reaſon, divers Inſtances and ſad Experience. What Man of Senſe or Reaſon can imagine, that thoſe who by their Rebellion cut off their King's Head like a Scelerate on a Scaffold, baniſh'd his Queen and Children into Foreign Countries to beg their Bread for ſo many Years together; and after the Heir's Reſtauration to his Crown, not only put ſo many hard and unjuſt Conditions upon him; namely that of excluding the *Iriſh* Catholicks from the Amneſty General, but alſo uſed ſo many foul Means and Contrivances to Murther and Maſſacre him and his Brother together; and ſeeing the King Iſſuleſs, to uſe all their Endeavours to exclude the Brother from his lawful Birth-right and

Succeſſion

Succeſſion to the Crown; and when they could not by a Legal and Parliamentary way perform it, at laſt draw Foreign Power into the Kingdom, with whom by a moſt horrid Rebellion, and moſt traiterous Defection, they all join, and turn him from his Throne, and baniſh him with his Queen and Son, the only lawful Heir of the Crown, into Foreign Countries; again placed a Foreigner upon the Throne in a Month's time, after declaring the Crown vacant, though he and his Son ſtill alive. All theſe barbarous and traiterous Tranſactions done within Forty Years time in the Face of the World; by all which experiences, the preſent King in his own Perſon paſſed; but how can it be poſſible (ſay you) that the King having tried in his own Perſon all theſe Inſtances and Experiences, with ſeveral others, he could be thus impos'd upon and deluded: I tell you, by the ſame Reaſon, that you may be now deceived, if you are not cautious; that is, by want of Capacity and Sincerity in his Adviſers; telling him ſtill, he muſt do nothing that may irritate or provoke the Anger of the *Proteſtants* of *England*, who are very dangerous; That he muſt get them by fair means, granting them all they deſire; nay preventing their deſires by all good Offices and Marks of Kindneſs, even to the prejudice of his Crown and Dignity. By this fair Politick, they hindred him from drawing Succour out of *Ireland* ſooner, from making up a *Catholick* Army that would ſtick to him; inſtead of a *Proteſtant* one that Betrayed him; hindred him alſo from having any Succour from *France* offer'd him: Obliged him to declare that he had no Alliance with *France*; and never to believe that the *Dutch* had any Deſign upon him or his Country, till they were in the very Bowels of it. Let any Man of Senſe ſee if ſuch rotten Principles and Politicks, that produced ſuch Fatal Effects, ought to be inſiſted upon or embraced. If the King of *France* had not been too generous and too Chriſtian a Prince; were it not a ſufficient Motive for him to reject the King in his Diſgrace, that upon thoſe rotten Principles rejected his Alliance; yet thoſe, and only thoſe Principles, will be made uſe of to perſwade you there, that you muſt not think of your own Reſtauration and Aſſurance at Home firſt, but go into *England* to reſtore the *Catholicks*: And if there be any Adherents of the King's there, and that it will be time enough to think of your own Reſtauration after: Which, is the ſame as to ſay, at Dooms-day: For never a *Catholick* or other *Engliſh*, will ever think or make a ſtep, nor ſuffer the King to make a ſtep for your Reſtauration, but leave you as you were hitherto, and leave your Enemies over your Heads to cruſh you any time they pleaſe, and cut you off Root and Branch, as they now publickly declare: And blame themſelves they have not

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taken away your Lives along with your Eſtates long ago; nor is there any *Engliſhman*, *Catholick* or other, of what Quality or Degree ſoever alive, that will ſtick to ſacrifice all *Ireland* for to ſave the leaſt Intereſt of his own in *England*, and would as willingly ſee all *Ireland* over inhabited by *Engliſh* of whatſoever Religion as by the *Iriſh*: And yet by their fine Politicks, they would perſwade the *Iriſh* to come and ſave their Houſes from Burning, whilſt they leave their own on fire: Which is no better than to look upon People as ſo many Fools, when every body knows that Charity begins at Home: That one's Charity for himſelf, is the Rule and Meaſure of that he ought to have for his Neighbour; *diliges proximum tuum ſicut teipſum.* Is it not a better and more Chriſtian Politick for the King, and all that are faithful unto him, to reſtore firſt a whole Kingdom that ſtands out for him when all the reſt failed, to their Birth-Right which they have been out of theſe Thirty Six Years, only for being obſtinately Loyal to his Father, Brother and himſelf, than to diſpleaſe thoſe who have been and are ſtill Loyal, (and who can get any Condition they pleaſe from the Enemy to join with them) by thus pleaſing or trmming with thoſe who never were, or ever will be True or Faithful; and when they are thus reſtored, and no Enemies left in their Bowels that can do his Majeſty or them any Harm, than to go in a ſtrong Body together with his Majeſty into *England*, join with all ſuch that will prove Faithful and Loyal, and ſo reſtore his Majeſty to his Throne, and each one to his Right. I would fain know from theſe trimming Politicks, whether it be not ſecurer and more honourable for the King to offer all fair Means, and ſhew his Clemency to his People when he is in Condition to force them to what he pleaſes to exact of them, than to be daily undervaluing himſelf by offering them all the fair Means imaginable, which they ſlight and ſcorn, becauſe they ſeeing he has no Means, to force them or do them Harm, think he does all only out of Fear, and not by any ſincere or true Affection; And I would fain further know, if it be not better and greater Policy for him to put the Kingdom of *Ireland* (ſtill ſo Loyal unto him) upon the beſt and higheſt Foot both Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal he can contrive, and yet granting it nothing but its natural Right and Due, that it may be a Check upon the People of *England*, who are ready every New-Moon to Rebel, than to keep it ſtill in a continual Slavery and full dependence on ſuch perfidious and inconſtant People, and himſelf deprived of the ſupport he can ſtill have from thence againſt their Revolt: I dare averr, if *Ireland* were put upon ſuch a foot by the King, he ſhall never fear any Rebellion in *England*, eſpecially if *Scotland* be faithful to him, and *France* a Friend; all which can now

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be well contrived and concerted. But when all is done, I would fain yet know from thoſe Politick Trimmers, by what Law of God or Man Eccleſiaſtical or Politick, they think *Ireland* is bound to be the Sacrifice and Victim of the Rebellion of *England*, either for to hinder thoſe turbulent People from Rebelling, or for to reconcile them to their Duty, by giving them forſooth, as Recompence, the Eſtates of thoſe unfortunate Catholicks, and ſend themſelves a begging; I dare ſay, no Catholick in *England*, much leſs a Proteſtant, (who would ſo eaſily give his Conſent and advice, that the Eſtates of the *Iriſh Catholicks* may ſerve as a Recompence for the *Engliſh* Rebels) would willingly give a Plow-Land of his own Eſtate to reconcile all the Rebels of *England* to their Duty if he were not afraid to loſe his own whole Eſtate by the Rebellion, and yet would adviſe to do to others what he would not have to be done to himſelf, contrary to the great Rule and Maxim of Nature and Chriſtianity, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.*

I would fain further know from this Politick Trimmer, ſo large of other Peoples Goods, and ſo ſparing of his own, if one Province in *England* had revolted againſt their King, as the whole Kingdom does now; and that the reſt of the Provinces continued faithful, would they think fit or prudent to give their Lands and Eſtates to thoſe Rebels for laying down their Arms, and go to beg themſelves? Or would the King expect or deſire it from them? No ſure; but rather that they ſhould take up Arms, and joyn with his Majeſty to reduce and puniſh ſuch Rebels in lieu of recompencing them with the Loyal's Eſtates: And is not that the caſe of the *Iriſh*? Why do you not then judge alike? Or if you do not look upon an *Iriſh-man* as a Fool, why will you have him do what you ſay is not fit for your ſelf or other fellow-ſubjects to do in like caſe? And ſure you muſt think him a Fool and after-wit, as you uſe to ſay, if he will be perſwaded, by your Trimming Politick, to leave his own Eſtate to his Enemy, and come to ſave yours; who would but laugh at him the next day at the beſt for his folly: If their great and long Vexations have not given the *Iriſh* better underſtanding, and know how little regard all the *Engliſh* whatſoever have for them, they deſerve to be dealt with like Fools.

But who would think it were Prudent or Politick for the King to bring a great Body of Men out of *Ireland* into *England* or *Scotland*, leaving behind him in *Ireland* a conſiderable ſtrong Party of Phanaticks, all Enemies, whatever outward ſhew they make to the contrary, to riſe in Arms as ſoon as they ſee the King turn his Back to them, and they get a ſupply from their fellow Rebels out of *England*, which will not be wanting at any time, and ſo cut the Throats of all His Majeſty's

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true Subjects in *Ireland*, and ſhut himſelf up between two Potent Enemies in *England* and *Ireland*; whereas by ſetting the *Iriſh* on a ſure foot he always hath for a Refuge that Country, which he will find to be far better than nothing, and may be with time, a means to come into *England*: But Trimmers will tell him, That it is no matter for His Majeſty, if he can gain the *Engliſh* Rebels by ſacrificing *Ireland* to them who will inhabit it, whether *Engliſh* or *Iriſh*; nay, I believe rather *Engliſh*, and ſo make it an *Engliſh* Intereſt all along; and he will be apt to believe it: but it imports the *Iriſh* to look about them, and conſider if that be their Intereſt.

Add to all theſe conſiderations, with many more and better you can think of, an eſſential and indiſpenſible one, which is to pleaſe this King and Court, of whom his Majeſty now, and you will all depend ſolely and wholly, by ſaving their Intereſt along with that of his Majeſty and your own, which cannot be done but by ſettling of *Ireland* upon the beſt and moſt advantagious foot that can be contrived with Reaſon and Juſtice, that it may be a check upon *England* as *Scotland* formerly, to keep it from Rebellion againſt their own Prince: From trouble and Invaſion upon *France*, and a Tye upon the Kings of *England* hereafter to keep good Correſpondence with *France*, and keep *Ireland* in a flouriſhing happy condition, and not to be Slaves to all the People and Scums of *England*. If 48, or other, were loath to preſs any ſuch Conditions or Propoſals on the King, they make uſe of the French Miniſter Count *D' Avaux*, who is with him as a good Adviſer, and for to manage his Maſters Intereſt. I think it may be well and rationally propoſed, if by the King of *France's* means ſuch an advantagious ſettlement may be procured for the Nation; and that he would be as a Guarranty or Protection of it, to give him as well for his aſſurance or Guarranty, as for the payment of what he advances for the King and Country, ſome Seaports in *Ireland*, as you have hinted in your laſt.

This is what now comes into my head upon this Subject, which M. B. does not neglect to inſinuate and imprint as much as he can, (though not well in his health) into the Heads and Hearts of the Miniſters and People about Court. Though 27 gave no Power or Credit to any body here to ſpeak of Buſineſs, but to his Son-in-Law *L. W.* (in Cyphers 110.) but *M. B.* does it privately upon his own account and acquaintance with the People, without thwarting him in any of his Ways. But you know what one ſays, *tanquam poteſtatem habens*, carries more weight than what he ſays as a private man; And therefore I think it were not amiſs that 48. from himſelf, or by the ſaid French Miniſters means may get order from 27 that 92 may be heard and credited

dited at Court as to the Concerns of 78, which to prevent and hinder ſome that would not have it put into 27's head (as 'tis thought) to deſire 92 to follow him as ſoon as he were well in his health along with 23, and before he ſaw himſelf to tell him ſo; knowing he was ſick, gave orders to 18's fellow traveller (whom I added to the Cypher thus 112) to tell him ſo, which he has perform'd only by another, Maſter *Barry*, belonging to 34, for he never came himſelf to ſee him, which I think was not prudently done of him, (ſetting civility aſide) for they may communicate one to another what may be beſt to do with 86 for the ſervice of 78, and certainly without any vanity 92 knew better how to manage that intereſt with 86 than he or any of his profeſſion there; But I find ſome do ſuſpect the ſincerity of that Man for the Publick Intereſt. I know not if they wrong him; but one thing I know, he does not like to ſee any of 64 or 65 have any hand in Buſineſs. Of which I think I gave you once already a hint from 87, when he and 98 were there; and I cannot tell but it may be he that might have given 27 that advice of drawing 92 from hence, who deſires not to be but where he may be moſt uſeful to his Religion, King and Country; and if any neceſſity may be of his Vote there, he can ſend you a Procuration in blank if he be thought more uſeful or neceſſary here.

'Tis now high time I ſuppoſe you ſhould ask me what is this great and ſolid ſettlement I would have for *Ireland*; To which I anſwer; That you and others there likely know beſt; But that I may ſpeak my own little ſenſe on the matter: I ſay, I would have two or three of the Iriſh Nation to be ſtill of the Kings Council, and one of them Secretary of State for the Affairs of *Ireland*, as *Scotland* has. I would have ſome of their Nobility to be of the Bedchamber, by reaſon both of Honour and Intereſt. I would have all the Employments, Civil and Military, given to the Natives of the Country: Unleſs the Country thought fit to introduce ſome Strangers for better advantage and Improvements.

I would have them reſtored to their Eſtates both Spiritual and Temporal, uſurped by the *Crommellians*, or, under the Title of being Proteſtants; yet with that Proviſo for the Spiritual, that a Competent Penſion ſhould be allowed to the Proteſtant Poſſeſſor during his Life: for he can pretend no longer Leaſe of it; or that he ſhould give the Chatholick Biſhop or Incumbent, a competent Penſion, if it were thought fitter to let him enjoy his Poſſeſſion during Life.

I would have the Commerce and Traffick ſettled, with all the Advantage due to a free Nation and Subjects, (of which the Merchants can inform beſt) without any other dependance on, or relation to *England*, but what Subjects ought to the King and Crown: of which I

would not derogate in the least, but nothing to do with the Merchants and People of *England*, no more than with those of *France*, *Spain* and *Holland*.

But my Politick Trimmer will say, this is of dangerous consequence for *England*, and for the King, in relation to it: for they will say, the King intends to establish the same Government among them, both in Spirituals and Temporals that he has in *Ireland*. To which I answer in the first place; That we are not here to manage or speak for the Interest of *England*, which would not fail to speake and stand for it self. 2dly, I say, That the Consequence from *Ireland*'s Case to *England*'s does not follow; For in *Ireland* the Catholick Party is much more numerous and strong than the Protestant: So that it is for the King's Interest there to favour them, or at least do them Justice; But in *England*, where the number of Protestants and other Sectaries is by much the greater, he can order things otherwise, without any Contradiction: for from the one to the other the Consequence does not hold, for the Reasons aforesaid. Thirdly, There is no such thing as Restitution of Temporal Estates in *England*: for they were wiser there than to lose their Estates, though they would be free to consent or advise that others may; so it is very free for the King to make any Settlement of any Spiritual or Temporal Estates there as he shall think fit, notwithstanding any Settlement he makes in *Ireland*.

Now remains, I think one Objection to solve, which may give some Obstruction to this intended Settlement, which is that of the Gownmen, or others, who made Purchases of some New Interests, *bona fide*: Must they lose their Purchase and Money? To which I answer; That although it may be reply'd, *Caveat emptor*, especially to the Gownmen, who knew best of all that horrid Act of Settlement, or so called, was most unjust, and could by no true Law hold; yet because they are Persons useful for the Common-wealth, and acted *bona fide* (seeing the Estate out of the Ancient Proprietors Hands by so many Publick Acts, as it was not like ever to come to him again) there ought an Expedient to be found for the like, that they be not losers: And that either they or the Ancient Proprietors may be recompensed one way or other, rather than it should be an Obstacle to the common Good.

And so I have done with this matter, which I leave and recommend to God and you.

This is all the Advice I can now give upon this matter: and the Observations I make by my Conversation and Acquaintance with the People this year past: And I am sure I am not deceived in my Opinion of them in relation to 78, nor in the reasons they will make use of to per-

perſwade you to neglect your own Intereſt to ſave theirs; and I am no leſs certain 27 is all inclined that way; So you are to look to your ſelves, and whilſt Sun ſhines, to make your Hay. *Nunc tempus acceptabile, Nunc dies Salutis, Dum ergo tempus habemus operemur bonum, maxime ad domesticos fidei.* 92, if authoriz'd, will make all this Court go in your way, by ſhewing them it is their Intereſt, of which he has laid ſome Foundations already.

There remains another Obſervation; which is, That a *Benedictine* Engliſh Monk called *Price* is gone thither with the King, who pretends to play that we call here *premier aumoſnier*, in *England* they call it Clerk of the Cloſet to the King: Which Father *Peters* had there: And here it is always a Biſhop; Now the Biſhop of *Orleans*, whoſe Office is to aſſiſt the King at Maſs, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Functions as Chief, when the Lord High Almoner is not preſent, gives the orders and ſpiritual directions, *cum privilegio exceptionis*, in the King's Palace, add Liberties of it: Why ſhould we in our Country have any in ~~that place but one of our ſelves: Let them take~~ place in *England*; and ſo why would not you have this place for your ſelf there, or get it for *M. B.* and exerciſe the Functions in his abſence, rather than a Stranger ſhould have it before our face and laugh at us.

Now to other buſineſs, you are to know, your buſineſs in *Rome* is concluded upon and paſt all difficulties; only remains the Expedition of the Bulls, which you may ever move as you pleaſe: The Expences whereof, by Dr. *Sleyn*'s great care and Sollicitation, with the help of Cardinal *Howard*, and means of Monſieur *Caſone*, Favorite to his Holineſs, are reduced to a hundred Roman Crowns; though it coſt Dr. *Fuller* for worſe 170. notwithſtanding all the Favours and Sollicitations, which were many, he could employ. Dr. *Sleyn*, this Seignior *Couſin* ſhould be thanked by a Civil Letter, to which I wrote one, of which I here ſend you a Draught; you can make yours in their own Language; But for Dr. *Sleyn*, he is the beſt and trueſt Friend that can be, and gives your Lordſhip his hearty thanks for your obliging Lines to Cardinal *Norfolk* about him; I beſeech you get his Excellency to procure a Letter from his Majeſty to his Holineſs in his behalf, to be made Biſhop of *Waterford* and *Liſmore* always united *cum adminiſtraone Artfortenum & Acadoenum ſemper etiam unitum qnia exiguarum.* The King has had ſeveral Commemorations of him; and told me he ſhould be the very firſt he would name. He is wanting in the Province, there being but two in *M. B*'s. abſence; I pray you earneſtly to get it done; you may tell the King it is he who has been much recommended to his Majeſty by My Lord *Caſtlemain*, Cardinal *Howard*, and ſeveral others, and ſend

me the Letter if you get it, or any other of your own to Mr. *Arthur*, now Sir *Ia.* for *John Lane*, who is ever Yours.

There are two very ambitious and pressing Persons for Bishopricks and, I believe, importuning the King much upon that, both of this Place; One *Darcy* in *Connaught*, and one *Pierce* in *Munster*; I pray, if you find any such thing, give it a stop for a while, *donec maturescant*, *nondum enim sunt maturi ad messem, præsertim cum alii longe maturiores in utraque Provincia expectent. Hæc tibi soli.*

Superscribed,

For the Right Reverend Father in GOD,
Patrick Tyrrel *Lord Bp. of* Clogher,
These in Dublin.

Nº. 18. Presentment of the Grand Jury of *Tipperary* against Protestants.

Com. Tipperary. *Specialis Sess. Pac. apud* Cashell, 2 *Septemb.* 1689.

Memorand. That the Grand Jury Empannelled and Sworn at the said Session, have, among other things, made a Presentment in *hæc verba.*

We find and present the several ensuing Persons for flocking into the City of *Cashell* there to dwell, having thereby an opportunity to Cabal and Conspire against the Government, being Persons strongly suspected to be inclinable that way; *John Shaw* of *Tipperary* and his Other *Loughton*, *William Hobbs*, *John Bushel*, *John Max* and his three Sons, being each of Man's Stature, *John Armer*, *Josias Armer*, *Edward Hart*, *Henry Newcomb*, *Hugh Storman* and his two Sons, being each of Man's Stature, *Edward Moore*, *John White*, *Richard Chadwick*, and several others daily flocking in and dealing for Dwelling-Houses in *Cashell*, whose Names are not yet known; Presented by *John Sall* Deputy Mayor

Mayor of *Caſhel*; Whereupon this Court Ordered that a *Capias* ſhould iſſue out againſt the ſaid Perſons.

Copia vera.

Ex. P.
Mich. Kearny
Ch. Pac.

No. 19. A Liſt of all the Men of Note that came with King *James* out of *France*, or that followed him after; ſo far as could be Collected.

THE Duke of *Berwick.*
Mr. *Fitz-James*, Grand Prior.
Duke *Powis.*
Count *D' Avaux* Ambaſſador from *France.*
Earl of *Dover.*
Lord *Henry Howard.*
Lord *Thomas Howard.*
Lord *Drummond.*
Marqueſs *D' Eſtrades.*
Earl *Melfort.*
Lord *Seaforth.*
Biſhop of *Cheſter* who died here, and is buried in Chriſt-Church.
—— *Gourdon* Biſhop of *Galway.*
—— *Hamilton* Dean of *Glaſgow.*
Sir *Edward Herbert.*
Sir *John Sparrow.*
Collonel *Porter.*
Mr. *Pedle.*
Monſieur *Pontee Engineer.*
Captain *Stafford.*
Captain *Trevanyon* Sea-Captain.
Sir *Roger Strickland* ditto.
Captain *Arundel* ditto.
Collonel *Sarsfield.*
Coll. *Anthony Hamilton.*
Coll. *John Hamilton.*
Coll. *Symon Lutterel.*
Coll. *Henry Lutterel.*
Coll. *Ramſey* killed at *Derry.*
Lord *Abercorne.*
Coll. *Dorrington.*
Major *Thomas Arthur.*
Lord *Dungan.*
Capt. *Mac Donnel* Sea Capt.
Sir *William Jennings.*
Coll. *Sotherland.*
Sir *Hen. Bond* Receiver General.
Mr. *Collins* Com. of the Reven.
Coll. *Clifford.*
Coll. *Parker.*
Marſhal *de Roſene.*
Lieutenant General *Manve* kill'd at *Derry.*
Lieu. Gen. *Puſignan*, kill'd there alſo.
Major General *Leary.*
Lord *Tendraught.*
Lord *Buchan.*
Major *John Gourdon.*
Lieutenant Coll. *John Sketton.*
Major *John Ennis.*
Major *William Douglas*,
Lieut. Coll. *Hungate.*

Major

Major *William Connock.*
Sir *Charles Carney.*
Lieut. Coll. *Alex. Mackenzy.*
Major *James Fountaine.*
Major *Teig Regan.*
Lieut. Coll. *Edward Scot.*
Major *Robert Frayne.*
Major *Symon O Hogherne.*
Lieut. Coll. *Bynns.*
Coll. *James Purtel.*
Lieut. Coll. *George Traps.*
Major *Robert Ingram.*
Major *Edmond Pendergast.*
Major *John Gifford.*
Lord *Hunsdon*, Coll.
Lieutenant Coll. *Francis Leonard.*
Coll. *Alexander Cannon*, went for *Scotland.*
Major *Edmond Bourk.*
Major *James Dempsy.*
Major *Frederick Cunningham.*
Coll. *Robert Fielding.*
Major *Richard Hillersden.*
Major *Boepry.*
Monsieur *Boisleau*, made Governour of *Cork.*
His Brother St. *Martin*, Comissary of the Artillery, killed at *Cromp-Castle.*
Sir *Edward Vaudrey.*
Sir *Charles Murray.*
Sir *Robert Parker.*

Chaplains, *viz.*

FAther *Nich. Dunbar.*
Father *Dan. Mac Ayliffe.*
Anthony Mac Gwyer.
Nicholas Trapps.
John Madden.
Austin Mathews.
Laurence Moore.
Father *Edmond Reyly.*
John de Gravell.
John Hologhan.
Father *Richard Peirce.*
Patr. Aghy.
Darby Daley.
Thady Groley.
Danniel Mac Carthy.

Chirurgeons, *viz.*

JOhn *Brunton.*
Thady Regan.
Jo. Baptista Montbeck.
Charles Stapleton.
John James Aremore.
John Cassil.
Edmond Tully.
Nicholas Reynard.

Captains.

WIlliam *Charters.*
William Oliphant.
Robert Charters.
Peter Blure.
Thomas Brown.
Francis Creighton.
James Buchan.
Alexander Gourdon.
George Lattin.
Sir *Alphonso Moicle.*
John Baptista du Moll.
John Mollins.
John Wynnel.
John Fortescue.
Robert London.
George Roberts.
Thomas Scott.
James Fitz Symons.

William

William Gibbons.
William Delaval.
Mau. Flynn.
Richard Scott.
Connor O Toghil.
Anthony Ryan.
Rupert Napier.
Terence O Brian.
Edmund Kendellan.
Henry Crofton.
Richard Anthony.
Edmund Nugent.
John Plunkett.
John Dungan.
Rowland Smyth.
Gowen Talbot.
Simon Barnwell.
John Broder.
John Cavenagh.
Edmund Stack.
Walter Haſtings.
Edward Widdrington.
Samuel Arnole.
Robert Welſh.
David Rock.
Charles Booth.
——— *Jornoe.*
Robert Fielding.
Francis Gyles.
John Barnardy.
Anthony Power.
John Chapele.
Rowland Watſon.
Thomas Arundel.
Robert Hacket.
Sir William Wallis.
Richard Burton.
Cornelius Mac Mahon.
Talbot Baſſet.
Richard Bucker.
Charles Fox.
Anthony Vane.
Strickland Tyrwhit.
John Manback.
Francis Gallangt.
John Lamendado.
Fran. Lappauſe.
Bernardo Buskett.
Joſ. Pamnett.
Captain *Millio.*
George Coney.
Chevalier *Devaliny.*
Sir *Samuel Fexon.*
John Power.
John Banner.
Henry Nugent.
William Mackentoſh.
Charles O Danniel.
Arthur Dillon.
Lord Brittas.
Allen Bellingham.
John Brown.
Thomas Carleton.
Robert Nugent.
Captain *Pagez.*
Captain *Duraſs.*
Nicholas Kemiſh.

A Liſt

No. 20. A List of the Lords that sate in the pretended Parliament at *Dublin*, held the 7th of *May*, 1689.

The Nobility of *Ireland*, *May* 7th 1689.

Sir *Alex. Fitton*, Kt. Baron of *Gausworth*, Lord Chancellor.

Dr. *Mic. Boyle*, Lord Archbishop of *Armagh*, Primate of all *Ireland*.

Rich. Talbot, Duke of *Tyrconnell*.

Earls.

Nugent Earl of *Westmeath*.
Mac Donel Earl of *Antrim*.
Barry Earl of *Barrymore*.
Lambert Earl of *Cavan*.
Mac Carty Earl of *Clancarty*.
Power Earl of *Tyrone*.
Aungier Earl of *Longford*.
Forbese Earl of *Granard*.
Dungan Earl of *Lymerick*.

Viscounts.

Preston Viscount *Gormanstown*.
Butler Viscount *Montgarret*.
Dillon Viscount *Costello* and *Gallen*.
Nettervil Viscount *Dowth*.
Magennis Viscount *Iveagh*.
Sarsfield Viscount *Kilmallock*.
Bourk Viscount *Mayo*.
Butler Viscount *Ikerin*.
Dempsy Viscount *Glanmalier*.
Butler Viscount *Galmoy*.
Barnwell Viscount *Kingsland*.
Brian Viscount *Clare*.
Parsons Viscount *Rosse*.
Bourk Viscount *Galway*.
Brown Viscount *Kenmare*.
Mac Carty Viscount *Montcashel*.
Cheevers Viscount *Mount Leinster*.

Bishops.

Anth. Dopping Bish. of *Meath*.
Tho. Otway Bishop of *Ossory* and *Kilkenny*.
Edw. Wetenhall Bishop of *Cork* and *Rosse*.
Symon Digby Bishop of *Lymerick* and *Ardfart*.

Barons.

Bermingham Baron of *Athenry*.
Courcy Baron of *Kinsale*.
Fitz Morris Baron of *Kerry* and *Lixnare*.
Fleming Baron of *Slane*.
St. *Laurence* Baron of *Howth*.
Barnwall Baron of *Trembleſtown*.
Plunket Baron of *Dunſany*.
Butler Baron of *Dunboyne*.
Fitz-Patrick Baron of *Upper Ossery*.
Plunket Baron of *Lowth*.
Bourk Baron of *Caſtle-connel*.
Butler Baron of *Cohair*.
Bourk Baron of *Brittas*.
Blaney Baron of *Monoghan*.
Malone Baron of *Glenmalun* and *Courchey*.

Mac

Mac Gwyre Baron of *Eniskillin*. *Bourk* Baron of *Bophine*.
Hamilton Baron of *Strabane*. *Nugent* Baron of *Riverstown*.
Bellew Baron of *Duleek*.

No. 21. The Names of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses returned to the Parliament beginning the 7th of *May* 1689.

Com. Ardmagh. { *Arthur Browlow* / *Walter Hovendon* } Esquires.
Bur. Ardmagh. { *Francis Stophard* Esquire. / *Constantine O Neile* Esq; 16*th* of *May* 89.
Bur. Charlemont.

Com. Antrim. { *Cormick O Neile* / *Randal Mac Donel* } Esquires.
Bur. Carrickfergus.
Burrough Belfast. *Mark Talbot* Esq;
Bur. Lisburn. *Daniel O Neile*, Esq; 20*th May* 89.
Bur. Antrim.

Com. Catherlough. { *Dudley Bagnal* / *Henry Luttrell* } Esquires.
Bur. Catherlough. { *Mark Baggot* / *John Warren* } Esquires.
Bur. old Loughlin. { *Darby Long* / *Daniel Doran* } Esquires.

Com. Cork. { *Justin Mac Carty* Esq; / Sir *Richard Nagle* Knight.
Town of Youghall. { *Thomas Uniack* / *Edward Gough* } Aldermen.
Town of Kinsale. { *Andrew Murrough* / *Miles de Courcey* } Esquires.
Bur. Baltimore. { *Daniel O Donavan* / *Jeremiah O Donavan* } Esquires.
Bur. Bandonbridge. { *Charles Mac Carty* of *Ballea* / *Daniel Mac Carty Reagh* } Esquires.
Bur. Cloghnerkilty. { Lieut. Coll. *Owen Mac Carty* / *Daniel Fyn Mac Carty* Esq;
Bur. Middletowne. { *Dermot Long* / *John Longan* } Esquires.
Bur. Moyallow. { *John Barret* of *Castlemore* / *David Nagle* of *Carrigoone* } Esquires.

Manner

Mannor and Burrough of Rathcormuck.	*James Barry*, *Edward Powel*	Esquires.
Mannor of Donerail	*Donello Donovan*, *John Baggot* Jun. of Baggotstown	Esquires.
Bur. Charleville.	*John Baggot* of Baggotstown Sen., *John Power* of *Kilbelone*	Esquires.
City of Cork.	Sir *James Cotter* Knight., *John Galway* Esq;	
Com. Cavan.	*Phil. Reyly* of Aghnicrery, *John Reyly* of Garryrobuck	Esquires.
Bur. Cavan.	*Phil. Oge O Reyly*, *Hugh Reyly* of *Larha*	Esquires.
Bur. Belturbet.	Sir *Edward Tyrrel* Baronet., ——— *Tuit* of *Newcastle* Esq;	
Com. Clare.	*David O Brien*, *John Mac Nemara* of *Crattelagh*	Esquires.
Bur. Ennis.	*Florence Mac Carty* of *Dromad*, *Theob. Butler* of *Szathnogalloon*	Esquires. 18 *May* 89.
Com. Down.	*Murtagh Magennis* of *Greencastle*.	Esquires.
Bur. Hilsburrow.	*Ever Magennis* of *Castlewelan*.	
Bur. Newry.	*Rowland Wite*, *Rowland Savage*	Esquires.
Bur. Bangor.		
Bur. Keleleagh.	*Bernard Magennis* of *Ballygorianbeg* Esq;	
Bur. Down.	*Tool O Noile* of *Dromankelly* Gen.	
New-Town.		
Com. Dublin.	*Symon Lutterel* of *Lutterel's-Town*, *Patr. Sarsfield* Jun. of *Lucan*	Esquires.
Bur. Swords.	*Fra. Barnwell* of *Woodpark* Co. *Meath*, *Robert Russel* of *Drynham*	Esquires.
Bur. Newcastle.	*Tho. Arthur* of *Colganstown*, *John Talbot* of *Belgard*	Esquires.
City of Dublin.	Sir *Michael Creagh* Knight., *Terence Dermot* Sen. Alderman.	
Colledge of Dublin.	Sir *John Mead* Knight., *Joseph Coghlan* Esq;	
Town of Drogheda.	*Henry Dowdal* Esq; Recorder., Alderman *Christopher Peppard Fitz-George*.	

Com. Donnegall.		
Lifford.		
Ballyshannon.		
Killebeggs.		
Donnegall.		
St. John's-Town.	Sir *William Ellis* Knight.	
	Lieut. Coll. *James Nugent*	
Com. Galway:	Sir *Ulick Bourk*	Baronets.
	Sir *Walter Blake*	
Bur: Athenry.	*James Talbot* of *Mount Talbot.*	Esquires.
	Charles Daly of *Dunsandale.*	
Bur: Tuam.	*James Lally* of *Tullendaly*	Esquires.
	William Burk of *Corrowfrila*	
Town of Galway.	*Oliver Martin*	Esquires.
	John Kirwan	
Com. Kilkenny.	*John Grace* of *Courts-Tawlo*	Esquires.
	Robert Walsh of *Clonesby*	
Bur. Callaim.	*Walter Butler*	Esquires.
	Thady Meagher	
Bur. Thomas-town	*Robert Grace* Senior	Esquires.
	Robert Grace Junior.	
Bur. Gowran.	*Richard Butler*	Esquires.
	Walter Keily Dr. of Physick.	
	Coll. *Robert Fielding* by a new Election.	
Bur. Inishoge.	*Edward Fitzgerald*	Esquires.
	James Bolger	
Bur. Knocktopher.	*Harvy Morris*	Esquires.
	Henry Meagh	
City of Kilkenny.	*John Rooth* Esq; Mayor.	
	James Bryan Alderman, *4th May* 1689.	
Bur. Kells.	*Patrick Everard*	Esquires.
	John Delamare	
Bur. St. Canice.		
Com. Kildare.	*John Wogan*	Esquires.
	George Aylmer	
Bur. Naas.	*Walter* Lord *Dungan.*	
	Charles White Esq;	
Bur. Athy.	*William Fitzgerald*	Esquires.
	William Archbold.	
Bur. Harristown.	*James Nighill*	Esquires.
	Edmund Fizgerald.	

Bur. Kildare.	*Francis Leigh* *Robert Porter*	Esquires.
Kings County.	*Heward Oxbourgh* *Owen Kerrall*	Esquires.
Bur. Philips-town.	*John Conner* *Heward Oxbourgh*	Esquires.
Bur. Banagher.	*Terence Coghlan* Esq; *Terence Coghlan* Gent.	
Bur. Birr.		
Com. Kerry.	*Nicholas Brown* Esq; Sir *Thomas Crosby* Knight.	
Bur. Tralee.	*Morrice Hussey* of Kerries *John Brown* of Ardagh	Esquires.
Bur. Dingle Icouch.	*Edw. Rice Fitz James* Ballinleggin *John Huffey* of Cuhullin (*Com.* Lym.	Esquires.
Bur. Ardfart.	*Roger Mac Elliroi* *Cornelius Mac Gilicuddy*	Esquires.
Com. Lonford.	*Roger Farrell* *Robert Farrell*	Esquires.
Bur. Lanesborough.	*Oliver Fitzgerald* *Roger Farrell*	Esquires.
Town of Longford.		
Com. Lowth.	*Thomas Bellew* *William Talbot*	Esquires.
Bur. Atherdee.	*Hub Gernon* *John Babe*	Esquires.
Bur. Dundalk.	*Robert Dermot* *John Dowdall*	Esquires.
Bur. Carlingford.	*Christoph Peppard Fitz Ignatius* *Bryan Dermod*	Esquires.
Dunlier.		
Com. Lymerick.	Sir *John Fitzgerald* Baronet. *Gerald Fitzgerald* Esquire, *commonly called* Knight of the Glynn.	
Bur. Kilmallock.	Sir *William Harley* Baronet. *John Lacy* Esquire.	
Bur. Askeaton.	*John Bourk* of *Carrickinohill* *Edward Rice.*	Esquires.
City of Lymerick.	*Nicholas Arthur* *Thomas Harrold*	Aldermen.

Com.

Com. Leitrim.	*Edmond Reynolds*, *Irrel Farrell*	Esquires.
Bur. James-town.	*Alexander Mac Donnel*, *William Shanley*	Esquires. 15th May 1689.
Carrickdrumrusk.		
Com. Mayo.	*Garret Moor*, *Walter Bourk*	Esquires.
Castlebar.	*John Bermingham Portreeve.* *Thomas Bourke* Esquire.	
Com. Meath.	Sir *William Talbot*, Sir *Patr. Barnwall*	Baronets.
Bur. Ratoath.	*John Hussey*, *James Fitzgerald*	Esquires.
Bur. Trim.	Captain *Nicholas Cusack.* *Walter Nangle* Esquire.	
Bur. of Navan.	*Christoph. Cusack* of *Corballis*, *Christ. Cusack* of *Ratholdran*	Esquires.
Bur. Athboy.	*John Trinder*, *Robert Longfield.*	Esquires.
Duleek.		
Kells.		
Com. Monoghan.	*Bryan Mac Mahon*, *Hugh Mac Mahon*	Esquires. 9th July 1689.
Town of Monoghan.		
Com. Fermanagh.		
Enniskillen.		
Queens County.	Sir *Patrick Trant* Knight. *Edmond Morris* Esq;	
Bur. Maryborough.	*Peirce Bryan*, *Thady Fitz Patrick*	Esquires.
Bur. Ballinkill.	Sir *Gregory Bourne* Baronet. *Oliver Grace* Esquire.	
Port Arlington.	Sir *Henry Bond* Baronet. Sir *Thomas Hacket* Knight.	
Com. Roscommon.	*Charles Kelly* Esq; *John Bourk.*	
Bur. Roscommon.	*John Dillon*, *John Kelly.*	Esquires.

Bur. Boyle. *John King* Captain. *Terence Mac Dermot* Alder. *6th. May* 1689.

Tulske

Com. Sligoe. *Henry Crofton*, *Oliver O Gara* Esquires.

Bur. Sligoe. *Terence Mac Donogh*, *James French* Esquires. *8th May* 1689.

Com. Tipperary. *Nicholas Purcell* of *Loghmore*, *James Butler* of *Grangebeg* Esquires.

City of Caſhell. *Dennis Kearney*, *James Hacket* Aldermen.

Bur. Clonmell. *Nicholas White*, *John Bray* Aldermen.

Bur. Fethard. Sir *John Everard* Baronet; *James Tobin* of *Fethard* Esq;

Bur. Thurles.

Bur. Tipperary.

Com. Tyrone. Coll. *Gordon O Neile*, *Lewis Doe* of *Dungannon* Esquires.

Bur. Dungannon. *Arthur O Niel* of *Ballygawly*, *Patr. Donenlly* of *Dungannon* Esquires.

Bur. Strabane. *Chriſtopher Nugent* of *Dublin* Esq; *Dan. O Donelly* of the ſame, Gent. *8th May* 89.

Clogher.

Augher.

Com. Waterford. *John Power*, *Math. Hore* Esquires.

Bur. Dungarvan. *John Hore*, *Martin Hore* Esquires. *7th. May* 89.

City of Waterford. *John Porter*, *Nicholas Fitzgerald* Esquires.

Bur. Liſmore.

Tallow.

Com. Wexford. *Walter Butler* of *Munſine*. *Patrick Colclogh* of *Moulnirry*.

Bur. Wexford. *William Talbot* Eſquire. *Francis Rooth* Merchant.

Bur. New Roſſe. *Luke Dormer*, *Richard Butler* Esquires.

Bur. Bannow. *Francis Plowden* Esq; Commiſ. of the Revenue. Dr. *Alexius Stafford*.

Bur.

Bur. Newborough. *Abraham Strange* of *Tobberduff* Esq;
Richard Daley of *Kilcorky* Gent.

Bur. Enisscorthy. *Jamis Devereux* of *Carrigmenan*, *Dudley Colclough* of *Moughery* Esquires.
Arthur Waddington Esq; by a new Election.

Bur. Taghmon. *George Hore* of *Polhore*, *Walter Hore* of *Harpers-town* Esquires.

Bur. Cloghmyne. *Edward Sherlock* of *Dublin* Esq;
Nicholas White of *New Rosse* Merchant.

Bur. Arklow.

Fytherd. Coll. *James Porter.*
Capt. *Nicholas Stafford.*

Com. Wicklow. *Richard Butler*, *William Talbot* Esquires.

Bur. Caryesfort. *Hugh Byrne* Esquire.
Peirce Archibold Esq; Upon whose default of Appearance —— *Barth. Polewheele.*

Bur. Wicklow. *Francis Toole*, *Thomas Byrne* Esquires.

Bur. Blessington. *James Eustace* Esq;
Maurice Eustace Gent.

Baltinglass.

Com. Westmeath. The Honorable Coll. *William Nugent.*
The Honorable Coll. *Henry Dillon.*

Bur and Mannor of Mullingar. *Garret Dillon* Esq; Prime Sergeant.
Edmond Nugent of *Garlans-town* Esq;

Bur. Athlone. *Edmond Malone* of *Ballynehown* Esq;
Edmond Malone Esq; Councellor at Law.

Bur. Kilbeggan. *Bryan Geoghegan* of *Donore*, *Charles Geoghegan* of *Syenan* Esquires.

Bur. Fore. *John Nugent* of *Donore*, *Christoph. Nugent* of *Dardis-town* Esquires.

Com. Londonderry.
City Londonderry.
Bur. Colerane.
Bur. Lamavudy.

An

No. 22. *An Addreſs to King* James *in Behalf of the Purchaſers under the Act of Settlement by Judge* Keating.

THis humble Repreſentation made unto your Sacred Majeſty is in the Behalf of many Thouſands of your Majeſties dutiful and obedient Subjects of all Degrees, Sexes, and Ages. The Deſign and Intention of it, is to prevent the Ruine and Deſolation, which a Bill now under Conſideration, in order to be made a Law, will bring upon them and their Families, in caſe your Majeſty doth not interpoſe; and by your Moderation and Juſtice protect them ſo far as the known Laws of the Kingdom, and Equity and good Conſcience will warrant and require.

It is in the Behalf of Purchaſers, who for great and valuable Conſiderations, have acquired Lands and Tenements in this Kingdom; by laying out not only their Portions and Proviſions made for them by their Parents, but alſo the whole Product of all their own Induſtry, and the Labour of their Youth; together with what could be ſaved by a frugal Management, in order to make ſome certain Proviſion for Old Age and their Families, in Purchaſing Lands and Tenements under the Security of divers Acts of Parliament, Publick Declarations from the late King: And all theſe accompanied with a Poſſeſſion of Twenty five Years.

Divine Providence hath appointed us our Dwelling in an Iſland; and conſequently, we muſt Trade or live in Penury, and at the mercy of our Neighbours. This neceſſitates a Tranſmutation of Poſſeſſions, by Purchaſe from one hand to another, of Mortgaging and Pledging Lands for great and conſiderable Sums of Money, by charging them with Judgments; and indeed gives Name to one of the greateſt Securities made uſe of in this Kingdom, Statutes Merchant, and of the Staple; and very many, eſpecially Widows and Orphans, have their whole Eſtates and Portions ſecured by Mortgages, Bond of the Staple and Judgments.

Where or when ſhall a Man Purchaſe in this Kingdom; Under what Title or on what Security ſhall he lay out his Money, or ſecure the Portions he deſigns for his Children: If he may not do it under divers Acts of Parliament, the ſolemn and reiterated Declarations of his Prince, and a quiet and uncontroverted Poſſeſſion of Twenty Years together

together; and this is the Caſe of thouſands of Families who are Purchaſers under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation.

It were a hard task to juſtifie thoſe Acts in every Particular contained in them; I will not undertake it; but if it be conſider'd, that from 23. *October* 1641. until 29. *May* 1660. the time of his Majeſties Reſtauration, the Kingdom was upon the matter in one continued Storm; That the alterations of Poſſeſſions was ſo univerſal, and Properties ſo blended and mixt by Allotments and Diſpoſitions made by the then Uſurping Powers: It may be well concluded, that they muſt be ſomewhat more then Men, that could or can frame a Law to take in every particular Caſe, though it ſhould have ſwoln to many Volumes, and Laws, which are to be of ſuch univerſal Conſequence as this was, are to have a Regard to the Generality of a Kingdom or People, though poſſibly ſome particular Perſon may have ſome hardſhip in his private Concern.

But if we may judge by general Laws; by the produce and effect of them, and at the ſame time have a Proſpect to the Eſtate and Condition of this Kingdom from 1640. and as far backwards as you pleaſe, until the time of his late Majeſties happy Reſtauration; and at the ſame time take into Conſideration what the Kingdom became in few years after the Commiſſion for the Execution of thoſe Acts were at an end; the Buildings, and other Improvements; the Trade and Commerce; the vaſt Herds of Cattel and Flocks of Sheep, equal to thoſe of *England*; together with great Sums of Money brought over by our Fellow-Subjects of *England*, who came to Purchaſe and Plant in this Kingdom: The Manufactures ſet on foot in divers parts; whereby the meaneſt Inhabitants were at once inriched and civilized, it would hardly be believed it were the ſame Spot of Earth: Nay, Over-flown and Mooriſh Grounds were reduced to the bettering of the Soyl and Air. The Purchaſers who brought the Kingdom to this flouriſhing Condition, fly to your Majeſty for Succour, offering not only their Eſtates and Fortunes, but even their Lives to any Legal Trial within this your Majeſties Kingdom, being ready to ſubmit their Perſons and Eſtates to any eſtabliſhed Judicature; where, if it ſhall be found that they enjoy any thing without Legal Title, or done any thing that may forfeit what they have Purchaſed, they will ſit down, and moſt willingly acquieſce in the Judgments: But to have their Purchaſes made void; their Lands and Improvements taken from them; their Securities and Aſſurances for Money Lent, declar'd Null and Void by a Law made *ex poſt facto*, is what was never practiſed in any Kingdom or Country.

If the Bill now deſign'd to be made a Law, had been attempted within two, three, four or five years after the Court for the execution of theſe Acts was ended, the Purchaſers would not have laid out their Eſtates in acquiring of Lands, or in Building or Improving on them: Thouſands who had ſold ſmall Eſtates and Free-holds in *England*, and brought the Price of them to Purchaſe or Plant here, wou'd have ſtayed at home: And your Majeſties Revenue, with that of the Nobility and Gentry, had never come to the Height it did; If your Majeſty pleaſe to conſider upon what Grounds and Aſſurances the Purchaſers of Lands and Tenements in this Kingdom proceed, you will ſoon conclude, that never any proceeded upon ſecurer Grounds: The Acts of *xvij.* and *xviij.* of King *Charles* your Father of bleſſed Memory, the Firſt, takes notice, that there was a Rebellion begun in this Kingdom on the 23*d.* of *October* 1641: And ſo doth a Bill once read in the Houſe of Lords; whoever looks into the Royal Martyrs Diſcourſe upon that Occaſion, will ſee with what an abhorrence he laments it; and that he had once thoughts of coming over in Perſon to ſuppreſs it.

Thoſe Acts promiſe Satisfaction out of Forfeited Lands to ſuch as would advance Money for reducing theſe diſturbers of the publick Peace, unto Duty. The Invitation was his late Majeſties your Royal Brothers Letters from *Breda* ſome few weeks before his Reſtauration, which hapned the 29*th* of *May* 1660: And within ſix months after, came forth his Majeſties moſt Gracious Declaration for the Settlement of this Kingdom. This, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, is the Baſis and Foundation of the Settlement, and was ſome years after Enacted and made a Law by two ſeveral Acts of Parliament.

It is true, that the Uſurping Powers in the Year 1653. (having by the permiſſion of the Almighty, as a juſt Judgment on us for our Sins, prevailed here) did diſpoſe and ſet out the Eſtates of Catholicks unto Adventurers and Soldiers; and in a year or two after, tranſplanted out Catholick Free-holders for no other Reaſon, but their being ſo in *Connaught*, where Lands were ſet out unto them under divers Qualifications, which they and their Heirs, or thoſe deriving under them as Purchaſers enjoy'd, and ſtill do enjoy under the Security of the before mentioned Acts of Parliament and Declaration.

His Majeſties gracious Declaration of the 30*th* of *November* 1660. which I call the Foundation of the Settlement, was, before it was concluded on, under the Conſideration of that great Prince, and the Lords of his Council of *England*, where all Perſons concerned for the Proprietors, as well old as new, were heard; whoever reads, will find the many Difficulties which he and his Council met with from the different

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and ſeveral Pretenders; what Conſideration was had, and Care taken, to reconcile the jarring Intereſts; and to accommodate and ſettle, as well as was poſſible, the Maſs and Body of Subjects here.

It was ſome years after, before the Act for the Execution of his Majeſties moſt Gracious Declaration became a Law; it was near two years upon the Anvil; It was not a Law that paſt in few days, or *ſub ſilentio*. It was firſt, according to the then Courſe of paſſing Laws, here framed by the Chief Governor and Council of this Kingdom, by the Advice and with the Aſſiſtance of all the Judges, and of his Majeſties Council Learned in the Law, and then tranſmitted into *England* to be further conſider'd of by his Majeſty and Lords of his Council there, where the Counſel at Law and Agents of all Pretenders to the Propriety of Lands in this Kingdom were heard, and that Act, commonly called the Act of Settlement, approved of and retranſmitted under the Seal of *England* to receive the Royal Aſſent, which it did, after having paſſed both Houſes of Parliament.

The Innocent Proprietors being reſtored purſuant to this Act; and ſome Difficulties appearing as to the further execution of it; Another Act paſſed, commonly called the Act of Explanation, which went the ſame Courſe, and under the ſame Scrutiny.

It is confeſſed, that though they are two Acts, it was by the ſame Parliament, who were choſen according to the ancient Courſe of Chuſing Parliaments.

But if any miſcarriage were in bringing that Parliament together, or the procuring the aforeſaid Acts of Parliament to paſs, which we can in no wiſe admit; and the leſs, for that your Majeſties Revenue was granted and ſettled by the ſame Parliament, and many good and wholſom Laws therein Enacted: Yet it is manifeſt, that nothing of that kind ought to affect the Plain and honeſt Purchaſer, who for great and valuable Conſiderations, acquired Lands under the Security aforeſaid, and expended the remainder of his Means in Building, Improving, and Planting on them, and that for the following Reaſons.

Firſt, The Purchaſer adviſing with his Counſel, how to lay out or ſecure his Money, that it may not lie dead, not only to his, but the publick detriment, tells him that he is offer'd a Purchaſe of Lands in Fee, or deſired by his Neighbours to accommodate him with Money upon the Security of Judgment or Statute Staple; and upon the enquiry into the Title, he finds a good and Secure Eſtate, as firm in Law, as two Acts of Parliament in force in this Kingdom can make it; and in many Caſes, Letters Patents upon a Commiſſion of Grace for remedying of defective Titles, he finds Poſſeſſion both of many years

gone along with this Title ſeveral deſcents paſt, and poſſibly that the Lands have been purchaſed and paſſed through the hands of divers Purchaſers: He reſorts to the Records, where he meets with Fines and Common Recoveries, the great Aſſurance known to the Laws of *England*: Under which (by the Bleſſing of God) we live; and tells him there is no ſcruple, nor difficulty of Purchaſing under this Title; ſince he hath Security under two Acts of Parliament, Certificates and Letters Patents, Fines and Recoveries; and that no Law of force in this Kingdom can ſtir, much leſs ſhake this Title.

How is it poſſible to imagine, that the Legiſlative Power ſhould be made uſe of to void this Mans Eſtate, who perhaps was never in this Kingdom, until after theſe Acts were Enacted and became Laws; it will be the like Caſe with all Perſons who upon Marriage of their Children, and conſiderable Marriage Portions paid and receiv'd, have procured Settlements for Jointured Portions, and Remainders for their Children and Grand Children: And all theſe are to be laid aſide, without any Conſideration of Law or Equity in the Caſe of the Purchaſers, or any miſdemeanor or offence committed by them: Whereby vaſt Numbers of your Majeſties dutiful Subjects the preſent Proprietors and their Leſſees; and in very many Caſes, Widows, Orphans, Merchants and Traders, will be at one ſtroke outed and removed from the poſſeſſions of their Lands and Improvements, which in many places are more in value than the Townſhip whereon they are made: This, with ſubmiſſion, without ſome fraud, deceit, or default of the Purchaſer never was, and it is hoped never will be done by a People or Nation profeſſing Chriſtianity: Nor is it for the Honour, Welfare, or Advantage of the King or Kingdom to have it ſo done; What will ſtrangers and our fellow-ſubjects of *England* and *Scotland* ſay? —— We ſold our Eſtates in *England*; tranſported us and our Families into *Ireland*, to purchaſe, improve and plant there: We acquired Lands under as ſecure Titles as Acts of Parliament, (the greateſt known Security) could make them. Our Conveyances both by Deeds and matters of Record are allowed good, firm, and unqueſtionable by any Law in force at the time of the Purchaſe. We have had the poſſeſſion 10, 12, or 15 years, and are grown old upon them. We have clearly drawn our Effects from *England* and ſettled here, not doubting but our Poſterity may be ſo likewiſe. We have purchaſed Annuities and Rent Charges out of Lands under the ſame Securities: And now the old Proprietors (though many of them had Satisfaction in *Connaught*) would fain have a new Law to diſpoſſeſs us of our Eſtates and Improvements made as aforeſaid. It will not be believed, that the chief of thoſe who drew on this

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Deſign, ſhould in Parliament and elſewhere, which ought to conſiſt of the graveſt, wiſeſt, and wealthieſt Free-holders of the Kingdom, (for ſuch the Law preſumes them) make a noiſe with that good and wholeſome advice —— *Caveat temptor* in this Caſe; or can think that Caveat is proper here.

The Purchaſer ought to be wary of any Flaw in the Title at the time of the Purchaſe made, and purchaſes at his peril, if any ſuch there be; But who is that Purchaſer that muſt beware of a Law to be made 20, 30, or 40 years after his Purchaſe, or to deſtroy his Security for Money lent, or Settlement upon Marriage? this is not a defect in the Title, but (under favour) is a Preſident which no human foreſight can prevent, and if once introduced, no Purchaſer could ever be ſafe: the worſt of Lotteries affording a ſecurer way of dealing than *Ireland* would.

Can it be your Majeſties Honour or Advantage to have thouſands of Families ruined by ſuch a Proceeding as this is? What will become of our Credit, and conſequently of our Trade abroad? Where will be the Reputation, and publick Faith and Security of the Kingdom, when Foreign Merchants ſhall know from their Correſpondents here, that they cannot comply with their engagements to them, their Eſtates, Houſes and Improvements both in Country and City, which they had acquired for great and valuable Conſiderations, and within the Securities of the Law, are taken from them by a Law made yeſterday, in caſe this Bill ſhould paſs: So that in Effect, we are not only contriving to break and ruine our own Trades and Merchants at home, but even thoſe in Foreign parts, which will infallibly deſtroy your Majeſties Revenue, and ſink that of every Subject.

Surely theſe particulars, and the Conſequences of them, are worth more then two or three days Conſideration: which is as much as this Bill could have, ſince the Parliament was not open'd till the 7*th* of this Month.

The very Report of what is deſigned by this Bill, hath already from the moſt improved and improving Spot of Earth in *Europe*; From ſtately Herds and Flocks; From plenty of Money at 7 or 8 *per Cent.* whereby Trade and Induſtry were encouraged; and all upon the Security of thoſe Acts of Parliament; From great and convenient Building newly erected in Cities and other Corporations, to that degree, that even the City of *Dublin* is ruined. The paſſing of theſe Acts, and the ſecurities and quiet promiſed from them, inlarged double what it was; That the Shipping in divers Ports were 5 or 6 times more than ever was known before, to the vaſt increaſe of your Majeſties Revenue, reduced to the ſaddeſt and moſt diſconſolate condition of any Kingdom

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or Country in *Europe*. Infinite numbers of the Inhabitants having tranſported themſelves and Families with what remained unfixed in Purchaſes and Improvements, and was portable of their Eſtates into other Kingdoms, that very many of the Buildings both new and old in this City, and in the very Heart and Trading Part of it, are uninhabited and waſte.

It is grievous to ſee, as you paſs through the City, the Houſes and Shops ſhut up; The Herds and Flocks in the Country are utterly deſtroy'd; ſo that of Neceſſity the Tenant muſt break; throw up his Leaſe; leave the Key under the Door, and the Lands become waſte; and from hence will neceſſarily follow, that the Farm-Houſes and Improvements muſt go to Decay, and Beef, Tallow, Hides, Wooll and Butter, (from whence ariſe the Wealth of the Country) will fail us.

What is become of the frequent Declarations made by the Earl of *Clarendon*, and the Earl (now Duke) of *Tyrconnel*, of your Majeſty's fixt Reſolutions, never to lay aſide the Acts of Settlement and Explanation? Why did the Judges in their ſeveral Circuits, declare in all places where they ſate, unto the Countries there aſſembled, that your Majeſty was reſolved to preſerve the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and that they were appointed by the then Chief Governor here, to declare the ſame unto them; from whence they took Confidence to proceed in their Purchaſes and Improvements; and (with Submiſſion be it ſpoken) if this Bill paſs, are deluded. Shall Patents on the Commiſſion of Grace ſignify nothing? The great Seal of *England* tells them they may proceed upon the publick Faith; and here again they become Purchaſers, paying conſiderable Fines to the King, to whom Rents were reſerved where none were due before, and many places the Rent increaſed; as in caſe of Fairs and Markets granted, together with the Lands on them, Patents of Liberties of Free Warren, and to encloſe and empale for Park; ſurely ſome conſideration ought to be had of thoſe whoſe Money was paid on this account.

It would be farther conſidered, That your Majeſty before your acceſs to the Crown, had paſſed ſeveral Lands and Tenements in this Kingdom in Certificate and Patent purſuant to theſe Acts of Settlement, and that you made Leaſes of them, on which many and great Improvements have been made. It is likewiſe true that your Majeſty Sold and exchanged ſome ſmall Proportions of the ſame Lands, and received in Money Twelve years Purchaſe; ſome of which your Majeſty conveyed by Fines and other Aſſurances in Law; and though your Majeſty may if it ſeem meet unto you, part with all that Eſtate, yet it is humbly conceived, it ought to be with reſervation to the Leſſees and thoſe few

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Purchaſers, as it was done by *Mary* Queen of *England*, who though zealous in the higheſt degree to the Religion ſhe profeſſed; and that ſhe reſtored ſuch part of Lands belonging unto Monaſteries as remained in her Hands undiſpoſed, did nevertheleſs permit the Grantees and Purchaſers quietly and Peaceably to retain ſuch part of them as they were poſſeſſed of by Grant or Purchaſe, and which (for ought appearing) is enjoyed by them, and thoſe deriving under them to this day, though ſhe came to the Crown within few years after Paſſing the Act for Diſſolving Monaſteries: For if no conſideration be had of them, your Majeſty gives away the Term of Years and Improvements from your Leſſees, and the Land from him to whom your Majeſty ſold it, without reſtoring the Purchaſe Money, than which no caſe can be harder; and without your Royal Aſſent neither of theſe can be done.

For the Objections commonly made againſt the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, which are uſually, that many Innocents were never heard, and that there was not time ſufficient for hearing of them; but how this ſhould affect thoſe who purchaſed after the Acts paſſed, and Certificates and Letters Patents paſſed on them is not demonſtrable from any Rule of Law or Equity.

The perſon deſigning to purchaſe, inquires whether the Title of the Land or Tenement to be ſold be good in Law and Equity; and being aſſured in that, he forbears further Inquiry, being aſſured that never any Purchaſer in Poſſeſſion having Law and Equity on his ſide, was diſpoſſeſſed by any Perſon whatſoever upon ground of Equity; and the Purchaſer here hath the Law with him by the Acts of Settlement, and the Equity by the payment of his Money.

It is to be wiſhed, that if Widows, Orphans, or any other perſons have fallen under hardſhip by the general Settlement of the Kingdom, that ſome way may be deviſed to make them reparation; but the way preſcribed by this Bill, is to Rob the Innocent Purchaſers, Creditors and Orphans of their Eſtates, to do it contrary to the Publick Faith, Laws of the Land, and Precept of Holy Writ, *which forbids doing of Evil, that Good may come thereof.*

It's manifeſt by what has been ſaid, that if this Bill proceed as is now contrived, that all the Proteſtants in the Kingdom are undoubtedly, and without reſerve ruined; ſince the Rapparees (that is, the Armed Multitude) have taken away all their moveable Eſtates; and this Deſign is to take away all the Lands and Tenements purchaſed by them.

The thriving Catholicks who were Purchaſers, (as moſt of the Province of *Connaught* are) are likewiſe to be turned out of their Eſtates

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and Poſſeſſions, and their own and the Improvements of thoſe who hold under them utterly loſt.

As to the Politick part which theſe great States-Men, who drive on this Bill make mention of, that will be worthy of Conſideration: It's ſaid, that this will unite your Majeſty's Subjects in this Kingdom, That is too groſs to paſs: Since the firſt mentioning thereof, hath it not made a diviſion and a breach betwixt them? nay, where there was none before? and doth it not grow daily wider? It was never heard that Accommodation between parties that were all in conteſt could ſtand, unleſs the Terms were continued; for if what was given to one of the Parties be taken away, it makes the whole Award void and of none effect; and admitting the Old Proprietor had right, it is not enough except he have it againſt the Purchaſer: And if the Deſign be what is pretended, to reſtore this Kingdom to the Peace and Plenty which it flouriſhed in ſome years ſince, to unite your Majeſties Subjects, whereby they may be enabled according to their Duty and Allegiance, to reſtore your Majeſty to the exerciſe of your Royal Dignity in all your Kingdoms; this can never be effected, except all pretenders recede in ſome degree from the full of their Pretenſions for the accommodation of the whole, and the publick quiet and ſafety.

Would it not be an unreaſonable thing in a *Cargo* where divers Merchants are concerned and have Goods and Merchandizes in a Storm, to throw out by conſent the Goods of any one Merchant, though in the bottom of the Hold and hardeſt to come by, for the ſafety of all concerned, without ſatisfaction given him, by a contribution from thoſe who had the advantage of it; or if it could be done, or had time for it, were it not much more juſt that the loſs ſhould be equally divided amongſt them, by throwing out a juſt proportion from all concerned, than to ſingle out one part of the People, and by their ruin to advance the other; This is not in my judgment the readieſt way of uniting them.

Sufferance to make one ſtep more, and Quære, *Whether the Catholick Purchaſers now to be turned out of Poſſeſſion, will join heartily with thoſe that enter upon them?* Farewel Trade and Commerce where Acts of Parliament ſhall be made to deſtroy ſecurities that were good when made, Farewell all Improvements in *Ireland*, where no Man ſhall ever know what Eſtate he hath, if the foundation of the general ſettlement ſhould now be overturned.

I cannot foreſee what the conſequences may be of having it publiſhed and made known in your Majeſties other Kingdoms and Dominions and elſewhere where the Proteſtant Religion is profeſſed, that ſuch a

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Propoſal as this (in relation to ſuch of your Proteſtant Subjects as have made no defection) hath been prepared for your Majeſties Conſideration in order to be paſſed into a Law, and this, when they were ſecure of the Laws of the Land; not ſo much as Common Equity to queſtion the Title by which they held: That nevertheleſs uſe ſhould be made of the Legiſlative power to Enact a new Law, after ſo many aſſurances given them to the contrary; and after ſo many Years quiet poſſeſſion to turn them out of their Eſtates altogether.

It is much to be feared that thoſe who firſt adviſed this method of Proceedings, have conſidered their own particular advantage, and that of Friends and Relations, without the leaſt thoughts of your Majeſties Service; for ſurely this can never be thought ſo, nor the way to ſettle this Kingdom whereby it may be ſerviceable to your Majeſty; nor can it be imagined, but that Men thus deſpoiled, will as often as Parliaments ſhall be called, make application for Redreſs and Repeal, as in the Caſe of the *Spencers* to Repeal a Repeal, and they and their Poſterity will be always ſoliciting your Majeſty and your Succeſſors to give them relief in a Caſe of ſo great moment and general concern as this is.

As for the general Reprizal mentioned to be made them out of the Rebels Eſtate (which muſt not be conceived to give any colour to this manner of proceeding, and ought to be equal to the Eſtate which the Proprietors ſhall be outed of) that will be very uncertain, for it muſt be known who the Rebels are, and what their Lands amount to, ſince it may be probably concluded, that there are many of your Subjects now in *England* no way concerned in the Rebellion, and would have ere this attended your Majeſty here, if they had not been hindred from coming by dureſs and Imbargo, and many other legal and juſtifiable excuſes, too long for this preſent Paper; and withal, that where any of them are ſeiſed of any new Eſtates, ſo much muſt be reſtored to the old Proprietors, and what is alſo ſubject to their Settlements and other Incumbrances.

After all this, it is in the power of your Majeſty to prevent the total Ruin of ſo many of your Subjects as have been Purchaſers and Improvers in this Kingdom, by preſcribing more moderate ways than depriving them of the whole of what they have legally and induſtriouſly acquired; and that Commitees of both Houſes may hear and enquire whether any medium may be found out betwixt the Extreams for the accommodating as near as may be the Purchaſer and the old Proprietor, ſo that if there be cauſe of Complaint, it may not ariſe from a

total disappointment of either Party: This is a little of what may be said on this occasion, but the haste of those who drew on this Bill will allow no further time at present.

It is proposed that his Majesty will hear Council on this occasion.

No. 23. The Lord Bishop of *Meath*'s Speech in Parliament, *June* the 4th. 1689.

Spoken on the Bill of Repeal of the Act of Settlement.

My Lords,

YOur Lordships, have now under your Consideration a Bill of great Weight and Importance, for the future Prosperity or Ruine of the King and Kingdom depends upon it; A Bill that unsettles a former Foundation (upon which this Kingdom's Peace and Flourishing was superstructed) and Designs to erect another in its stead, the Success whereof is dubious and uncertain; I shall therefore humbly crave your leave to represent my thoughts candidly and impartially upon it; And that so much the rather, because I am here summoned by the Kings Writ to give his Majesty my best Advice for his own Service, and the good of the Nation.

1. *It is unjust.*

My Lords, In every Law, two things are to be consider'd; First, that it be just, and doth no Man wrong. Secondly, and that it be *pro bono publico*; And I am humbly of Opinion, that this Bill is faulty in both these Respects: and therefore ought not to pass this House. It is unjust to turn Men out of their Possessions and Estates without any Fault or Demerit; To deprive Widows of their Jointures, and Children of their Portions, when they have done nothing to forfeit them. But the Injustice will rise much higher, if we consider it with a respect to Purchasers, who have laid out all their Substance upon Estates deriv'd under the Acts that are now design'd to be Repeal'd. What have they done to make them Delinquents, except it be the laying out their Money on the Publick Faith of the Nation, declared in two Acts of Parliament, and on the Publick Faith of his Majesties Royal Brother expressed in his Letter Patents. Their Case is yet harder, If we consider the great Improvements they have made upon their Purchases, which by this Bill they are like to lose, without any Reprizal for them; And

if

if it be reaſonable to reſtore the Old Proprietors to their Eſtates, 'tis enough for them to enjoy them in the ſame plight and condition that they left them: But I ſee no Reaſon why they ſhould have them in a better Condition, or enjoy the benefit of other Mens Labours and Expences, to the utter ruine of them and their Families; Here, Mercy ſhould take place as well as Juſtice, for the Purchaſers are the Objects of them both.

Two things I am ſenſible, may be reply'd to this: and I am willing to conſider them both. Firſt, That if it be unjuſt to turn them out; It as unjuſt not to reſtore the Old Proprietor, who hath been ſo long kept out of his Eſtate. Secondly, That there is no injury done to the preſent Poſſeſſor, becauſe he is to be repriz'd for his Loſſes.

As to the firſt of theſe, I ſhall not at preſent meddle with the Reaſons why they loſt their Eſtates, nor touch upon the Grounds and Occaſions of their forfeiting their Intereſts in them: being ſenſible that neither the time nor the place will admit a Diſcourſe of this nature; I ſhall therefore take it for granted, that they were unjuſtly put out: that it is juſt and reaſonable that they ſhould be reſtored: but then it muſt be granted, that it is unjuſt to turn out the preſent Purchaſer and Poſſeſſor. What then is to be done in this Caſe, where the Juſtice or the Injury is alike on both ſides: If we reſtore the Old Proprietor, we injure the preſent Poſſeſſor; if we do not, we injure the Old Proprietor.

My Lords, It is my humble Opinion (which I ſubmit to your Lordſhips better Judgments) that we are to conſider in this Caſe, who hath moſt Juſtice on his ſide, and incline the Ballance that way; If it lies on the Old Proprietors ſide, let him have it; If not, let the preſent Poſſeſſor enjoy it. Now it appears to me, that the Purchaſer hath more Juſtice on his ſide than the Old Proprietor: For he has both Law and Equity on his ſide; he hath the Law on his ſide by two Acts of Parliament, and the King Letters Patents; and he hath the Equity by his Purchaſe Money; whereas the Proprietor hath the Law againſt him, and nothing but Equity to pretend to; And I hope your Lordſhips will never think it reaſonable to relieve a bare Equitable Right againſt a Purchaſer that hath both Law and Equity: If you do, I am confident it is the firſt Preſident of this kind.

As for the *Reprizals*, I hear the Name of them in the Bill, but I find nothing agreeable to the nature of them. There are certain Conditions agreed on all hands, to make up the Nature of a *Reprizal*: None of which are like to be obſerved or kept here. I ſhall name ſome of them, and leave it to your *Reprizals.*

Lordſhips Conſideration, how far they are like to be performed with the preſent Purchaſers.

It is neceſſary to a *Reprizal*, that it be as good at leaſt, if not in ſome reſpects better than the thing I am to part with: That I my ſelf be Judge, whether it be better or worſe; That I keep what I have, till I am repriz'd. If my Neighbour comes to me, and tells me, that he hath a mind to my Horſe, or to a Field of mine that lies convenient for him: I tell him, that I have no mind to part with them: He offers me Money for them: I tell him, that I will not ſell them; He tires me out with Importunities, and at length, I conſent to part with them in exchange for ſome other things as good as they: But I tell him withal, that I my ſelf will be Judge, whether they are ſo or not, ſince it is at his importunity and to pleaſe him, that I part with them: And beſides that, I am reſolv'd to be poſſeſſed of the Equivalent at the ſame time that I part with my own, there being no reaſon why I ſhould dance attendance after him, and wait his leiſure for my *Reprizal*.

My Lords, If theſe be the true Conditions of *Reprizals*, as I preſume they are, I am confident that not one of them is like to be obſerved in the intended *Reprizals*, not the firſt of them: For by the Petitions that have been before your Lordſhips; and by an additional Clauſe in your Lordſhip's Alterations, wherein you have ſaved all Remainders expectant, on Eſtates for Lives, moſt of the Reprizable Perſons muſt part with an Inheritance to them and their Heirs, and get only in lieu of it an Eſtate for Life, which will determine with the Life of the forfeiting Perſons: So here is not equal Value, Worth, and Purchaſe.

Not the Second: For, the Parties themſelves are not made the Judges, but the Commiſſioners: And I dare ſay, that if they were made the Judges, there is not one of them that are to be turn'd out, that will part with their preſent Poſſeſſions, or that judge the *Reprizal* to bear any Proportion with the Eſtates they are to quit.

Not the Third: For by the Commons Bill they are to be turn'd out immediately, and wait for a *Reprizal* afterwards: And all the Favour they can obtain from your Lordſhips, is only to have a competent time for their Removal, (which may be long or ſhort as the Commiſſioners pleaſe) but out they muſt go at the diſcretion of the Commiſſioners, and wait their leiſure for a *Reprizal*.

It is not for the Publick Good.

This is the firſt Objection againſt this Bill. The next is, that it is not for the Publick Good, either for the King or the Kingdom, or the People in it; It is not for the good of the King, who is the Vital Head.

Head of this great Body, and that whether we respect his Majesties Honour or his Profit.

It is not for his Majesty's Honour to consent to the Ruining of so many innocent Loyal Persons as must unavoidably perish, if this Bill doth pass: It is not for his Honour to rescind those just Acts of his Royal Father and Brother, the Act for Adventurers passed in *England*, and the Declaration and Acts of Settlement and Explanation, which, if I am not misinformed, were five years upon the Anvil, and at last not pass'd, till all Parties were fully heard. It is not for his Majesty's Honour to break his word with his People, nor violate so many repeated Promises as he hath made, that he would not consent to the Repeal of them. *Not for the King's good.*

And as it is not for his Honour, so it is not for his Profit or Advantage; it will neither preserve him in the Kingdom that he enjoys, nor restore him to those that he has unhappily lost. His Profit in this Kingdom must arise out of a constant Payment of his Revenue both ordinary and extraordinary: And who is able to pay his Revenue or support the Dignity of his Crown, if this Bill passeth into a Law? The Protestants are not able, the Rapparees have Plundered them of all their Substance, and here is a Bill to take away their Estates; and consequently they will have nothing left to pay the Publick Taxes of the Nation: And as for the *Romanists*, they will be in as ill a Condition as the Protestants; The Old Proprietor comes Poor and Hungry into his Estate, and can pay nothing till his Tenants raise it; and the present Possessor loseth the Benefit of his Purchases and Improvements; and who then is able to supply the Necessities of His Majesty? Besides this, in many parts of the Kingdom, the Land is hardly able to pay the Kings Quit-Rent, by reason of the Universal Depredations that Reign every where; and can it be imagin'd but that things will grow far worse when the ablest Catholick Merchants, and the most Wealthy Purchasers of that Communion are ruin'd and undone?

And as it is not for the Kings Profit in this Kingdom, so it is to the utter Ruine of his Interest in the Kingdoms that he has lost: Will the Protestants in *England* and *Scotland* join heartily in restoring him to his Crown, when they understand how their Brethren here are used? No, *My Lords*, They will rather bend and unite all their Forces to hinder his Restitution, when they consider that the mischief is like to come home to their own Doors, and that what is a doing here, is but a Model of what they must suffer if he be restored. Will they trust his Word in *England*, when he breaks it in *Ireland*, or rely on his Promises

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to them, when he doth not keep them to his Subjects here; This, my Lords, will abate their Affections for him, and gain him more Enemies there than he can have Friends here.

It ruins the Kingdom.

It is not for the good of the Kingdom, and that if we consider it in reference to Trade, Wealth, Improvements Husbandry.

It will ruine the Kingdom in point of Trade; Divine Providence hath placed us in an Island, where we must Trade or want many conveniencies of Life; and can we expect that the Trade of this Nation will increase in our hands, when we find it sunk so low by the removal of the Protestant Merchants effects out of the Kingdom, and for those Catholick Merchants that carry it on in some measure, can we believe that they will be able to carry it on, when we are ruining their Stocks by taking away their Estates and Improvements from them; Nay, we shall not only ruin our own Traders at home, but break their Correspondents abroad whose effects are in their hands. We have passed a Bill in this House for the Inviting Strangers to Settle and Trade among us; but it is worth considering, whether the Course we are now taking, will not hinder the Nation of the intended benefit of that Bill; for if Foreign Merchants come among us, what Security have they but the Publick Faith of the Nation, and it is not probable that Strangers will rely upon it, when they observe that it is so ill kept towards our own People.

If Trade decays, the Wealth of the Nation must perish with it; for they live and die together. Wealth cannot subsist without Trade, or without security for Debt: And who will ever lend Money, or Purchase, or Improve in this Kingdom after this? when the Money that hath been lent, and the Purchases made from Persons deriving their Estates under two Acts of Parliament, many years Possession, and Letters Patents on Record, are all blown off at once, and nothing left sure or firm in the Kingdom? For my part, I cannot understand that any Man will Purchase an Acre of Land hereafter, when former Purchasers that thought themselves secure are so much discouraged. Improvements must perish likewise, for by the Petitions that have been preferred to this House, your Lordships may perceive that some Proprietors have but small Estates, 20, 40, or 100 Acres, on which Sumptuous Houses and large Gardens and Orchards have been erected, and the Income of their Estates is not able to repair the Glass Windows, or defray the Wages of the Gardiner: And as for Husbandry, what between the Old Proprietor that is to be restor'd, and cannot Manure the Ground till he is possessed of it, and the present Possessor that knows not how long

long his Term will hold, and therefore will be at no Charges upon a Term that depends on the Will of the Commissioners; We shall have the Plow neglected, and must feed on one another instead of Corn.

My Lords, This is not all the inconvenience in it, but it is likewise to the prejudice of the People in the Kingdom both Protestants and Catholicks: The Protestants are already ruin'd by the *Rapparees*, and if their Estates are taken from them, I know nothing wanting to make them compleatly miserable. The rich Catholicks have as yet escap'd the Depredations of their Neighbours, but they will be almost as miserable as the Protestants, when their Estates and Improvements are taken from them. *It ruins the People in it.*

My Lords, This Bill doth likewise destroy the *Publick Faith* and Credit of the Nation; it destroys the Credit of *England* by Repealing the Act Pass'd there for the Satisfaction of Adventurers; it destroys the Publick Faith of *Ireland* by Repealing the *Acts of Settlement and Explanation*; it violates the Faith of his late Majesty which hath been pass'd to his Subjects in his Gracious Declaration for the Settlement of this Kingdom, and in his Letters Patents pursuant to it. *It destroys the Publick Faith.*

It subverts the Credit of his present Majesty in his Letters Patents that he hath Pass'd since his coming to the Crown on the Commission of Grace, for he has receiv'd the Composition money; and if these Grants must be vacated, I cannot forbear to speak it plainly, that the Subject is deluded; it commits a Rape upon the Common Law, by making all Fines and Recoveries useless and ineffectual; and it invades the Property of every private Subject, by destroying all Settlements on valuable Considerations.

My Lords, This Bill is *Inconvenient in point of Time.* Is it now a time for Men to seek for Vineyards and Olive yards when a Civil War is raging in the Nation, and we are under Apprehensions (I will not say fears, for it is below Men of Courage to be afraid) of Invasions from abroad; is it not better to wait for more peaceable times, and Post pone our own Concerns to the Concerns of his Majesty and the publick Peace of the Nation; To do otherwise is to divide the Spoyl before we get it, to dispose of the Skin before we catch the Beast. We cannot in this case set a better President before Us than the Case of the *Israelites* in the Book of *Joshua*; they had the Land of *Canaan* given them by God, but yet *Joshua* did not go about to make a Distribution of it to the Tribes, till they had subdued their Enemies, and *Inconvenient in point of time.*

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the Lord had given them peace: Nay, *My Lords*, I am confident that it will prejudice His Majesties Service, because every Mans eye and heart will be more on his own Concerns than His Majesties Business; it is possible that their affections may be more set upon the gaining of their Estates than the Fighting for the King; and then all their Endeavours will be drowned in the Consideration of their own profit: *Moses* was Jealous of this when the Two Tribes and an half desired to have their Possessions on this side *Jordan*, before the Land was intirely subdued; and there may be the same motives to the like suspitions now.

My Lords:

Either there was a *REBELLION* in this Kingdom, or there was not. If there was none, then we have been very unjust all this while, in keeping so many Innocents out of their Estates: And God forbid that I should open my Mouth in the Defence of so gross an Injustice; but then what shall we say to His Majesties Royal Fathers Declaration in his Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, who there owns that there was a Rebellion; and in pursuance of that Opinion, passed an Act to secure such as should adventure Money for the suppressing of it? Nay, What shall we say to the Two Bills that have been brought into this House: The one by an Honourable Lord, which owns it fully; the latter from the Commoners, which owns a Rebellion, but extenuates it? I take it then for granted that there was a Rebellion; and if so, it was either a total, or a partial one: If it was a general one, then all were guilty of it, and none can pretend to be restored to his Estate, farther than the King in his Mercy shall think fit to grant it him: If it was a partial one, then some Discrimination ought to be made between the Innocent and the Guilty. The Innocent should be restored, and the Guilty excluded from their Estates; but here is a Bill that makes no distinction between them, but Innocent and Nocent are all to fare alike. The one is to be put in as good a Condition as the other; and can your Lordships imagine that it is reasonable to do this, when we all know that there has been a Court of Claims erected for the Tryal of Innocents; that several have put themselves upon the Proof of their Innocence, and after a full Hearing of all that they could offer for themselves, have been adjudged Nocent.

My Lords:

I have Ventur'd Candidly and Impartially to lay my Thoughts before you; and I have no other design in it, than honestly to acquit my Conscience towards my KING and Country. If my Freedom hath given your Lordships any Offence, I do here submissively beg your

Pardon

Pardon for it; but it is the Concern of the Nation in general, that hath made me so warm in this Affair. I have but one thing more to add, That God would so direct and instruct your hearts, that you may pitch upon those Courses, that may be for the Honour of the King, and the Benefit of the Kingdom.

Objections against the Particulars of the Bill, *made by the* Lord Bishop *of* Meath.

I. No Penalty on such as shall enter without Injunctions.
II. No Consideration for Improvements.
III. No Saving for Remainders.
IV. No Time given to Tenants and Possessors to Remove their Stock and Corn.
V. No Provision for Protestant Widows.
VI. It allows only Reprizals for Original Purchase-Money, which is hard to make out, and is an Injury to the Second or Third Purchaser.

N°. 24. Copies of the ORDERS for giving Possession, &c.

Com. Kildare. } *By the Lord Lieutenant of the County of* Kildare, *and one of His* MAJESTIES *most Honourable Privy Council.*

[*Note*, The Copy of the First Order for Garrisoning the House of *Ballisannan* could not be gotten.]

WHereas I have been informed, That *Ballisannan*, now belonging to Mr. *Annesley*, was a House of Strength, and therefore fit to have a Garrison; and now being convinc'd of the contrary: These are therefore in His Majesties Name, to require you forthwith to remove your Men to their former Garrison, out of the said House. Given under my Hand this *First* day of *April* 1690.

Charles White.

For Captain Patrick Nugent, *or the Officer in Chief, Commanding the Troop at* Kildare.

SIR,

THIS is to let you understand that I am Authoriz'd to give the Proprietor possession of the Land, of *Ballysannan*, &c. according to the Act of Parliament; and that you may not be surpriz'd therein, I give you this Notice, from Sir, *Your Loving Friend and Servant,*
Naas *the* 8*th of April*, 1690.
Charles White.

For John Annesly *Esquire, or in his Absence, to* Francis Annesly, *Esq;*
These.

Second Order for Ballysannan.

WHereas *Luke Fitzgerald* Esquire, has proved himself before me, to be the Ancient Proprietor of the Town and Lands of *Ballysannan*, and that his Ancestors were Posses'd of their Mansion-house there, in the Year 1641. I do therefore, in pursuance of His Majesties Orders unto me, appoint the under-named Persons to give possession of the Mansion-house there, to *Luke Fitzgerald* Esquire: And for so doing, this shall be your Warrant. Given under my Hand and Seal this 6*th.* day of *May*, 1690.

Charles White.

I do hereby appoint Captain *Walter Archbold*, or Captain *John Dillon* of *Athy*, to give possession of the Mansion-house of *Ballysannan*, to *Luke Fitzgerald* Esquire.

An Account of Absentees *Goods, and how they were imbezelled.*

THE beginning of *March* 1688. or before, several Persons, Officers of the Army, who were impowered, or pretended to be impowered by my Lord Deputy, seized on the Goods of Absentees, in most Counties of the Kingdom, except the City of *Dublin*.

May 7*th*, 1689. A Warrant comes to the Commissioners of his Majesties Revenue, under His Majesties Privy Signet and Sign Manual, dated *April*, 29*th*. 1689. to impower the Commissioners of the Revenue, to call all such Persons to Account, that had seiz'd any Goods or Chattels of Absentees.

May

May 9th. 1689. The Commiſſioners of the Revenue, iſſued out Inſtructions to ſeveral Perſons, in the reſpective Counties, purſuant to His Majeſties ſaid Warrant.

As to the Country, it muſt be obſerved, That betwixt the *1ſt.* of *March*, 1688. (being the Time of ſeizing by the Officers of the Army) and *9th.* of *May* 1689. when the Commiſſioners were impowered, a great part of the Goods of Abſentees were ſtolen or diſpoſed: The Officers that ſeiz'd, were at the Camp at *Derry*; and if any Accounts were return'd by them to the Lord Deputy, the ſame never came to the Commiſſioners,, though they often endeavoured with the Secretary to find any ſuch Accounts.

The Commiſſioners of the Revenue thereupon ſollicited a Bill to paſs in Parliament, to veſt the Goods of all Abſentees, in the King, with ſome fitting Power to the Commiſſioners of the Revenue, for the more eaſie and expeditious bringing all Perſons to Account, that had formerly ſeiz'd; But this met with much delay and alterations. At laſt the Bill paſs'd the *18th.* of *July*, 1689. and the Scope of it amounts to no more, than to veſt in His Majeſty, the Goods of ſuch Perſons only, as are declared Forfeiting Perſons by the Act of Attainder, or Perſons abſent, who abet or aſſiſt the *Prince* of *Orange*, (with exception of Minors, and ſome *Proviſo's* by the Act of Attainder) moſt had time to return till the *Firſt* of *September*; and the general Clauſe of all Perſons that have aided or abetted the *Prince* of *Orange*, does not intitle the King without an Office found, that ſuch Perſons did aid or abet; and this requiring Proof, and a Great Charge, there did not appear ſufficient profit to ariſe to anſwer the Charge. Upon the whole Matter this Bill ſeemed rather to leſſen the Zeal of thoſe employed to ſeize Abſentees Goods, than otherwiſe, when they conſider'd, that upon debate in Parliament, it was denyed to paſs a Law that ſhould indemnifie them for more than half their Seizures, even in the City of *Dublin*, half the Perſons, whoſe Goods were there ſeiz'd, not being named in the Bill of Attainder. However,

Aug. 9th, 1689. The Commiſſioners of the Revenue having appointed four Provincial Surveyors, gave them Inſtructions, that the Surveyor-General and the Collectors, ſhould diſpoſe of the Stocks of Abſentees; whereby it appears that inſtead of neglecting that Matter of the Goods of Abſentees, they ſeemed rather to have given Order for the Diſpoſal of them before they were forfeited.

Septemb. 14th, 1689. The Commiſſioners finding no ſatisfactory Returns, from the Commiſſioners employed by them, moſt of the Commiſſioners being in the Army, or neglecting the Matter, or applying the

Goods to their own Use, they superceded those Commissioners, and left the whole Matter to their Collectors; which if done at first, some profit might have redounded to His Majesty.

2. The Goods of Absentees in the City of *Dublin*, were not ordered by the Lord Deputy to be seized; but the People observing what was done in the Country, and there being free Transportation for *England* in *March*, the Custom-House-Key became like a Fair, and the most of Absentees Goods were then sent for *England*; scarce any thing valuable was then left, unless by the Carelesness of the Persons employed by the Absentees.

The said 9th of *August* 1689. the Commissioners impowered several persons to seize the Goods of Absentees in the City of *Dublin*, with like directions as the Lord Deputy gave formerly in other Counties, *viz.* To inventory and take security for the forth-coming of these Goods, and not to strip the Houses, or hinder Trade; for many Brewers, Ale-sellers, and other Handy Crafts and Traders, though absent, yet had left behind them Servants, Friends, and sometimes their Wives to manage their Trade; and to have stript those Houses, had but added to the Number of Wast Houses, and lessened his Majesty's Revenue; some Ale-Houses not having the value of *Forty Shillings* of Absentees Goods, draw three or four Barrels of Drink *per* Week, besides their Quartering of Souldiers, which has cost the Inhabitants more generally by far, than the Goods could be sold for these Times.

And this Matter ought at present to be well considered; for, though now the Goods are vested in the King by Law, and the best of them is to be made for the King's Advantage; yet Rotten Hangings will sell only to those that have the House.

No. 25. *Albaville's* Instructions to the Commissioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*.

Gentlemen,

THE many Robberies, Oppressions, and Outrages committed through all parts of the Kingdom, to the utter Ruine thereof, and to the great Scandal of the Government, as well as of Christianity, forces his Majesty to a great resentment against those that prove Encouragers and Abettors of them, by an unpardonable neglect in the Execution of his Royal Orders. And whereas the Issuing out Commissions of *Oyer* and *Terminer* in all the Counties of the Kingdom, which

was

was done some Months ago, was judged by his Majesty, with the Advice of his Privy Council, the most Efficacious means to prevent and quash such horrid Disorders.

I. *You are Ordered by his Majesty, on sight hereof, to let Me his Principal Secretary of State know what you can alledge, to justifie your selves from the Imputation of having strangely Neglected (all this time) the Execution of your Commission, which proves the chiefest Cause of this general Desolation of the Country.*

II. *You are Commanded by his Majesty, to proceed without the least delay to the Execution of your Commission, and send to me (for his Majesties information) a Weekly Account of your Proceedings.*

III. *That you Adjourn from one Week to another; and at furthest, not above a Fortnight.*

IV. *That you proceed with all Just Severity, against such of the Justices of the Peace, as have Bayled (contrary to Law) Malefactors: And against all such as favour (in any manner) Robbers and Thieves.*

V. *That you proceed against all persons whatsoever, who have given, or will give, any Obstruction to the Execution of your Commission: And if they prove Officers of the Army, or Absent, so as you do not think fit to proceed against them, that you forthwith send me an Account thereof.*

VI. *That you proceed with all Rigour, against all persons found Guilty of Counterfeiting the Kings Coyn.*

VII. *And lastly, that you Order all Men to fall upon publick Robbers, who have no regard of their Duty towards GOD, their King or Country, destitute of all sense of humanity; and consider them but as wild beasts, who live upon Prey and Rapine.*

This is Gentlemen, what I have at present in Command from his Majesty to send to you; to which I will add this Advertisement, *That you cannot light upon better Measures to Allay the KINGS just Resentment of your former Neglects, (the occasion of a World of Mischief) then by a speedy and vigorous Execution of your Commission.*

Let the present general cryes of the People for Justice, and the present general Oppression under which the Country groans, move you to

to have a Compassion of it; and to raise in you such a publick spirit, as may Save it from this inundation of Miseries that break in upon it, by a Neglect of his Majesties Orders, and by a general relaxation of all Civil and Military Laws.

Consider that our Enemies leaving us to our selves as they do, conclude we shall prove greater Enemies to one another than they can be to us; and that we will destroy the Country, and enslave our selves more than they are able to do: What Inhumanities are daily committed against one another, gives but too much ground to the truth of what our Enemies conclude of us.

I had almost forgot a special Command of his Majesty; that is, That you will consider the *Liberty of Conscience* granted by Act of Parliament, and to punish the Infringers of that Law, who by an indiscreet and inconsiderable Zeal usurp his Majesties Prerogative; not reflecting how much his Majesties and the Nations Interest; and not only the Religion of the Nation, but the Catholick Religion in all the parts of Christendom is involved in a Religious Execution of that *Liberty of Conscience*.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servant,

Dublin-Castle, *Jan.* 2. 1689. *Marquis D' Albaville.*

To the Commissioners of Oyer *and* Terminer *for the County of* Dublin, *or to any or either of them, to be Communicated to the rest.*

To the Lord Chief Justice *Nugent*.

No. 26. A Copy of a Petition of the Minister of *Wexford*, for his Church, and the Order thereupon.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of *Alexr. Allen* of *Wexford*, Clerk.

Most humbly Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioner being Minister of the Parish Church of St. *Iberius*, in the Town of *Wexford*; hath therein for several Years past, daily celebrated Divine Service; and excercised all other Offices

Offices of his Function with Piety to GOD, and conſtant Loyalty to your Majeſty: Yet Your *Petitioner* on the 25th of *October* laſt, was Diſpoſſeſſed of his ſaid Church, (contrary to the late Act of *Liberty of Conſcience*) by *Edward Wiſeman* Eſq; Mayor of *Wexford*; who a few days after, did not only, by the Rabble, introduced by him, break down and demoliſh, all the *Pewes* and *Altar* of the ſaid Church, but did ſeize, and unjuſtly deny your Petitioners *Veſtments*, *Church-Books*, and other *Ornaments* thereof, to the great prejudice of your *Petitioner* and his *Pariſhioners*; although your Majeſties *Roman Catholick* Subjects have ſeveral *Chappels* fit for the free Exerciſe of their Religion, both within and without the Walls of the ſaid Town, and whereunto ſeveral *Proteſtant* Inhabitants have given liberal Contribution. Your *Petitioner* further ſheweth, That he the ſaid *Edward Wiſeman*, as Magiſtate of the Town of *Wexford*, is obliged (as uſually it hath been by Act of *Veſtry*) to encourage and provide for the relief of diſtreſſed Orphans, and other poor of the ſaid Town of *Wexford*; yet uncharitably refuſeth to interpoſe his Authority in the behalf of ſuch poor, whereby they muſt inevitably periſh, if not ſpeedily Relieved.

May it therefore pleaſe Your Majeſty, to Reſtore Your Petitioner to his Pariſh Church, which was never Forfeited by Abſence, or otherwiſe: And that the ſaid Edward Wiſeman *may be obliged to Repair it, and leave it in the ſame condition he found it; and that ſuch care may be taken for Relief of diſtreſſed Orphans, and other Poor from Famine, as is uſual.*

And Your Petitioner ſhall ever pray, &c.

At the Court in *Dublin*-Caſtle, *Jan.* 28th. 1690.

Loco Sigill. } *Preſent the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.*

WHEREAS His Majeſty is Informed upon Oath, That *Edw. Wiſeman* late Mayor of the Town of *Wexford*, did Illegally ſeize upon the Pariſh Church of St. *Iberius* in the ſaid Town of *Wexford*, broke down the *Pews* and *Altar* of the ſaid Church, and detained the *Veſtments*, *Church-Books*, and other *Ornaments* thereunto belonging: His Majeſty was Graciouſly pleaſed, to Order Mr. *Nicholas Stafford*,

preſent

present Mayor of the said Town of *Wexford*, forthwith to cause the said Church and Goods to be Restored to *Alexander Allen*, Minister of the said Parish, in the same condition they were in when Seiz'd upon by the said *Edward Wiseman*.

Hugh Kelly.

No. 27. Mr. *Prowd* Minister of *Trim*, his Account of the Remarkable Accident that hapned upon *Plundering* the Church *Trim*.

SIR,

THIS will give you an Account of an eminent Instance of Gods Vengeance shewn on one *John Keating*, a Church *Rapparee*, who in the very Act of *Plundering* and *Breaking* of our Church, was struck with a sudden Madness, in which he continued for the space of Three Weeks; and that day three Weeks he was struck Mad, dyed in a sad and miserable Condition. The manner of it was thus: This *Keating* was a Soldier in the Lord of *Kinmares* Regiment; he with others his Associates, having often before plundered, broken and despoyled the Seats of our Church, without interruption or disturbance, resolved on *Christmas-day* at night, to brake and plunder our *Altar*, (on which we had that day celebrated the Holy Communion): and to that end he with two more, about midnight, entered the Church. This *Keating* immediately attempted to break one of the folding doors leading to the Communion Table, and endeavouring with all his force to wrest the door from the hinges, immediately (as he thought) saw several glorious and amazing Sights; But one ugly Black Thing (as he call'd it) gave him a great Souse upon the Poll, which did drive him immediately into so great disorder, that he tore all the Cloaths off his Back, and ran Naked about the Streets, and used all mad Bedlam pranks whatever. He was put into the Dungon, where he remained for the space of 14 days without either Meat, Drink, Cloaths, or any thing necessary for the support of nature; would not take as much as a drop of cold water; continually Rav'd of the Spoyls of the Church, and saying, *That he took the most pains in breaking and taking off the Hinges, and yet got the least share for his pains.* From the Dungeon he was removed to one *Thomas Kelly*'s House in the Town, where he behaved himself as in the prison, neither eating bit, nor drinking drop, or admitting a ragg to cover his Nakedness; and about days after, 8 he removed from the Dungeon, dyed in a sad and deplorable manner. I

was

was ſo curious as to enquire of thoſe that knew him very well, whether ever he was Mad before, or lyable to any ſuch diſorders; they all aſſured me, that they never knew any thing of that nature by him in the whole courſe of his life; ſo that I think we may very well look upon it as the immediate Hand of GOD.

SIR, I dare aſſure you, that this is a great Truth, and ſo evident and manifeſt, that it hath challeng'd and extorted an Acknowledgment from all parties whatever: Neither the *Romiſh Clergy*, nor any of the *Officers* of the Regiment (who are all *Papiſts*) do in the leaſt diſown it: And it had this influence and effect upon all *Soldiers* and *Papiſts*, that from that time forth, never any of them were known to enter, plunder, or diſturb our Church.

We have an account, that another of *Keatings* companions at the very ſame time was ſtruck Mad in the very Act of breaking the Communion Table; and that within very few hours after he dyed; but they politickly conceal'd it, and buryed him privately ſoon after, for fear it ſhould be known; but the certainty of this I dare not Affirm, but am ſure ſome of their moſt ſober and ſerious Clergy did freely own it.

Trim *George Prowd.*
1ſt. March 1689.

No. 28. General *Roſens* Order, to bring the Proteſtants before *Derry*.

Conrade de Roſen Mareſchal General of all his Majeſties Forces.

DEclares by theſe Preſents, To the Commanders, Officers, Soldiers, and Inhabitants of the City of *Londonderry*, That in caſe they do not, betwixt this and Monday next, at Six a Clock in the afternoon, being the *1ſt* of *July* 1689. Agree to Surrender the ſaid place of *Londonderry* unto the King, upon ſuch Conditions as may be granted them, according to the Inſtructions and Power Lieutenant-General *Hamilton* formerly received from the King: That he will forthwith iſſue out his Orders from the Barony of *Iniſhone*, and the Sea-Coaſts round about, as far as *Charlemont*, for the gathering together of thoſe of their Faction, whether *Protected*, or Not, and cauſe them immediately to be brought to the Walls of *Londonderry*, where it ſhall be lawful for thoſe that are in the Town (in caſe they have any pity for them) to open the

Gates, and receive them into the Town; otherwiſe they will be forced to ſee their Friends and neareſt Relations all ſtarved for want of Food; he having reſolved not to leave one of them at home, nor any thing to maintain them: And that all hope of Succour may be taken away by the Landing of any Troops in theſe parts from *England*; *He further declares*, That in caſe they refuſe to ſubmit, he will forthwith cauſe all the ſaid Country to be immediately Deſtroy'd; that if any Succour ſhould be hereafter ſent from *England*, they may periſh with them for want of Food: Beſides which, he has a very conſiderable Army, as well for the Oppoſing of them in all places that ſhall be judg'd neceſſary, as for the protecting all the reſt of his Majeſty's dutiful Subjects, whoſe Goods and Chattels he promiſes to Secure, deſtroying all the reſt that cannot be brought conveniently into ſuch places as he ſhall judge neceſſary to be preſerved, and burning the Houſes and Mills, not only of thoſe that are in actual Rebellion, but alſo of their Friends and Adherents, that no hopes of eſcaping may be left for any Man: Beginning this very day to ſend his neceſſary Orders to all Governors, and other Commanders of his Majeſty's Forces of *Colerane*, *Antrim*, *Carrickfergus*, *Belfaſt*, *Dungannon*, *Charlemont*, *Belturbet*, *Sligo*; and to Coll. *Sarsfield* commanding a flying Army beyond *Ballyſhany*, Coll. *Sutherland* commanding another towards *Iniskillen*, and the Duke of *Berwick* another on the *Fin-water*, to cauſe all the Men, Women and Children, who are any ways related to thoſe in *Londonderry*, or any where elſe in open Rebellion, to be forthwith brought to this place, without hopes of withdrawing further into the Kingdom; that in caſe before this ſaid *Monday* the 1*ſt* of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1689, be expired, they do not ſend us Hoſtages, and other Deputies with a full ſufficient power to Treat with Us for the Surrender of the ſaid City of *Londonderry* on reaſonable Conditions, that they ſhall not after this time be admitted to any Treaty whatſoever: And the Army which ſhall continue the Siege, and will (with the Aſſiſtance of God) ſoon reduce them, ſhall have Orders to give no Quarter, or ſpare either Age or Sex, in caſe they are taken by Force: But if they return to their Obedience, due to their Natural Prince, he Promiſes them, that the Conditions granted them in his Majeſties Name, ſhall be inviolably obſerved by all his Majeſties Subjects; and that he himſelf will have a care to protect them upon all occaſions, even to take their parts, if any injury (contrary to the Agreement) ſhould be done them; making Himſelf reſponſible for the performance of the Conditions on which they Agree to Surrender the ſaid place of *Londonderry* to the King. Given under my Hand, this 30th day of *June*, in the Year of our Lord, 1689.

Le Mareſchal Roſen.

No. 35.

No. 35. The Indictment of *Dennis Conner*, in which the Counterfeit Letter to Mr. *Will. Spike* is inserted.

Term' Hillar' quinto & Sexto Jacobi *Regis.*

COm' Dublin'. *Scilicet Juratores pro Domino Rege Sacrament' suum vic' dicunt & present' quod* Dionisius Connor *nuper de Dublin' in Com' Civit' Dublin' Yeoman, existen' homo malitiosus pernitiosus & nequissimus, machinansque, & intendens pacem & commune tranquilit' hujus Regni Hiberniæ perturbare, & discord' inter Dominum Regem & subditos suos incitare & movere, & dict' Dom' Regem & gubernationem suam in odium contempt' & vilipendentiam inducer' & Insurrectionem & Rebellionem in hoc Regno Hiberniæ suscitar' mover' & inferr' vicessimo die Januar' Anno Regni Domini nostri* Jacobi *secundi Dei gra'* Angl' Scot' Franc' & Hiberniæ, *Regis Fidei Defensor' &c. quinto, apud Castrum de Dublin' in Com' Dublin' Predict' seditiosam, malitiosam, & illicit' scripsit' vel Scribi fecit quandam seditiosam & malitiosam Epistolam sive Chartam cujus quidem seditiosam & malitiosam Epistolæ tenor sequitur in hæc verba, scilicet.*

Enniskillin *the* 10*th of* January 1689.

Cousin Spike,

YOurs I receiv'd *January* the 1*st*, it being the greatest satisfaction I could expect to hear of your good Health and Welfare, and the rest of your good Family; getting the convenience of the honest Bearer, makes me acknowledge your often Kindnesses to me. Yesterday we received Letters from *Londonderry*, they all agree with our Proposals, as in carrying on our Design in *Dublin*: The day appointed is the 4th of *February* at Supper-time in the Castle; and for some of our Men intended for that purpose, to go in a little before, as many as can well, not being suspected; others to stay in the Street and Houses thereabout till the Word is given [*God be with Us.*] Then all to Force in, Killing the Guards, after giving the *Tinker* and the rest of his Function their last Supper. Mr. *Drury*, he is intended to Fire the Suburbs with others of his Assistance as might be thought fit, it being a means to force the Soldiers out of the City. We question not but our People is in number enough to do the Work, as well in the City as Castle: One Night does all. We have here in these parts, 14000 Horse and Foot in readiness to be with you in *Dublin* in five or six Days at fartherest. I hope God will inspire into our Peoples Hearts to persevere with Undaunted Hearts to pull down that Yoke of Popery which we are likely to lie under, unless by God prevented. We are in the Truth, and I hope God is with Us; although our Expectations being failed hereto, we might think it rather punishment for our Sins, than in any wise hin-

drance of our Victory. Last week we had an account from *Derry*, that there Landed two Ships laden with Ammunition and Provision, and to the number of Fifty-Six Volunteers, the most of them now being here with Us: They giving us an Account of our *English* Resolution, That they will every Man Die rather than be yielding to Popery; likewise, that great Preparations are made for our English to come over this Spring, to the value of Two and Twenty Thousand Soldiers and Inhabitants to settle the Country. *Cousin*, I desire you'l direct the Bearer to Mr. *Pains*, with a Letter he has for him: And likewise I desire you to go to my Cousin, and give my kind love to him, and the rest of his good Family. I suppose the Pacquet of Letters as touching this Matter, wholly is directed to Mr. *Smith*, which meeting with him, will give you the full at large. My kind love to my Cousin *George*, and your Wife. This being all at present. Your loving Cousin to command during Life.

These for Mr. Will. Spike, *living at* College-Green, *in the Old* Parliament-House, *Dublin.* *Mary Smith.*

Et ulterius Jurator' prædict' super Sacrament' suum predict' dicunt & præsent', quod idem Dionisius Connor *scienes eandem Epistolam sive Chartam fore falsam, malitiosam, & seditiosam, postea scilicet eodem vicesimo die Januarii Anno Regni dict' Domini Regis quint' supradict' apud Castrum Dublin' in Com' Dublin' prædict', seditiosam & malitiosam Epistolam sive Chartam prædict' publicavit & publicari fecit contra debit' ligeantiam suam in malum exemplum aliorum in tali casu delinquentium, & contra pacem dicti Domini Regis nunc, coronam & dignitatem suam, &c.*

Copia Vera,
Examnat' per *F. Nugent.*

No. 36. Capt. *Browns* Acknowledgment, That he Perjured himself.

WHEREAS I *John Brown*, Gent. Did on, or about the last day of *December* last come before the Right Honourable, the Lord Chief Justice *Riverstown*, Ld. Ch. Justice of all *Ireland*; and did in an Examination taken before him upon Oath, accuse *Edward Brock* of the City of *Dublin*, for speaking and uttering several Seditious Words reflecting on His Majesty and the Government. Now I the said *John Brown*, do hereby Acknowledge and Declare, That I did very much Wrong and Abuse the said *Edward Brock* in the said matter; he never having uttered or spoke any such or the like Words wherewith I accus-

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ed him before the said Lord Chief Justice. As witness my Hand this Third day of *February*, 1689.

Witness present, *John Brown.*

The Words (upon Oath) being first Interlined.

Fra. Rich. Jun. Somervill.

No. 29. Advertisement, as it was published by Mr. *Yalden* in his Weekly *Abhorrence*, concerning Dr. *King*, and Dr. *Foy*.

THERE was lately published by *John Yalden* Esq; the substance of Fifteen Sermons, Entituled, *An Abhorrence from the Bishop of* Ely, *&c. of the proceedings of the Prince of* Orange, *and the Lords, &c. that Invited Him.* But some Protestants believing the said Book to be a Popish contrivance; and that such Doctrines as were therein, were never Preached by the Divines there named: Upon which, a Gentleman of Quality (to satisfie these Doubts) applyed himself to two Reverend Divines of this City, *viz.* Dr. *King* and Dr. *Foy*, who both certified under their hands, that the Doctrines contained in the said Book, were honest, and true Christian Divinity, and obliging to all Christians to put immediately in practice, upon the peril of their Salvation. Which Certificate satisfied several Protestants here, and confirmed them in an unchangeable Loyalty.

March 8th. 1689.

Reverend Sir,

I Intended to have waited on you this Afternoon, but found my self so Indisposed, that I durst not venture abroad. I have been made sensible, That the Publisher of the *Weekly Abhorrence*, has made use of your Name, and Mine: And Affirms, That WE have Certified under our Hands, That the Doctrines contained in a Book published by one *John Yalden* Esq; containing a *Collection of the Substance of Fifteen Sermons, were honest and true Christian Divinity, and Obliging to all Christians to put immediately in Practice, upon the Peril of their Salvation*: And he intimates, that this Certificate has been shewn to several Protestants here. *Sir*, For my own part, I do profess, that I never Read the aforesaid Book; nor did any Gentleman of Quality (as he affirms) ever apply himself to me to satisfie him in any doubts concerning it, that I remember. I am sure never any body demanded a Certificate from me concerning it: Nor did I ever Sign any such Certificate as he pretends, or any thing like it: And therefore that whole Advertisement (as far as it concerns me) is absolutely False and Groundless. If any one had Ask'd me concerning that Collection, I could have given him no other Answer, than that I had neither read it, nor the Sermons out of which

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'tis said to be taken: Perhaps the Collection may be just, and so harm in Certifying it to be so; but I am sure, there is a great deal of harm in forging a Certificate under a Mans Hand, what ever the matter be that is Certified: And if there be no such Certificate forged or real, it is no less criminal, to publish to the world (as in this *Abhorrence*) that there is one. I cannot imagine to what purpose the *Publisher* should have inserted such an easily detected Falshood, which he could not expect should escape being discovered; except he had a mind to destroy both his own Credit, and likewise that of the Collection. Pray (Sir) if you know any thing of this matter, Communicate to

To the Reverend Dr. *Nath. Foy.* These.

Your most humble Servant,
Will. King.

Reverend Sir,

WHat you were pleased to Acquaint me with, several Gentlemen who were Concern'd for me, gave me Notice of some few Hours before: Upon which I immediately repaired to the Coffee-House (the likeliest place, as I judged, to find a Lye, if it were stirring) where I saw my self in Print; of which, though I could not imagine what should be the ground; yet since it was resolv'd it should be so, I was glad to be found with so good Company as your self. Had the Gentleman, amongst other things in his *Abhorrence*, but Abhorr'd Untruth, I'm sure my Name had never appear'd in his *Advertisement*: For I declare, I never read the Book mentioned therein, and I judge I shall not be very Fond of reading any thing that comes from under his Hand; having given such a Tast to the World, of his Abilities in Writing and Collecting other Mens Senses, that it is to be doubted, whether he has yet well Collected his own: whose Collection as I never read, so have I never received any account of the contents of it; nor did any person ever require a Certificate from me, or my Judgment of that Collection, or the Sermons said to be in it; nor did I ever give any Certificate, or my Judgment to any person unrequired. This is all I know of the matter, or the Gentlemans Collection. It may be a faithful one for ought I know, but certainly he has not taken the best method to assert the Reputation of it, or his Own; since he must give leave to them who are as ignorant of his Person and Collection, as I am to suspect that he who can find a Certificate in *Dublin* that never was Written, may find a Sermon in *London* that never was Printed.

This,

This, Sir, I thought was due as a return to yours, which I kindly resent; and request you to believe that I am,

SIR,

March 11. 1689. *Your faithful Friend, and humble Servant,*

Nath. Foy.

For the Reverend Dr. *Will. King.* These.

No. 30. Collonel *Luttrells* Order for Numbering *Protestants.*

WHEREAS it is his Majesties desire to know the Names of all the Protestant Subjects and Dissenters: I do in his Majesties Name, Require and Order you, all the Ministers and Curates of the several Parishes and Cures of this City and Liberties, to bring me fairly Written, the Names of the said Protestants and Dissenters, in a Book made for that purpose, that are in their several Parishes or Cures: Declaring, That it is His Majesties Resolution, to Treat all such as will not pay Obedience to this Order, and enter in their Names by *Thursday* next ensuing the Date hereof, as Spyes, or Enemies. Dated this Third day of *May*, 1690.

They are to Return only all from the Age of Fifteen, to the Age of Eighty that are of the Male kind, and not of the Female.

By the Governor of *Dublin*,

Sym. Luttrell.

To all the Curates and Ministers of the City, Liberty, and Suburbs of the City of *Dublin.*

No. 31. Collonel *Luttrells* Order Forbidding above Five Protestants Meeting any where, *&c.*

By the Governor of Dublin, *June* 18. 1690.

WHEREAS several Disaffected persons of the Protestant Religion, are of late come to this City of *Dublin*, and some of them Arm'd with Swords, Pistols, and other Weapons, contrary to His Majesties express Commands by his Royal Proclamation bearing Date the 20th day of *July*, 1689.

I. THESE are therefore to Will and Require all Men whatsoever of the Protestant Religion now residing or being within the said City of *Dublin*, or within the Liberties of St. *Sepulchre Donor*, or *Thomas-Court*, who are not House-keepers, or have not followed some lawful Vocation therein these three Months past, to Depart within Twenty-Four Hours after the Publication hereof, out of the said City and Liberties, and repair to their respective Habitations, or usual places of Abode in the Country, upon pain of Death, or Imprisonment, and to be further

ther proceeded against as Contemners of his Majesties Royal Commands, and as persons designing the Disturbance of the Publick Peace.

II. And likewise, That all Protestants within the said City and Liberties, not being of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, nor in his Army, or actual Service, shall within the time aforesaid deliver up all their Arms, both Offensive and Defensive, and all their Ammunition, into his Majesties Stores in the said City, upon Pain of Death.

III. And that no Protestant whatsoever, Do presume at his Peril, to walk or go in the Streets, from Ten a Clock at Night till Five in the Morning, nor at any time when there is any Alarum. In which case, all such persons are required for their Safety, and for the Security of the Publick, to keep within Doors till such an Alarum is over.

IV. And Lastly, for the prevention of Ryots and Unlawful Assemblies; These are therefore to Will and Require, all the said Protestants that no greater number of them than Five shall Meet and Converse at any time, either in any House within the said City or Liberties, over and above the Family of the House; or in the Streets and Fields, in or about the same, or elsewhere: Hereby declaring, That all Persons who shall Offend against any Clause in this present Order, shall suffer Death, or such other Punishment as a *Court-Marshal* shall think Fit.

IN the Years 1689 and 1690, the late King *James* appointed Commissioners to Raise 20000*l.* in *Ireland*, whereof 6000 was to be raised on the City and Suburbs of *Dublin*, on such as were not in Arms for the said King. Alderman *Garner* that was to be the Succeeding Lord Mayor was made a Commissioner, who took upon him to give Summons's to the rest that were appointed Commissioners, to meet at his House in St. *Georges-Lane*, where accordingly Captain *John Nichols* of *Lazey-Hill*, *Christopher Horncastle* of *ditto*, together with *Thomas Pooley*, Esq; and many others that were made Commissioners met at the said *Garner*'s House: When the said Commissioners understood the matter, the said *Pooley* went to take Advice of Counsellor *Thomas Whitchert*; who declared, when he understood how the matter was designed, that it was no less than High Treason, if King *William* Succeeded; whereupon Notice being given to some of the said Commissioners, each of them declared, they would rather suffer any Punishment than Act therein. After which the said Commissioner *Garner* did not send any Summons's.

The Honourable *Robert Fitzgerald* was one of the said Commissioners.

FINIS.

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